

CURRENT SOVIET POLICIES

THE DOCUMENTARY RECORD OF THE 19TH COMMUNIST PARTY CONGRESS
AND THE REORGANIZATION AFTER STALIN'S DEATH

From the Translations of the Current Digest of the Soviet Press

Edited and With an Introduction by Leo Guliow,

Editor, The Current Digest of the Soviet Press



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BOOKS THAT MATTER

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INTRODUCTION

THIS BOOK IS PROPERTY OF THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES - IT IS
DISPOSED OF IN WHATEVER MANNER THE SERVICE DEEMES APPROPRIATE

The central fact of Stalin life is that the only party permitted under the Soviet system to lead a party from a ruling elite. To say, with the latest membership in the history, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union still is a party only of the population, as a leadership and found members, not more. In Stalin's phrase, the CP is "the party of the people." From the time the government officials, the central execution, from managers, to the old leadership, mixed police chiefs, editors, army officers and the workers are "outside the list" him. It is not a mere intervention of state's role in all the roots of power.

Continued, but referred still to the 1936 Convention in the
reference to the Communist Party in the present Convention
was set out in 1936, and then the 1936 Convention, page 11
Hearings, 1936, 1936.

The apparent blurring of the Party's frontiers leads in a document which purports to set forth the structure of the government to, as the Russians say, not accidental. It has a logic of its own in view of the manner in which the Party functions: that is, not only in its own person, but as the "guiding nucleus" of all other organizations. Sometimes major policy decisions are announced as joint decisions of the Party and the government (e.g., the formation of the new regime after Stalin's death), with the Party always mentioned first as a matter of precedence. But even when proclaimed only as decisions of the government, or, for that matter, of the trade unions or the sports clubs, no secret is made of the fact that the decisions are adopted under Party instructions. And more and more the distinction between Party and state personnel has disappeared, until today Marshal Vasilievsky can announce to the Party Congress, for example, that 867 of all army officers are members of either the Party or its junior league, the Young Communists.

As the Party is a dictatorship ruling the country, so the Party's upper hierarchy is a dictatorship ruling within the Party. The structure is a pyramid, in which the base consists of the primary Party organizations, formerly called "cells," in factories, farms, offices, military units and all other institutions. Above this base are territorial organizations of varying levels, corresponding to the government territorial divisions. These intermediary bodies serve as administrative channels between the primary units at the bottom and the top or "central" Party bodies. They transmit orders from the top to the lower levels, check on the execution of instructions and report back to the top.

This machinery functions under the twin principles of so-

called democratic centralism: election of accountable officers (although nomination, however, is controlled in practice by the leadership) and strict discipline, with subordination of all lower bodies to the decisions of higher bodies in the Party. Obviously, even in theory, and more obviously in practice, the "central" aspect breathes the meaning of the "democratic."

The Party Congress is an example.

The Congress is the Party's highest body, possessing the broadest powers. It consists of elected delegates in numbers proportional to regional membership. In theory the Communist is free to maintain his own view on a given matter until a Congress settles policy; thereafter all Communists must support the views laid down by the Congress. In actuality there has been no expression of differences of opinion over basic policy at any Congress since the 15th (1927), at which Trotsky was expelled from the Party. And when the Party Statutes were revised at the 17th Congress (1934) even the formal right of free discussion within the Party before a policy is decided was limited to instances to be determined in advance by the Central Committee or, in local matters, by republic or province agencies of Party leadership. Thus there can be no discussion of any policy unless specifically ordered by the Party's leaders.

EVEN without policy discussion, Congresses were held at greater and greater intervals. Under the Party Statutes, Congresses should have been convened at intervals of not more than three years. But the Congress chooses the Central Committee, which exercises the supreme authority of the Congress between persons, and it is this Central Committee which is empowered to call the next Congress. By simply failing to do so, and by co-opting new members without consulting a Congress, the Central Committee perpetuated its rule for longer and longer periods. The 15th Congress, which expelled Trotsky, was held in 1927 and the 16th on schedule three years later. But the gap between the 16th and 17th was four years, and between the 17th and 18th five years; finally, between the 18th and 19th there stretched 13 and a half years.

The 18th Congress had been the fateful one in March, 1939, at which Stalin had dropped the hint that had led to the pact with Hitler: "Politics is politics, as the hardened old bourgeois diplomats say..."

But at war's end, six years after the 18th Congress, there was no Communist Party "Congress of Victors" to survey the results. Nor did the reconstruction period bring a Congress to discuss the postwar Fourth Five-Year Plan.

When the proclamation of the 19th Congress did appear, on Aug. 20, 1952, it came, therefore, like so many Soviet develop-

ments, as a surprise. Together with the Congress announcement, Soviet newspapers published a draft of revised Party Statutes and a draft of Party directives for the Fifth Five-Year Plan, 1951-1955. Approval of these drafts was to constitute the agenda, together with reports by central Party bodies and election of new governing bodies of the Party. The Congress was called for October.

Throughout September the preparations went on: regional Congresses and conferences to elect delegates to the nationwide session; production campaigns to overfulfill current economic plans in honor of the Congress; discussion in the press of economic tasks relating to the new five-year plan and of Party affairs in relation to the new Statutes. The pre-Congress discussion, like the delegates' speeches at the Congress itself, avoided such fundamental matters as the position of the top hierarchy under the new Statutes or the capital investment policy of the new five-year plan. The discussion of the Statutes revolved around such relative trivia as timely dues payment and the intervals at which local Party sessions were to be convened; discussion of the new plan dealt with local projects and individual farming and industrial problems. Almost universally, the suggestions made in the discussion were ignored in the final versions of the Congress documents.

The most important event of the Congress took place three days before the Congress opened. Stalin's lieutenant, Georgy Malenkov, was to deliver the major report of the Congress, the Central Committee report. This was an honor which Stalin had reserved to himself at previous Congresses. But Malenkov's report and, indeed, the whole Congress were eclipsed by the publication Oct. 2 of letters written by Stalin months earlier in the course of a discussion among political economists. These letters, dealing with socio-economic theory, the prerequisites for communism, and the inevitability of wars among the capitalist states, became the keynote of the Congress. Not a Congress speaker but went out of his way to mention these letters; many paused to paraphrase or quote them.

The Congress met on the evening of Oct. 5 in the Great Hall of the Kremlin Palace. The 1359 delegates listened to Malenkov's five-hour discourse on the international situation, the domestic situation and the state of the Party. From then until the evening of Oct. 14 the Congress heard 86 reports and speeches, plus messages of greetings from 62 Communist Parties of other countries, including the U.S. Communist Party.

The Congress concluded with unanimous approval of the drafts and proposals submitted to it. The significance of some of its decisions was left obscure. Khrushchev, for instance, confined the explanation of abolition of the Politburo to the following lines: "The title 'Presidium' better accords with the functions which the Politburo actually performs at the present time." There were no telecasts or broadcasts of Congress sessions. The only foreigners present were delegates from Communist Parties of other countries. Congress photographs in Pravda bore the credit-line of a team which later produced several obvious composographs reproduced in this book. The only public record of the Congress was the scant official one released by Tass, the Soviet news agency—hardly more than a list of speakers—and the texts of speeches published in the Soviet press, with no indication of whether or how they had been cut.*

* The Congress speeches in this book were translated from Pravda, the central Communist Party organ, which published the fullest record of the Congress; other material in this book has been taken from the Soviet publications designated in each case after the heading of the item, and identified at the back of the book. All material translated in full is marked (Complete text). The word (Condensed) indicates that portions have been omitted by the translator; each such omission is shown by leaders [...], while the total number of words in the Russian original, noted at the beginning of the item, enables the reader to gauge the extent of omission. When an omission was indicated in the Russian text, as in the course of a quotation, it is here denoted by asterisks [***] to differentiate it from the omissions made by the translator.

Square brackets [] have been used to distinguish translator's interpolations and editors' footnotes from matter appearing in the original Russian text.

IN RETROSPECT the Congress seems a stage set for Stalin's leave-taking. Today his letters on political economy take on the appearance of a last will and testament to his followers in Russia, and his Congress remarks now read like a farewell address to world Communism. Moreover, the prominent role given to Malenkov at the Congress and the conspicuously minor part assigned to Molotov eliminated any doubts about the way the succession would go and served to prepare the Soviet public for Stalin's departure from the scene.

There were, however, other reasons for the Congress, not the least of them being the fact that the membership which it represented constitutes a "new party."

Statistics tell the story. In 1939 there were 1,588,852 Party members and 888,814 candidates for membership, a total of 2,477,666. The war took a heavy toll of this number, as Malenkov remarked laconically at the Congress. We do not know how heavy. We know merely that Soviet wartime losses generally were extraordinarily high and that Communists of the lower ranks, like junior officers in any army, were often assigned to the most dangerous positions.

To compensate for Party losses, the membership books, previously shut for long periods, were thrown open.

There was a time in Soviet life when Party stricture held the members to low salaries and the ascetic life, but that time is long since gone. Today the ruling elite claims its lion's share of the available scant supply of the good things of life. Party membership is the pass to a career, with all the rewards of office. With the membership books open, millions flocked to join the privileged order.

"When the war ended, the Party Central Committee decided to slow down admissions to the Party," Malenkov told the Congress, "but admissions still continued at a rapid rate."

Here is how the membership swelled:

1939, 18th Congress 2,477,666 (888,814 of them candidates)

1941, 18th Conference 3,876,885

1946, estimate based on

Malenkov's statement of
an increase of more than

1,600,000 during the war 5,477,000

1952, 19th Congress 6,882,145 (868,888 of them candidates)

The old-time core of the Party—that is, those who had been members before 1939—was decimated by war and the process of time, and now it was swallowed up in the influx of new members.

This is not only a new party, it is a problem for the Party leadership. "The Party could not but take note of the fact that the rapid growth in its ranks also had its bad points, tended to a certain lowering of the level of political consciousness in the Party ranks, to a certain deterioration in the qualitative composition of the Party," said Malenkov. The majority of the present-day membership had been welcomed into the Party at a time when wartime and postwar shortages encouraged corruption. The career Communist as such is not abhorrent to the Soviet leaders; he is, in fact, created and fostered by the Kremlin's system of patronage and rewards. Under it, however, the career Communist owes his entire loyalty to the men at the Center, who regulate the flow of rewards. When the career Communist engages extensively in graft, he creates his own extra-legal channels of patronage and rewards, beyond the Center's power to control. Local Party bosses set up their own local Party machines; even petty officials in business management establish their own dependent cliques and groups, with separate "departmental" loyalties. The individuals in such groups are beholden entirely to their immediate superiors, who may circumvent or even ignore directives from the Center, who may falsify production statistics and who may frustrate the Center's purposes, confident that their subordinates will not inform on them. "Criticism from below," the Kremlin's means of checking the local officialdom, does not flourish when the men on the spot can build their own followings through extra-legal reward.

Moreover, graft acts as grit in the industrial machinery. If the factory director comes to rely on bribery to obtain supplies in times of scarcity, supplies tend to become unobtainable without it even when scarcities ease. Necessary supplies are

diverted from sectors regarded as crucial. Central economic control is undermined and the highly centralized Soviet production machine becomes unmanageable.

Finally, in the more relaxed atmosphere of loosened central controls, human discipline relaxes. Managers become more casual toward violations of work discipline. Significantly, one of the complaints of the Party leadership was that Soviet citizens have become too lax in granting the sick leave required for a day off from work; another complaint was that nepotism and the hiring of friends had undermined strictness in regard to hours of work and quantity of output.

During the period when all this was taking place, the Party leadership was preoccupied, first with the war and then with the problems of reconstruction. The Central Committee concentrated itself with the order to stay further afield from the Party, and postponed a clearing up of more urgent matters which came out of the war. Not until 1953 was the leadership ready to settle the bill, via the Congress, that the time had come for the cleanup of corruption and the enforcement of strict discipline.

The Congress commenced the Party in a campaign against the corruption and the local allegations which were then helped to create. The revised Party Statute spelled out the demands. The membership was told to take it as a central discipline.

Comparison of the revised Statute with the version which they replaced makes it plain. The Party member, it is now necessary to state in the Statute, must safeguard public property and must strictly observe Party and state discipline; the latter concept had never been fully central discipline. He must "without fail" abide by the Party discipline forbidding appointment of persons to the basis of friendship, personal loyalty, political or other kind of connection, must be encouraged, and must be held accountable for violations. "There can be no exceptions," and for leaders as well as for lesser folk. When a Party member commits an offense punishable by the courts, he must be expelled from the Party upon receipt of the information from administrative and judicial authorities. And it is demanded the discipline of all Party members to report any violations or shortcomings, "irrespective of the persons involved," to higher Party bodies, right up to the Central Committee; in short, they must inform on their associates and superiors.

The revised Statute clearly constitutes a warning to the Party membership. The warning was reinforced by the speeches at the Congress and followed up by an intensive and prolonged press crusade against corruption generally (a crusade which, as we shall see, became strategically tangled with the case of the Kremlin doctors, antisemitism and calls for "vigilance" against "foreign saboteurs").

Though they represented warnings of disciplinary measures, the Congress and the subsequent press campaign do not necessarily indicate a mass membership purge in the making. The caution against reckless expulsion, a caution introduced in the 1939 version of the Statute after the great purge, has been retained, and the lesser penalty of returning a member to candidate's status has been introduced as an alternative to expulsion.

The upper hierarchy securely controls the right of expulsion. Exclusion of a member by the Party unit to which he belongs must be ratified by higher bodies, the district or city Party committee. Until the expulsion is ratified, the member continues to take full part in the work of his Party unit. The loftier his position in the hierarchy, the harder to expel him. If he is a member of a city, district, province, territory or republic Party committee, he cannot be expelled by the primary Party unit to which he belongs, but only by a two-thirds majority of a plenary session of the regional committee to which he belongs. The decision to expel him must then be ratified by a superior regional committee. A member of the Central Committee can be expelled only by decision of a Party Congress, which is now scheduled once in four years, or by the Central Committee itself.

THE PROBLEM of the influx of raw Party members also influenced Stalin in publishing "Economic Problems of Socialism in the U.S.S.R." He was concerned with the ideological education of the recruits to the Party. To his own questions, "What is to be done with these comrades? How are they to be brought

up in the spirit of Marxism-Leninism?" he replied: "I think that systematic repetition and patient explanation of so-called 'commonly known' truths is one of the best means of Marxist education of these comrades." And in "Economic Problems of Socialism in the U.S.S.R." he provided the Party with a new catechism of Stalinism for "systematic repetition and patient explanation." It first appeared Oct. 2 in the Party magazine *Bolshevik*, issued in 800,000 copies instead of the normal edition of 500,000; it was reprinted in *Pravda*, the Soviet Union's largest daily; published in pamphlet form in a first edition of 1,500,000, and had passed the 20,000,000 mark by Jan. 1, 1953. In Moscow alone 200,000 agitators read the pamphlet to study circles in factories, offices, schools and military units in the month following its appearance.

In form, "Economic Problems of Socialism in the U.S.S.R." consisted of Stalin's letters in a general discussion by many Soviet scholars of an outline for a textbook of political economy. In function, it was a theoretical grounding of policies and an attempt to settle troublesome points of theory never satisfactorily reconciled with realities. For example, the *Bolsheviks* were in power not in an advanced country with a fully developed capitalism and a numerous working class, as communist theory prescribed, but in a country lacking, as Stalin said, the rudiments of a capitalist economy. (This contradiction had disturbed Lenin, too, and was likewise the subject of one of Lenin's last articles.) There was the contradiction between Marx' assertion that "man makes his own history" and the thesis that social laws are independent of man's will. There was what Stalin calls "the well-known Stalin thesis" of temporary stabilization of capitalism, a thesis he now proclaims no longer valid. There was Khrushchev's declaration that "once society takes the means of production under its control, commodity production [i.e., production for the market] will be abolished, and, with it, the domination of the product over the producer," vs. the fact that commodity production still reigns in the land of socialism 35 years after the revolution. There was the "Voznesensky deviation" of overemphasis on the significance of planning and the planned economy.* There was the theory that the capitalist world, "encircling" Russia, would unite in attempts to destroy the socialist country, vs. the fact of Russia's capitalist allies in World War II and the need to reassure the Soviet public.

Above all, there were the insistent questions, "When will we have communism?" and "What will it be like?" The generation born in 1914 has known acute shortages and rationing for enough years to equal half its life time, and war of one kind or another to equal almost a third of its life. It has constantly been told that the privation, the terror and the secret police would all vanish dialectically. The hardship was needed to

* Nikolai A. Voznesensky was purged in 1949 from the Politburo and from his posts of head of the State Planning Commission and Vice-Chairman of the Council of Ministers. No reason was given at the time. Two months after the appearance of "Economic Problems of Socialism in the U.S.S.R.," Central Committee Secretary Mikhail A. Suslov sharply criticized the former editor of *Bolshevik* magazine, Peter Fedoseyev, for failure to mention his own (Fedoseyev's) past support of Voznesensky's views. Suslov made public a Central Committee decree of July 13, 1949, removing Fedoseyev from the editorship of *Bolshevik* and dismissing two members of the *Bolshevik* editorial board, Georgiy F. Alexandrov and T. Iovchuk, on the grounds that they had publicized Voznesensky's views; the Central Committee decree also attacked Dmitry Shepilov, then chief of the Department of Propaganda and Agitation and subsequently editor of *Pravda*. (Cf. Current Digest of the Soviet Press, Vol. IV, No. 50). Two weeks after Suslov's disclosure of this 1949 decree, nearly 1000 Soviet economists and scholars gathered in Moscow to admit and recant their past errors in praising Voznesensky's views. In all of this, the exact nature of Voznesensky's mistakes, beyond the fact that he glorified "the law of economic planning," has not been explained. Stalin's "Concerning Comrade Yaroshenko's Mistakes" contains an oblique hint that the "rational planners," presumably including Voznesensky, balked at continued heavy emphasis on "preponderant growth of production of the means of production" as opposed to production of consumers' goods.

create prosperity, the ruthless state to bring about a day when the state would wither away; always there was the promise of a future communism.

But when? And how would it come?

Stalin had already made it clear that there would be no "withering away" of the state and the secret police, which, he indicated, would remain at least as long as the "capitalist encirclement" exists. Economists and public alike then turned to speculation over economic changes that would come with the approach to communism. As early as the economists' discussions of 1948 and 1949 they were groping for a concrete interpretation of the formula of communism, "from each according to his abilities, to each according to his needs." Some held that, as things became more plentiful, basic foodstuffs such as bread would be distributed free, or electricity and municipal transportation would be available to all without charge.

In "Economic Problems of Socialism in the U.S.S.R." Stalin put an end to the speculation by pointing out how far the country had to go before there could even be talk of communism. First, he pointed out, it would have to reduce its 48-hour work week to a 30-hour week, extend education, radically improve housing and raise real wages. And this, he reminded his readers, required continued preponderant growth of production of the means of production, as opposed to production of consumers' goods.

There was a long way to go and the watchword would still be the same: struggle.

THE ONE concrete measure which Stalin outlined as an immediate step toward communism represents further extension of the state's power, rather than a move toward "withering away." This measure is nationalization of the collective farmers' market.

Agriculture constitutes the only important part of the economy which the Soviet state does not directly control. The collective farms, dominant in Soviet agriculture, are cooperative in form. The state owns their land and grants it to them in perpetuity; the state owns most of the machinery which tills their fields, and provides it for their use through the state Machine and Tractor Stations; and state and Party supervise the management of the farms. But the agricultural produce, after the state and the M.T.S. receive their share, belongs to the farm members. With it, the farmers can compete with the state in selling to the urban consumer, and in time of scarcity can create a black market so great that during the second world war the government could do nothing but legalize it as the so-called open market.

In addition, the individual families belonging to the collective farms each possess private garden plots and limited numbers of privately owned livestock. The loophole for "private initiative" here is broad enough to cause constant complaint by Congress speakers over the fact that the farms were unable to reclaim millions of acres and hundreds of thousands of head of livestock appropriated by the farm members for their private use.

Politburo member A. A. Andreyev, chief of the government's Council on Collective Farm Affairs, had followed a policy of decentralizing farm work. But as soon as the wartime lack of machines on the farms was made good and the agricultural situation eased, the Party rejected Andreyev's policy and began to amalgamate the collectives into larger units, each of which would have enough Party members to constitute a strong cell. Another Politburo member, Nikita S. Khrushchev, began to advocate the physical merger of entire villages in central "agro-cities." The impracticality of this extreme notion soon brought its repudiation, but amalgamation of farms, while leaving the villages intact, continued. Malenkov reported to the Congress that the 254,000 collective farms existing in January, 1950, had been reduced to 97,000 by consolidation. The larger the farm, the stronger its Party unit, and hence the easier its control; the easier also to provide better-trained managers.

The next step would logically be nationalization, but in "Economic Problems of Socialism in the U.S.S.R." Stalin warned that the peasants would regard this as expropriation, and proposed another means: extension of "product exchange."

"Product exchange" is the arrangement employed by the state in buying technical crops from the collectives. Under

this arrangement the state contracts to provide agreed amounts of consumers' goods to the farmers at low prices, in return for agreed amounts of produce delivered to the state, also at low prices. The state thus controls the entire crop, as well as the farmers' income from it.

In the case of foodstuffs, the farmer has the alternative of selling directly to the urban consumer. Stalin proposed to extend "product exchange" to all crops and thus to eliminate the last survival of the free market. Through universal "product exchange" the state would control all crops, all trade and the farmers' entire income.

To attempt this when the state still cannot meet the demand for consumers' goods, however, is to invite trouble. Stalin cautioned against haste, warning that a tremendous increase is required in output for the countryside. Nevertheless, he said, "product exchange" must be extended "steadily, unwaveringly, without hesitation."

ONE of the major points in "Economic Problems of Socialism in the U.S.S.R." is the complete rejection of the thesis of stabilization of capitalism and Stalin's reversion to the thesis that wars among the capitalist powers are inevitable. By no means new, Stalin's views on this point serve to emphasize the continuity of Communist strategy.

Its underlying assumptions can be summed up in a few sentences. The world is divided into two great blocs, the Soviet-led "camp of peace and socialism" and the U.S.-led "camp of war and capitalism." The "camp of capitalism" would like to destroy the "camp of socialism by war, but dares not, because such a war would end in the complete downfall of capitalism. Meantime, the "camp of capitalism" is riven by national antagonisms; playing upon these national antagonisms, the "camp of socialism" can break up the unity of the West. Finally, the rival national ambitions in the "camp of capitalism" will be intensified by a capitalist economic crisis, and war among the capitalist powers will become inevitable.

The present Communist policy logically follows from this analysis. Under the slogans of "peace" and "national independence," the international Communist movement will revive Popular Fronts, not with Left and socialist groups but with nationalists. Germany and Japan, countries with injured pride and a need for markets, are to receive special attention to encourage them to look to Russia for a new Rapallo. The Soviet bloc will try to tempt countries of the West with offers of trade and markets.

Stalin's death served Communist propaganda well, for it created a widespread illusion in the West that a change had taken place in Soviet policy. The conciliatory gestures of the new regime were attributed to Stalin's demise. Actually, as any review of Communist policy over the past few years will show, the "new" policy is simply a continuation of the one laid down by Stalin and followed for several years now. The tactics shift in this or that detail; the strategy remains.

That the Stalin strategy is the cornerstone of Communist thinking seems all the more clear from the fact that "Economic Problems of Socialism in the U.S.S.R." is to be the basis for revision of the Party Program, a document defining long-range goals, attitudes and policies. The existing Party Program, adopted in March, 1919, is completely out of date. In 1939 the 18th Congress appointed a special commission to prepare a new Party Program. The war intervened. Any commission which produced a Party program in the years of changing international alignments and shifting Soviet policy since 1939 would have had to rewrite it over and over. The commission produced nothing. The 19th Congress elected a new commission, which is to report to the next Congress, scheduled within four years.

The Siamese-twin relationship between the Soviet Union and foreign Communist Parties was emphasized in Stalin's concluding remarks at the Congress, which were addressed to these parties. He pledged the support of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union to its foreign fellow-parties and bluntly stated that in return it expects their backing. "It would be a mistake to think that our party, having become a mighty force, is no longer in need of support," he reminded them.

WHILE seeking to split the West and waiting for the long-postponed capitalist economic crisis, the Kremlin will continue to build up economic and military potential. The Congress speeches and the new five-year plan directives outline this program in some detail.

In studying the Congress data, it should be borne in mind that the percentages used for Soviet industrial growth are misleading. Until 1950 the percentages for Soviet industry were based on a 1926-1927 ruble valuation of industrial goods. This index gave excessive values to many commodities, production of which began after the base period of 1926-1927. Since there were no 1926-1927 prices for these articles, they were included in the index at prices of later periods which reflected inflation of the price structure after the base years. This inflationary bias exaggerates the rate of industrial growth up to 1950. The new index uses actual wholesale prices of Jan. 1, 1952, but, as Harry Schwartz has pointed out in *The New York Times*, Soviet economists have been instructed not to recalculate the production of the years before 1950 in terms of 1952 prices. If they did, the rate of Soviet industrial growth would appear substantially smaller.

Here are key figures from Malenkov's report, placed alongside U.S. data for comparison. (In millions of metric tons; electric power in billions of kilowatt-hours.)

	U.S.S.R. 1952	% over 1940	Goal, 1955	U.S.A. 1951
Pig iron	25	70	34	64
Steel	35	90	44.7	95.5
Coal	300	80	377	523
Oil	47	50	almost 70	307
Electricity	117	140	162	482

Malenkov's figures show the strides the Soviet Union has made and the long way still to go before she can rival the United States. However, as Prof. Philip E. Mosely notes in comparing the steel production of the two countries in an article in *Foreign Affairs* magazine, "we must not forget that Hitler challenged the world with only 22,700,000 tons (1938), and Japan with 6,900,000 (1940)." Beria, Bulganin and many other Congress speakers referred to the Soviet Union's ability to convert rapidly to a war economy.

A factor in war potential is the dispersal of heavy industry. During the war much industry was moved eastward, together with manpower, and since that time Siberia's vast expanses have been intensively developed. Saburov disclosed that industrial output east of the Volga had tripled since 1940. Malenkov noted that the eastern regions now account for half the total output of steel, nearly half the coal and oil, more than 40% of the electric power and one-third of the total industrial output. The relatively rapid development of the East is to continue under the new five-year plan. Malenkov made passing mention, incidentally, of immense potentialities for the development of atomic energy and said Russian scientists have discovered methods (plural) of producing atomic energy.

While heavy industry will grow rapidly, the goals for increases in consumers' goods output are lower and less likely of attainment. Housing is an acute problem and must remain so for a long time. The grain crop has increased, but the rate of growth is hardly more than the increase in population that came about through absorption of territory plus normal population growth. The herd of cattle is roughly the same as it was under the Tsars, while the numbers of sheep, pigs and horses are considerably smaller. The goal is 68,100,000 head of cattle and 35,500,000 hogs by 1955; this compares with 1951 U.S. figures of 88,100,000 and 63,900,000, respectively.

THE POLICIES laid down at the Congress thus form a coherent and clear whole. The unity of the West is to be split by economic and political wedges, while at home the keynote is tighter control in all spheres. The Party membership, which had strayed into lush pastures, is to be put back on a checkrein. The dream of communism is to be postponed. The last remnant of a free market, represented by the peasant's right to sell his produce, is to be eliminated. The high rate of invest-

ment in heavy industry, building up economic and military strength, is to continue.

The policies remain those which Stalin had pursued; the changes wrought by the Congress and by the reorganization after Stalin's death were only in the internal structure of power. When one moves from the realm of broad policy to the rise and fall of personalities, however, analysis becomes largely guesswork. Many of the swift, sweeping changes in the composition and structure of the ruling bodies can suggest only questions.

The Congress, for instance, established a Central Committee Presidium of 25 members and 11 alternates in place of the Politburo, which had been less than half that size. In addition to the core of men carried over from the Politburo, the new Presidium included a group of Party bosses of major geographical regions and a group of prominent government and industrial leaders. Foreign observers commented at that time on the unwieldy body which resulted, particularly in view of the fact that many of the new Presidium members came from long distances. No sooner had Stalin died than the Presidium was cut down to the same membership as the old Politburo, with minor changes, the most notable being the inclusion of Saburov, the young economic planner. One interpretation of these changes was that Malenkov had persuaded Stalin to "pack" the Presidium with Malenkov's regional Party bosses and then had to back down when Stalin was gone and Malenkov faced the opposition of Beria and Molotov. Another possible interpretation is that Stalin sought to broaden the leadership before his death and his successors collectively ignored his intention in order to keep power concentrated in a small group. Or were they merely doing the practical thing in reducing a clumsy body to a more workable unit? The question of practical considerations vs. concentration of power also arises in respect to the government reorganization, which greatly reduced the number of ministries.

A clear change in structure since Stalin's death is the shift from rule by one man, responsible to no one and dictating both the ideology and the use of power, to plurality rule. The reorganization after Stalin's death divides power, responsibilities and spheres, and makes coalition (the collective principle, as a *Pravda* article put it April 16) the basis upon which the new regime rests. The division of authority among Stalin's successors opens the way for blocs and groupings within the regime, and for a balancing of power among the successors.

How this will affect the development of the Kremlin ideology remains to be seen. Will ideological decisions be made collectively, will responsibility in this sphere be partitioned also, will one or another individual emerge as the ideological authority? In terms of the international Communist movement it is not inconceivable that Mao Tse-tung might become the theoretician to succeed Stalin, for increased recognition of the Chinese Communists seems likely, and Mao has been built up in recent years as a Communist ideologist even in the Soviet Union, where no other individual had been allowed to share Stalin's place as theoretician.

THE DAY-TO-DAY developments which followed the Congress have all the elements of a mystery novel. On Jan. 13, 1953, a Tass announcement appeared in all Soviet newspapers, proclaiming that state security agencies had uncovered a fantastic conspiracy by a group of doctors in the Kremlin medical office. The doctors were accused of having murdered the late A. A. Zhdanov, who had been Stalin's heir-apparent before his death in 1948, and the late Politburo member A. S. Shcherbakov, by deliberately wrong diagnosis and treatment of their ills. Most of the doctors were Jewish—"Jewish bourgeois nationalists," said the Soviet press. The doctors were charged with having been in the hire of American and British intelligence services and with having been associated with "the international Jewish bourgeois nationalist organization 'Joint,'" that is, the Joint Distribution Committee, a relief agency. Their conspiracy had succeeded up to a certain point because security agencies had been careless, the press declared.

A week later the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet awarded the Order of Lenin to Dr. Lidia F. Timashuk for helping to expose the "murderer doctors." The newspapers reported that she had detected the doctors' wrong diagnoses. Soviet defectors

in Germany are said to have identified her as the wife of one of the accused doctors. Dr. Timashuk was hailed as the embodiment of "life-giving Soviet patriotism."

Many foreign commentators assumed that Beria was in charge of security and that the story of the "plot," with the criticism of security agencies for being caught napping, was a blow at Beria, presumably struck by Malenkov. But on Jan. 25 a news item in local Moscow newspapers disclosed that a general meeting of employees of the State Security Ministry had nominated S. D. Ignatyev for Deputy to the Moscow City Soviet. This slim clue was the first indication that Ignatyev was Minister of State Security.

When Stalin's illness was announced early in March, the bulletins on his health were signed by an entirely new group of Kremlin doctors. A new Minister of Public Health appeared among the signers.

Stalin died March 5. The triumvirate of Malenkov, Beria and Molotov took charge. S. D. Ignatyev was among the five Secretaries of the Party Central Committee listed in the subsequent announcement that Malenkov was relinquishing his post of Secretary.

Even more sensational than the accusation against the doctors was its retraction as soon as the new regime settled down after Stalin's death. On April 4 Beria's Ministry of Internal Affairs, which had meanwhile absorbed Ignatyev's Ministry of State Security, announced that an investigation had established the falsity of the accusations against the doctors. Two days later a Pravda editorial presented its explanation: the former Minister of State Security had been guilty of political blindness and gullibility. Ignatyev had been led around by one of his deputies, Ryumin, who had concocted the whole story and had used "inadmissible means" to obtain confessions. Ryumin was arrested. Adventurers of his type, Pravda added, had sought to fan the flames of "national antagonism." This was the only admission of antisemitism.

Ignatyev was dismissed from the post of Central Committee Secretary April 7 and the award of the Order of Lenin to Dr. Timashuk was revoked.

At this time there are still too many pieces missing to complete the picture. One possible clue to the events, however, was supplied by Boris I. Nicolaevsky in a letter to The New York Times April 17. Mr. Nicolaevsky suggested a link between Ignatyev and Alexander N. Poskrebyshv, who had headed Stalin's personal secretariat for more than 30 years. Poskrebyshv might have been Ignatyev's patron in the latter's swift rise. Stalin himself engineered the "doctors' plot," says Mr. Nicolaevsky, and the subsequent exposure of Ignatyev is part of a purge of the Poskrebyshv group in the Kremlin, a purge conducted jointly by Malenkov and Beria.

Like any attempt to interpret the struggle of personalities behind the thick walls of the Kremlin, this can only be supposition. We know merely that the fierce purges in the 1930s contained elements of the same story: the death of a Stalin favorite, Kirov, who had also seemed the heir-apparent; unscrupulous secret police officials; stories of "doctors' plots;" and Beria purging the purgers.

The story is still being played out. As this is being written, The New York Times reports a fresh purge in the Georgian Republic. A. I. Mgeladze, who became Georgia's Communist Party boss in April, 1952, is accused, a year later, of having aided the Georgian Minister of State Security in fabricating charges of "bourgeois nationalism" against leading Georgian Communists, now released from prison and reinstated in office. The announcement of this "purge of the purgers" is accompanied by a eulogy of Beria, who is in charge of supervising the Georgian Communist Party, just as the initial purge a year ago was accompanied by a eulogy to him.

AT LEAST until more facts are available, speculation about a struggle for power within the Kremlin is less fruitful than a consideration of underlying factors, such as antisemitism, in the events recounted above.

During the war antisemitism, fanned by the Nazi occupation, spread in Belorussia and the Ukraine. The regime made no public effort to combat it, and even encouraged it by such measures as barring some educational institutions to Jews.

The antisemitism came to the surface when the "new Party"

began to face the Kremlin pressure to clean out corruption and graft. Jews became the scapegoats for the corrupt.

Even before the Congress, the Soviet press had begun to expose embezzlement and swindling. Here and there in the newspaper exposés, notably in the Ukraine, a high percentage of Jewish names began to appear among the accused. On Nov. 29 the campaign against corruption went into high gear with the trial by military tribunal in Kiev of a group of speculators that had operated at a Kiev retail warehouse. Three members of this group with Jewish names, Khain, Yaroshetsky and Gerzon, were sentenced to death for "counterrevolutionary wrecking in the sphere of trade and commodity circulation." This extraordinary measure was followed by a wave of prosecutions and newspaper denunciations of persons accused of graft and swindling. "Down with the Khains and Yaroshetskys!" cried the newspapers.

When the "Jewish doctors' plot" was proclaimed, the loose threads were tied together. The press, as if at a signal, broke into a spate of stories of a singular pattern. These reviewed all the old accusations of American spying and sabotage; recounted the history of the various demonstration trials in the satellite states, emphasizing the Slansky "Zionist plot" in Czechoslovakia; called for "vigilance" against enemies of the state; and then made a sudden switch to "vigilance"—against corruption! The articles, which had started with "foreign plots," proceeded to enumerate cases of theft, embezzlement and swindling. Not all the thieves, embezzlers and swindlers bore Jewish names, by any means (in the example published in this book, for instance, they do not), but many of them did. The reader who is curious about the frequency of Jewish names in these stories can find a representative sampling of the stories, from papers all over the Soviet Union, in the Current Digest of the Soviet Press.

These stories, by their similarity in papers all over the country, bore the earmarks of having been written to orders from the Center. The Kremlin seemed to be providing the Party membership with a scapegoat, the archetype of the (frequently Jewish) bookkeeper-cashier-speculator-embezzler-fence-and-grafter who took advantage of an honest but not very bright local official.

It is too early to say whether this line has been completely abandoned, or where the "purge of the purgers" will lead. The newspaper exposés of criminality have been muted since disclosure of the frame-up of the doctors, and Jewish names have been very few in the occasional exposés still being published at this writing. Several editorials in leading Soviet newspapers have protested loudly that the Soviet Union does not tolerate national hatred; though they gingerly avoid the explosive word "antisemitism," these editorials are presumably designed to curb it within the country now, as well as to justify the Soviet Union in the eyes of the outside world.

That the pressure upon the Party membership to clean out corruption may begin to ease somewhat is suggested, incidentally, by the amnesty decree. General amnesties are not new in Soviet practice, but this decree orders changes in the law also. The changes would ease the responsibility of management executives and lighten the penalties applied to them.

ANY INTRODUCTION to the intricate and extensive material presented in this book can touch only the highlights. The documents themselves demand critical perusal. They are our basic fund of information, the evidence upon which our interpretation of Soviet developments hangs.

The translations in this book are reprinted from the Current Digest of the Soviet Press, a weekly published since 1949 and consisting entirely of translations, offered as documentary material for the researcher and analyst. Most of the translations in this book were produced under deadline pressure. They are reprinted with only minor editing and revision, and presented here in the hope that they may be useful to a wider body of scholars, researchers and analysts.

LEO GRULIOW

Editor, The Current Digest of the Soviet Press

New York,
April 22, 1953.

CURRENT SOVIET POLICIES

I. STALIN'S KEYNOTE

Economic Problems of Socialism In the U.S.S.R.

ECONOMIC PROBLEMS OF SOCIALISM IN THE U.S.S.R.—To Participants in the Economics Discussion: Remarks on Economic Questions Connected With the November Discussion of 1951. (By J. V. Stalin. *Bolshevik*, No. 18, September [published in October], 1952, pp. 1-50. Reprinted in *Pravda*, Oct. 3, pp. 2-5, and Oct. 4, pp. 2-4. Complete text:) I have received all the documents on the economics discussion held in connection with the evaluation of the draft of a textbook of political economy. Among these I have received the "proposals for improving the draft textbook of political economy," "proposals for eliminating mistakes and inaccuracies" in the draft and "memorandum on disputable questions."

I consider it necessary to make the following observations on all these documents and on the draft of the textbook.

1. The Question of the Nature of Economic Laws Under Socialism

Some comrades deny the objective nature of scientific laws, in particular the laws of political economy under socialism. They deny that the laws of political economy cover processes occurring independently of people's will. In view of the special role allotted by history to the Soviet state, they hold, the Soviet state and its leaders can negate existing laws of political economy, can "establish" new laws, "make" new laws.

These comrades are deeply mistaken. It is obvious that they are confusing scientific laws, which reflect objective processes taking place in nature and society independently of people's will, with laws promulgated by governments, laws created by people's will and having only legal force. These two kinds of laws cannot be confused at all.

Marxism regards scientific laws, irrespective of whether they be laws of nature or of political economy, as reflections of objective processes taking place independently of people's will. People may discover these laws, recognize them, study them, take them into account in their activities and use them in the interests of society, but they cannot change or negate them. Obviously they cannot establish and make new scientific laws.

Does this mean that the operation of natural laws, of the forces of nature, for instance, bring altogether unavoidable con-

sequences, that the destructive actions of natural forces occur everywhere and always with elemental, inexorable strength which cannot be subjected to human influence? No, it does not. Except for astronomical, geological and certain other similar processes which man is helpless to influence though he may understand their laws, man is far from helpless in matters of ability to influence many natural processes. In all such cases people, perceiving the laws of nature, studying them, relying on them, skillfully adapting and using them, can limit the scope of operation of these laws, can deflect the destructive forces of nature and turn them to the benefit of society.

Let us take one of numerous examples. In the distant past great river floods, inundating and destroying habitations and crops, were considered unavoidable catastrophes against which man was helpless. But with the passage of time and the advance of human knowledge, as man learned to build dams and hydroelectric stations, it became possible to avert the calamity to society of floods that formerly had seemed unavoidable. Moreover, man has learned to bridle and harness the destructive forces of nature—to make water power serve society, to use it to irrigate fields and generate power.

Does this mean that people have abolished natural laws and made new natural laws, new scientific laws? No, it does not. The point is that this whole procedure of averting the destructive action of the waters and using them in the interests of society takes place without any violation, alteration or negation of scientific laws, without making new scientific laws. On the contrary, this whole procedure is carried out in precise conformity with natural laws, scientific laws, for any violation of the laws of nature, the smallest violation, would only cause breakdown of the whole procedure.

The same must be said of the laws of economic development, the laws of political economy, whether one is referring to the period of capitalism or the period of socialism. The laws of economic development, like those of the natural sciences, are objective laws, reflecting processes of economic development occurring independently of people's will. Men may discover these laws, may learn them and, relying on them, applying them in the interests of society, may deflect the destructive action of certain laws, may limit the scope of their operation, may open the way for other laws which are forcing a passage for themselves; but men cannot negate them or make new economic laws.

It is one of the singularities of political economy that its laws, as distinct from the laws of the natural sciences, are not ageless, that they, or at least most of them, operate for a definite historical period, after which they give way to new laws.

These laws, however, are not abolished, but lose their validity owing to new economic conditions, disappear from the scene in order to make way for new laws, not created by man's will but arising out of new economic conditions.

Reference has been made to Engels' "Anti-Dühring," to Engels' formula that with the liquidation of capitalism and socialization of the means of production people would acquire control of their means of production, would acquire freedom from the oppression of socio-economic relations and would become "masters" of the life of their society. Engels refers to this freedom as "appreciation of necessity." What can "appreciation of necessity" mean? It means that man, having gained a knowledge of objective laws ("necessity"), will apply them quite consciously in the interests of society. This is why Engels says in "Anti-Dühring" that:

"The laws of his own social activity, which have hitherto confronted him as external, dominating laws of nature, will then be applied by man with complete understanding, and hence will be dominated by man."

As we see, Engels' formula does not at all favor those who believe that in a socialist system they can negate economic laws and make new ones. On the contrary, this formula does not demand abolition of economic laws, but their recognition and skillful application.

It is said that economic laws are of a spontaneous nature, that their effects are unavoidable, that society is powerless against them. This is not so. This would be making a fetish of the laws, becoming a slave to them. It has been demonstrated that society is not powerless in the face of [economic] laws, that society, by discovering economic laws and relying on them, can limit the scope of their action, use them in its interests and harness them as it harnesses natural forces and laws, as in the above-mentioned example of great river floods.

Reference is made to the Soviet regime's special role in establishing socialism, a role which allegedly gives it the possibility of negating existing laws of economic development and "making" new ones. This too is untrue.

The Soviet regime's special role is due to two circumstances: First, it was not the Soviet regime's task to replace one form of exploitation with another, as was the case in previous revolutions, but to eliminate all exploitation; second, because of the country's lack of any rudiments of a socialist economy, the Soviet regime created new, socialist forms of economy on, so to speak, virgin soil.

The task was undoubtedly difficult, complicated and without precedent. Nevertheless, the Soviet regime accomplished it with honor. But it did so not because, as has been alleged, it abolished existing economic laws and "created" new ones, but only because it relied on the economic law which says that production relations must conform to the character of the productive forces. The productive forces of our country, particularly in industry, were public in nature, whereas the form of ownership was private, capitalist. Relying on the economic law that production relations must conform to the character of the productive forces, the Soviet regime therefore socialized the means of production, made them the property of the whole people and thus abolished the system of exploitation and created a socialist form of economy. But for this law and for reliance upon it, the Soviet regime would have been unable to accomplish its task.

The economic law that production relations must conform to the character of the productive forces has long been forcing a passage for itself in capitalist countries. It has not yet succeeded in forcing its passage and breaking through because it meets the strongest opposition from the dying forces of society. Here we meet another singularity of economic laws. As distinct from the natural sciences, where discovery and application of a new law proceeds more or less smoothly, discovery and application of a new economic law affecting the interests of the dying forces of society encounters the strongest opposition from these. Consequently, a force is needed, a social force, able to overcome this opposition. This force was found in our country in the form of the alliance of the working class and the peasantry, which represents the overwhelming majority of society. Such a force has not yet been found in the capitalist countries. That is the secret of the Soviet regime's success in routing the old forces of society, thus clearing the way for full

application of the economic law that production relations must conform to the character of the productive forces.

It is said that the necessity of planned (balanced) development of our country's national economy enables the Soviet regime to negate existing economic laws and create new ones. This is completely untrue. One must not confuse our annual and five-year plans with the objective economic law of planned, balanced development of the national economy. The law of planned development of the national economy arose in antithesis to the law of competition and anarchy of production under capitalism. It arose on the basis of socialization of the means of production after the law of competition and anarchy of production had become invalid. It came into effect because a socialist economy can be conducted only on the basis of the economic law of planned development of the national economy. This means that the law of planned development of the national economy affords our planning agencies the possibility of planning social production correctly. But possibilities must not be confused with realities. They are two different things. In order to turn this possibility into a reality one must study and master this economic law, one must learn to apply it with complete understanding, one must draw up plans which fully reflect the requirements of this law. It cannot be said that our annual and five-year plans fully reflect the requirements of this economic law.

It is said that certain economic laws which operate in our country under socialism, including the law of value, are "changed" or even "radically changed" on the basis of economic planning. This is also wrong. It is impossible to "change" laws, and "radically," at that. If it is possible to "change" them it is also possible to abolish them and substitute other laws. The proposition that laws can be "changed" is an echo of the incorrect theory that they can be "negated" and "made." Although the theory that economic laws can be changed has long been accepted in our country, we must renounce it in the interests of accuracy. It is possible to limit the scope of operation of various laws; it is possible to prevent their destructive effect, if, of course, they have such an effect; but the laws can neither be "changed" nor "abolished."

Consequently, when one speaks of mastery of natural or economic forces, of dominating them, and so on, one certainly does not mean that man can "abolish" scientific laws or "create" them. On the contrary, this means only that people may discover laws, recognize them, master them, learn to use them with complete understanding and apply them in the interests of society, thus subjugating and dominating them.

Thus, the laws of political economy under socialism are objective laws governing the processes of economic life, which proceed irrespective of our will. Those who deny this thesis essentially reject science, and in rejecting science deny the possibility of prognosis and therefore any possibility of guiding economic life.

It may be objected that all this is correct and well known but nothing new and consequently that it is not worth spending the time to repeat generally known truths. Certainly there is nothing new in this, but it would be wrong to think that it is not worth spending time to repeat some of the truths well known to us. The point is that we, as the leading core, are joined each year by thousands of new, young cadres fired with the desire to help us, eager to prove themselves, but lacking an adequate Marxist education, uninformed of many truths well known to us, and thus obliged to wander in the dark. They are amazed by the colossal achievements of the Soviet regime, their heads are turned by the extraordinary successes of the Soviet system and they begin to imagine that the Soviet regime "can do anything," that "everything is child's play" to it, that it can negate scientific laws and fashion new ones. What is to be done with these comrades? How are they to be brought up in the spirit of Marxism-Leninism? I think that systematic repetition and patient explanation of so-called "commonly known" truths is one of the best means of Marxist education of these comrades.

2. The Question of Commodity Production Under Socialism

Some persons assert that the Party acted wrongly in retaining commodity production [production of goods for purchase and

sale in the market.—Trans.] after the Party assumed power and nationalized the means of production in our country. They consider that the Party should have abolished commodity production then and there. In saying this they cite Engels, who states:

"Once society takes over the means of production, commodity production will be abolished and therewith the domination of the product over the producer." (Cf. "Anti-Dühring.") These comrades are deeply mistaken.

Let us analyze Engels' formula. Engels' formula cannot be considered altogether clear and precise, since it contains no indication whether it refers to society's taking over all the means of production or only part of them: that is, whether all the means of production are made public property or only part of them. Accordingly this formula of Engels can be interpreted either way.

Elsewhere in "Anti-Dühring" Engels refers to taking control over "all the means of production," over "the entire aggregate means of production." Hence Engels' formula has in view not nationalization of part of the means of production but of all the means of production, i.e., making all the means of production public property, not only in industry but in agriculture as well.

It follows from this that Engels had in mind countries in which capitalism and the concentration of production are sufficiently developed, not only in industry but in agriculture, to expropriate all the means of production in the country and to make them public property. Consequently Engels considers that commodity production should be abolished in such countries simultaneously with nationalization of all means of production. And this, of course, would be correct.

At the end of the last century, when "Anti-Dühring" was published, there was only one country—Britain—where the development of capitalism and concentration of production in agriculture reached a point at which it would have been possible, if the proletariat took power, to turn all means of production in the country into public property and to eliminate commodity production.

I leave out of account here the question of the importance to Britain of her foreign trade, with the huge place it occupies in Britain's national economy. I think that only after this question has been studied could one finally settle the question of the fate of commodity production in Britain upon acquisition of power by the proletariat and nationalization of all the means of production.

Incidentally, not only at the end of the last century but even today no other country attained the degree of development of capitalism and concentration of production in agriculture that we observe in Britain. Despite the development of capitalism in the countryside, other countries still have a quite numerous class of small and medium property-owning producers in the countryside, whose future would have to be decided in the event that the proletariat takes power.

But here is a question: What should the proletariat and its party do in a country—including our country—where conditions favor seizure of power by the proletariat and the overthrow of capitalism, where capitalism in industry has so concentrated the means of production that they can be expropriated and made public property, but where agriculture, despite the growth of capitalism, still remains so scattered among numerous small and medium owner-producers that there appears no possibility of raising the question of expropriating these producers?

Engels' formula provides no answer to this question, nor need it do so, because it concerns another question, namely, the fate of commodity production after all means of production have been socialized.

Therefore, what should be done if only part of the means of production has become socialized and not all of them, while conditions favor seizure of power by the proletariat? Should the proletariat seize power and then immediately abolish commodity production?

The answer is not, of course, provided by the opinion of some pseudo-Marxists who say that in such circumstances seizure of power should be rejected. They propose to wait until capitalism has contrived to ruin the millions of small and medium producers, turning them into farm laborers, and

has concentrated the agricultural means of production. Only then, they say, can the question of seizing power and nationalizing all means of production be raised. Obviously Marxists cannot agree to this "solution" if they do not want to disgrace themselves in the long run.

Likewise unacceptable is the view of other pseudo-Marxists who would, if you please, seize power and set about expropriating the small and middle producers in the countryside and socializing their means of production. Marxists cannot agree to take this senseless and criminal course, either, since such a course would undermine every possibility of success of the proletarian revolution and would drive the peasantry for a long time into the camp of enemies of the proletariat.

Lenin provided the answer to this question in his writings on "The Tax in Kind" and in his famous "cooperative plan."

Lenin's answer comes down, in brief, to the following:

(a) Favorable conditions for seizure of power by the proletariat should not be allowed to slip by; power should be seized without waiting for the time when capitalism contrives to ruin the many millions of small and medium producers.

(b) The means of production in industry should be expropriated and made public property.

(c) As for the small and medium producers, they should gradually be united in producers' cooperatives—i.e., in large agricultural enterprises, collective farms.

(d) Industry should be developed to the full and the collective farms should be provided a modern technical base for large-scale production, not expropriating them but, on the contrary, supplying them extensively with first-class tractors and other machinery.

(e) In order to promote the economic tie between town and countryside, between industry and agriculture, commodity production (exchange through buying and selling) should be maintained for the time being as the only form of economic tie with the city that would be acceptable to the peasantry, and Soviet trade, both state trade and cooperative and collective-farm trade, should be developed intensively, while any and all capitalists are forced out of trade.

The history of our socialist construction shows that this path of development outlined by Lenin has fully proved itself.

There can be no doubt that for all capitalist countries which have a more or less numerous class of small and medium producers this is the only possible and practical path of development for the success of socialism.

It is said that commodity production nevertheless must and necessarily will lead to capitalism under any circumstances whatsoever. Not always and not under all conditions! Commodity production must not be confused with capitalist production. They are two different things. Capitalist production is the highest form of commodity production. Commodity production leads to capitalism only if the means of production are privately owned, if labor enters the market as a commodity which the capitalist can purchase and exploit in the production process—if, consequently, the country has a system of exploitation of hired labor by capitalists. Capitalist production begins where the means of production are concentrated in private hands and the workers, deprived of these means, are forced to sell their labor as a commodity. Without this there can be no capitalist production.

Well, and what if these conditions do not exist which transform commodity production into capitalist production, if the means of production are not private but socialist property, if the system of hired labor does not exist and manpower is no longer a commodity, if the system of exploitation has been liquidated long ago—can we then believe that commodity production will nevertheless lead to capitalism? No, we cannot. And our society is one in which private ownership of the means of production, the system of hired labor and the system of exploitation ceased to exist a long time ago.

Commodity production cannot be considered something self-sufficient and independent of surrounding economic conditions. Commodity production is older than capitalist production. It existed in the slave-owning structure and served this structure without leading to capitalism. It existed under feudalism and served it, and, although it prepared some of the conditions for capitalist production, it did not lead to capitalism. Why should not commodity production also serve our socialist society for a

time without leading to capitalism, if it is borne in mind that commodity production in our case is not so unlimited and universal as under capitalist conditions, that in our case it is kept within strict bounds, thanks to such decisive economic conditions as public ownership of the means of production, the liquidation of the system of hired labor and the liquidation of the system of exploitation.

It is said that after the predominance of public ownership of the means of production was established in our country and the system of hired labor and exploitation abolished, commodity production lost all purpose and therefore should have been abolished.

This, too, is wrong. At present we have two basic forms of socialist production: the state-public form and the collective farm form. The latter cannot be called public. In state enterprises the means of production and their output are public property. In collective farming enterprises, on the other hand, although the means of production (land, machinery) belong to the state, their yield is the property of the individual collective farms, since labor in the collective farms, like the seeds, belongs to the collective farms, while the land, which has been handed over to the collective farms for use in perpetuity, is in fact administered by the collective farms as their own property, despite the fact that they cannot sell, buy, rent or mortgage it.

This leads to a situation in which the state can dispose only of the output of state enterprises, while only the collective farms can dispose of their farm products, as their property. But the collective farms do not want to dispose of their produce other than in the form of commodities, in exchange for which they want to receive the goods they require. At the present time the collective farms will not accept any relationship with the cities except a commodity relationship, that is, exchange through buying and selling. Hence commodity production and trade are as necessary to us today as they were, say, 30 years ago, when Lenin proclaimed the need for intensive development of trade.

Obviously, when, in place of the two basic production sectors, one comprehensive sector appears, with the right to distribute all the consumers' goods produced, then trade, with its "money base," will disappear as an unnecessary factor in the national economy. But as long as the two basic production sectors remain, commodity production and trade must remain as an indispensable and extremely useful factor in the system of our national economy. How a single, united sector can be established—whether through simple absorption of the collective farm sector by the state sector, which is improbable (since it would be regarded as expropriation of the collective farms) or through creation of a single economic agency of the whole people (an agency containing representatives of state industry and the collective farms), possessing at first the right to calculate all cooperative production in the country and later to distribute the output also, through, let us say, exchange of products—is a separate question requiring separate consideration.

Consequently, our commodity production is not ordinary commodity production. It is a special kind, without capitalists. It principally involves goods produced by united, socialist producers (the state, collective farms and cooperatives) and its sphere of operations is restricted to production of articles for individual consumption. This obviously cannot possibly develop into capitalist production and its function, along with that of its "money base," is to serve the cause of development and strengthening of socialist production.

Therefore those comrades are entirely wrong who say that since socialist society does not liquidate the commodity forms of production, all the economic categories characteristic of capitalism—labor as a commodity, surplus value, capital, profit from capital, average norm of profits, etc.—must also be re-established in our country. These comrades confuse commodity production with capitalist production and believe that since there is commodity production there must also be capitalist production. They do not understand that our commodity production is radically different from commodity production under capitalism.

Moreover, I think it is necessary to reject several other notions which are borrowed from Marx' analysis of capitalism in "Capital" and are inappropriately applied to our socialist relations. I refer to such concepts as "necessary" and "surplus"

labor, "necessary" and "surplus" goods, "necessary" and "surplus" time. Marx analyzed capitalism in order to bring out the source of exploitation of the working class—surplus value—and to give the working class, deprived of the means of production, an intellectual weapon for the overthrow of capitalism. It is obvious that in doing so Marx used concepts (categories) fully appropriate to capitalist conditions. But it is more than strange to use these concepts now, when the working class is no longer deprived of power and means of production but, on the contrary, holds power and owns the means of production. It sounds quite absurd now, under our system, to speak of labor as a commodity or labor "for hire," as if the working class, owning the means of production, were hiring itself and selling its labor to itself. It is just as strange now to speak of "necessary" and "surplus" labor, as if under our conditions the labor the workers give to society for expanding production, developing education and public health, organizing defense, etc., were not just as necessary to the working class, now in power, as labor expended on satisfying the personal needs of the worker and his family.

It should be noted that in his "Critique of the Gotha Program, in which he dealt not with capitalism but, among other things, with the first phase of communist society, Marx recognized that labor given to society for expanding production, for education, public health, administrative costs, establishing reserves, etc., is just as essential as labor expended on the consumer needs of the working class.

I think that our economists should put an end to this anomaly of old concepts amid the new state of affairs in our socialist country and should replace the old concepts with new ones befitting the new situation.

We were able to tolerate this anomaly for a while, but the time has now come for us finally to eliminate this incongruity.

3. The Question of the Law of Value Under Socialism

It is sometimes asked whether the law of value exists and operates under our socialist system.

Yes, it does exist and operate. Wherever commodities and commodity production exist the law of value cannot fail to exist.

In our country the sphere of operation of the law of value extends primarily to commodity turnover, the exchange of goods by purchase and sale, exchange chiefly of consumers' goods. In this sphere the law of value of course retains the role of regulator within certain limits.

But the effects of the law of value are not confined to the sphere of commodity circulation. They also extend to production. True, the law of value has no regulating function in our socialist production. It nevertheless affects production and one cannot fail to take this into account in the administration of production. The fact is that consumers' goods essential to compensate the labor force in the process of production are produced and realized in our country as commodities governed by the law of value. It is precisely here that the influence of the law of value on production is revealed. Cost accounting and profitability, cost of production, prices, etc., are of current importance in our enterprises. Therefore, our enterprises cannot and must not fail to take account of the law of value.

Is this good? It is not bad. Under our present conditions this is really not bad, for this circumstance trains our managers in the spirit of rational management of production, trains them to calculate the proportions of production, to calculate them precisely and to reckon the tangible items in production likewise accurately and not talk nonsense about "approximate figures" produced out of thin air. It is not bad, for it teaches our managers to seek, find and use latent reserves in production and not to trample them. It is not bad, for it teaches our managers to improve our methods of production systematically, to reduce production costs, effect cost accounting and seek to achieve profitability of enterprises. This is a good practical school which accelerates the growth of our economic cadres and their development into genuine directors of socialist production at the present stage of development.

The trouble is not that the law of value affects production in our country. The trouble is that our managers and planners, with few exceptions, are poorly acquainted with the effects of the law of value, that they fail to study these effects and do not

know how to reckon with them in their calculations. Strictly speaking, it is this that explains the confusion which still reigns in our country in the matter of price policy. Here is one of numerous examples. Some time ago it was decided, in the interests of cotton cultivation, to correlate the price of cotton and grain, to define carefully the price of grain sold to the cotton growers and to raise the price of cotton delivered to the state. Our managers and planners submitted a proposal which could only astonish the members of the Central Committee, since under this proposal the price recommended for a ton of grain was almost the same as that for a ton of cotton, the price of a ton of grain being equated, moreover, with that of a ton of bread. The authors of the proposal found nothing sensible to say to the remarks of members of the Central Committee that the price of a ton of bread should be higher than that of a ton of grain, in view of the additional expenditures for milling and baking, that cotton in general costs far more than grain, as is evidenced also by world prices of cotton and grain. As a result, the Central Committee had to take matters into its own hands, reduce the grain price and raise the cotton price. What would have happened had the proposal of these comrades gone into effect? We would have ruined the cotton growers and been left without cotton.

Does all this, however, mean that the effects of the law of value have the same scope in our country as under capitalism or that the law of value regulates production in our country? No, it does not; in actual fact the sphere of operation of the law of value is severely restricted and strictly delimited in our economic system. It has already been stated that the sphere of commodity output in our system is restricted and delimited. The same must be said of the sphere of operation of the law of value. Undoubtedly the absence of private ownership of the means of production and their socialization in both town and countryside cannot but restrict the sphere of operation of the law of value and the extent of its influence on production.

The law of planned (balanced) development of the national economy, which has replaced the law of competition and anarchy in production, operates in the same direction.

Our annual and five-year plans and our entire economic policy in general operate in the same direction, on the basis of the requirements of the law of planned development of the national economy.

All this together has the result that the sphere in which the law of value operates is rigorously restricted in our country and under our system cannot play the part of regulator of production.

It is this, strictly speaking, which explains the "striking" fact that, in spite of the constant and tempestuous growth of our socialist production, the law of value fails to lead to crises of overproduction in our country, whereas the same law of value, with its broad sphere of operation under capitalism, leads to periodic crises of overproduction, in spite of the slow rate of production growth, in the capitalist countries.

It is said that the law of value is a constant law, binding for all periods of historical development, that if it does lose its force as a regulator of exchange relations in the period of the second phase of communist society it will nevertheless retain its force as a regulator of relations between various branches of production, a regulator of labor distribution among the branches of production.

This is absolutely untrue. Value, like the law of value, is an historical concept connected with the existence of commodity production. With the disappearance of commodity production, value, with its forms, as well as the law of value, will disappear.

In the second phase of communist society the amount of labor spent on the production of commodities will be measured not in indirect fashion, not through the medium of value and its forms, as is the case under commodity production, but directly and by the amount of time, the number of hours spent on the production of goods. As for the distribution of labor, the distribution among the branches of production will be regulated not by the law of value, which will have become invalid by that time, but by the growth of society's need for goods. This will be a society in which production will be regulated by the needs of society, and consideration of the needs of society will acquire primary importance for the planning agencies.

The allegation that under our present economic system, in the first phase of the development of communist society, the law of value regulates the "proportions" of labor distribution among the various branches of production is likewise absolutely incorrect.

If this were true, it would be incomprehensible why we do not develop light industry at top speed as the most profitable, in preponderance to heavy industry, which is frequently less profitable and occasionally altogether unprofitable.

If this were true, it would be incomprehensible why we do not shut down a number of as yet unprofitable heavy industry enterprises where the labor of the workers is not yielding the "due effect" and why we do not open new enterprises of undoubtedly profitable light industry where the workers' labor might yield "greater effect."

If this were true, it would be incomprehensible why we do not shift workers from enterprises which are unprofitable, but greatly needed by the national economy, to more profitable enterprises, in accordance with the law of value which is alleged to regulate the distribution of labor among the branches of production.

It is obvious that, were we to follow in the footsteps of these comrades, we should have to give up the primacy of output of means of production in favor of production of consumer goods. And what would it mean to repudiate the primacy of output of means of production? It would mean to eliminate possibility of uninterrupted growth of our national economy, for it is impossible to effect an uninterrupted growth of the national economy without giving primacy to production of the means of production.

These comrades forget that the law of value can operate as the regulator of production only under capitalism, with its private ownership of the means of production, competition, anarchy of production and crises of overproduction. They forget that in our country the sphere of operation of the law of value is restricted by the existence of public ownership of the means of production, by the operation of the law of planned development of the national economy. Consequently it is restricted also by our annual and five-year plans, which are an approximate reflection of the requirements of this law.

Some comrades conclude from this that the law of planned development of the national economy and the planning of the national economy destroy the principle of profitability of production. This is absolutely wrong. Quite the contrary is true. If one considers profitability not from the point of view of individual enterprises or branches of production and not within the span of a single year but from the point of view of the whole national economy and over a span of, say, ten to 15 years—which would be the only correct approach to the question—then the temporary and unstable profitability of individual enterprises or branches of production cannot even bear comparison with that higher form of stable and constant profitability which the operation of the law of planned development of the national economy and the planning of the national economy give us, by saving us from periodic economic crises which destroy the national economy and inflict colossal material damage on society and by securing for us uninterrupted growth of the national economy, with its high tempos.

In short: there can be no doubt that under our present socialist conditions of production the law of value cannot be "the regulator of proportions" in distributing labor among various branches of production.

4. The Question of Eliminating the Antithesis Between Town and Countryside and Between Mental and Manual Labor and the Question of Eliminating the Differences Between Them

This heading touches upon a number of problems which differ substantially from one another, yet I am combining them in one section, not in order to confuse them with one another but purely for the sake of brevity of exposition.

The problem of eliminating the antithesis between town and country, between industry and agriculture, is a familiar problem which Marx and Engels posed a long time ago. The economic basis of this opposition is the exploitation of the countryside by the city, the expropriation of the peasantry and the ruin of the bulk of the rural population by the entire process of development

of industry, trade and the credit system under capitalism. Therefore the opposition between city and country under capitalism must be regarded as an opposition of interests. On this foundation a hostile attitude arose on the part of the countryside toward the city and "city folk" generally.

Undoubtedly, with the overthrow of capitalism, elimination of the system of exploitation and consolidation of the socialist system in our country, the opposition of interests between city and country, between industry and agriculture, should have disappeared. That is what did indeed happen. The enormous assistance to our peasantry by the socialist city, by our working class, in eliminating the landlords and kulaks strengthened the basis for the alliance of the working class and the peasantry, while the systematic supply to the peasantry and their collective farms of first-class tractors and other machines has turned the alliance of the working class and the peasantry into friendship between them. Naturally the workers and the collective farm peasantry still represent two classes differing from one another. But the difference does not in the slightest weaken their friendship. On the contrary, their interests lie along the same line, the line of consolidation of the socialist system and the triumph of communism. It is therefore not surprising that no trace has been left of the previous distrust, much less of the countryside's hatred for the city.

All this means that the basis for opposition between city and country, between industry and agriculture, has already been eliminated by our present socialist system.

This does not of course mean that the elimination of opposition between city and country must lead to the "doom of large cities" (Cf. Engels' "Anti-Dühring"). Not only will large cities not perish, but more new large cities will appear, as centers of the highest development of culture, centers not only for large-scale industry but for processing agricultural products and for sweeping development of all branches of the food industry. This will facilitate the cultural flowering of the country and will lead to the leveling of living conditions as between city and country.

We have a similar situation in the problem of eliminating the opposition between mental and manual labor. This problem, too, is a familiar one, posed long ago by Marx and Engels. The exploitation of manual workers by representatives of mental labor is the economic basis of the opposition between mental and manual labor. Everyone knows the breach which existed at industrial enterprises under capitalism between manual workers and managerial personnel. It is well known that, on the basis of this gap between them, the workers developed a hostile attitude to the director, the foreman, the engineer and other technical personnel, as enemies. It is understandable that, with the elimination of capitalism and the system of exploitation, the opposition of interests between mental and manual labor should have disappeared. It has in fact disappeared under our present socialist system. Now the manual workers and managerial personnel are not foes but comrades and friends, members of a single production group, vitally interested in the success and improvement of production. Not a trace has remained of the former enmity between them.

The problem of the disappearance of distinctions between city (industry) and countryside (agriculture), between manual and mental labor, bears an entirely different character. This problem was not posed by the classics of Marxism. This is a new problem, raised by our experience in socialist construction.

Is this problem not far-fetched, does it have any practical or theoretical importance? No, the problem cannot be considered far-fetched. It is an extremely serious problem for us.

If one takes, for instance, the difference between agriculture and industry, it reduces in our country not only to the fact that conditions of work in agriculture differ from conditions of work in industry, but primarily and chiefly to the fact that in industry we have public ownership of the means of production and of their output, while in agriculture we have not public, but collective farm group ownership. It has already been mentioned that this circumstance leads to the preservation of commodity circulation and that only when this difference between industry and agriculture disappears can commodity production disappear, with all the ensuing consequences. Accordingly, it cannot be denied that the disappearance of this vital distinction between agriculture and industry should be of prime importance to us.

The same must be said of the problem of eliminating the essential difference between mental and manual labor. This problem is likewise of major importance to us. Until socialist competition assumed mass proportions, the growth of industry in our country proceeded creakingly and many comrades even raised the question of slowing down the pace of industrial development. This was due chiefly to the fact that the cultural and technical standard of the workers was too low and lagged far behind the level of the technical personnel. Things changed radically however after socialist competition assumed mass proportions in our country. It was after this that industry began to move ahead at accelerated tempo. Why did socialist competition assume mass proportions? Because there appeared among the workers whole groups of comrades who not only mastered the minimum of technical knowledge but went further than that; they caught up with the technical personnel, began to correct the technicians and engineers, to smash existing norms as obsolete, to introduce new, more modern norms, etc. What would happen if not individual groups of workers but the majority of workers were to raise their cultural and technical standards to the level of the technical and engineering personnel? Our industry would be raised to heights unattainable by the industry of other countries. Consequently, it cannot be denied that elimination of the essential distinction between mental and manual labor by raising the cultural and technical level of the workers to the level of technical personnel cannot but be of primary significance for us.

Some comrades assert that in time not only the essential distinction between industry and agriculture, between manual and mental labor, will disappear, but that any difference between them will also disappear. This is wrong. Elimination of the essential difference between industry and agriculture cannot lead to elimination of all distinction between the two. Some sort of difference, albeit nonessential, undoubtedly will remain, in view of the difference in working conditions in industry and agriculture. Even in industry conditions of work are not the same everywhere in its various branches; the working conditions of coal miners, for example, differ from those of the workers of a mechanized shoe factory, the working conditions of ore miners differ from those of machine-building workers. If this is correct, even more so is the fact that a certain difference between industry and agriculture must remain.

The same applies to the difference between mental and manual labor. The essential difference between them, in the sense of a cleavage in cultural and technical standards, undoubtedly will disappear. But some sort of a difference, albeit nonessential, will remain, if only because the working conditions of the managing personnel of enterprises are not the same as those of the workers.

Those comrades who maintain the reverse must be basing their stand on the well-known declaration, in certain of my statements, concerning the elimination of the difference between industry and agriculture, between mental and manual labor, without the reservation that this refers to elimination of the essential distinction but not of all differences. That is how the comrades interpreted my formulation of the matter, assuming it meant the elimination of all differences. But this means that the formulation was not precise, was unsatisfactory. It must be discarded and replaced by another formulation concerning the elimination of essential differences and the retention of nonessential differences between industry and agriculture, between manual and mental labor.

5. The Question of Disintegration of a Single World Market And Deepening of the Crisis in the World Capitalist System

The disintegration of a single, universal world market must be considered the most important economic consequence of the second world war. This circumstance determined the further aggravation of the general crisis in the world capitalist system.

The second world war was itself generated by this crisis. Each of the two capitalist coalitions which grappled during the war counted on smashing the enemy and achieving world domination. They sought this way out of the crisis. The U.S.A. hoped to knock out its most dangerous competitors, Germany and Japan, to seize foreign markets and world raw material resources and gain world domination.

However, the war failed to justify these hopes. True, Germany and Japan were knocked out as competitors of the three major capitalist countries, the U.S.A., Britain and France, but at the same time China and the other, European people's democracies broke away from the capitalist system, forming with the Soviet Union a united and powerful socialist camp opposing the camp of capitalism. The economic result of the existence of the two opposed camps was the fact that the single, universal world market disintegrated, in consequence of which we now have two parallel world markets, also counterposed to one another.

It must be noted that the U.S.A., Britain and France have themselves facilitated—without wishing it, of course—the formation and strengthening of the new, parallel world market. They subjected the U.S.S.R., China and the European people's democracies, which did not join the Marshall Plan, to an economic blockade, thinking thereby to strangle them. What actually happened, however, was that the new world market was not strangled but grew strong.

Nevertheless, the most important thing about this is of course not the economic blockade but the fact that during the postwar period these countries joined forces economically and organized economic cooperation and mutual aid. The experience of this cooperation shows that not a single capitalist country was able to give such actual and technically qualified aid to the people's democracies as the Soviet Union is rendering them. It is not only that this aid is the cheapest possible and technically first rate. What is most important is that this cooperation is based on the genuine desire to help each other and to achieve a common economic advance. As a result we have a high rate of industrial development in these countries. One may say with certainty that with such a rate of industrial development things will soon reach the stage where these countries will not only have no need to import goods from capitalist countries but will themselves experience the need to dispose of surplus goods of their own production.

It follows from this, however, that the sphere of exploitation of world resources by the major capitalist countries (U.S.A., Britain, France) will not expand but contract, that the world market conditions will deteriorate for these countries and that the number of enterprises operating at less than capacity will multiply in these countries. It is this essentially which constitutes the aggravation of the general crisis in the world capitalist system due to disintegration of the world market.

The capitalists themselves feel this, for it is hard not to feel the loss of such markets as the U.S.S.R. and China. They are trying to overcome the above difficulties through the Marshall Plan, the war in Korea, the armaments race and militarization of industry. But this is very much like a drowning man who clutches at a straw.

As a result of this situation, economists are confronted with two questions:

(a) Can one maintain the continued validity of Stalin's well known thesis of the relative stability of markets in the period of the general crisis of capitalism, a thesis stated before the second world war?

(b) Can one maintain the continued validity of Lenin's well-known thesis, which he stated in the spring of 1916, that in spite of the decay of capitalism "capitalism as a whole is growing immeasurably faster than before?"

I think one cannot maintain their continued validity. In view of the new conditions which have arisen as a result of the second world war it must be considered that both these theses have been invalidated.

6. The Question of the Inevitability of Wars Among Capitalist Countries

Some comrades affirm that, in consequence of the development of international conditions after the second world war, wars among capitalist countries have ceased to be inevitable. They consider that the contradictions between the camp of socialism and the camp of capitalism are greater than the contradictions among capitalist countries, that the U.S.A. has made other capitalist countries sufficiently subservient to itself to prevent them from going to war with one another and weaken-

ing one another, that forward-looking people of capitalism have learned enough from two world wars which inflicted serious damage on the whole capitalist world not* to permit themselves again to draw the capitalist countries into war among themselves, that, in view of all this, wars among capitalist countries have ceased to be inevitable.

These comrades are mistaken. They see the external appearances which glitter on the surface but they fail to see those profound forces which, though at present operating imperceptibly, will nevertheless determine the course of events.

Outwardly everything appears to be "all right." The U.S.A. has placed Western Europe, Japan and other capitalist countries on a dole; Germany (Western), Britain, France, Italy and Japan, having fallen into the clutches of the U.S.A., are obediently carrying out the U.S. commands. But it would be wrong to think that things can go on well forever and ever, that these countries will tolerate without end the domination and oppression of the U.S.A., that they will not seek to free themselves from American bondage and set out on a course of independent development.

Let us first take Britain and France. There is no doubt that these countries are imperialist. Undoubtedly cheap raw materials and guaranteed markets for their goods are of primary importance to them. Is it to be assumed that they will endlessly tolerate the present state of affairs, in which the Americans, using the stratagem of Marshall Plan aid, are penetrating the economy of Britain and France, seeking to turn them into appendages of the U.S. economy, in which American capital is seizing the raw material sources and export markets in the Anglo-French colonies and thereby preparing a catastrophe for the high profits of Anglo-French capitalists? Would it not be more correct to say that first capitalist Britain and then capitalist France will ultimately be forced to wrest themselves from the embraces of the U.S.A. and enter into conflict with the U.S.A. in order to assure themselves an independent position and of course high profits?

Let us now proceed to the chief vanquished countries, Germany (Western) and Japan. These countries are now leading a sorry existence under the heel of American imperialism. Their industry and agriculture, their trade, their domestic and foreign policies, all their way of life, are shackled by the American occupation "regime." But it was only yesterday that these countries were still great imperialist powers which shook the foundations of British, U.S. and French domination in Europe and Asia. To think that these countries will not attempt to rise to their feet again, smash the U.S. "regime" and break away on a path of independent development is to believe in miracles.

It is said that the contradictions between capitalism and socialism are greater than the contradictions between the capitalist countries. Theoretically this is of course true. It is true not only now, at the present time, but it was also true before the second world war. And this the leaders of the capitalist countries did, more or less, understand. Yet the second world war began not with a war against the U.S.S.R., but with a war among the capitalist countries. Why?

First, because war with the U.S.S.R., as a socialist country, is more dangerous to capitalism than a war between capitalist countries, for if a war between capitalist countries raises only the question of the supremacy of certain capitalist countries over other capitalist countries, war with the U.S.S.R. must necessarily raise the question of the existence of capitalism itself. Second, because the capitalists, although for propaganda purposes they raise a hubbub about the aggressive nature of the Soviet Union, do not themselves believe in its aggressive nature, since they take into consideration the peaceful policy of the Soviet Union and know that the Soviet Union will not itself attack the capitalist countries.

After the first world war it was believed that Germany had been finally put out of action, just as certain comrades now think that Japan and Germany have been finally put out of action. Then, too, it was also said—the press dinning forth—that the U.S.A. had placed Europe on a dole, that Germany could no longer rise to her feet, that from now on there could be no war among the capitalist countries. Yet in spite of this

* [The Russian text omits the word "not"—presumably a typographical error.—Trans.]

Germany revived and rose to her feet as a great power within some 15 to 20 years after her defeat, having broken out of bondage and set out upon a course of independent development. It is typical in this regard that none other than Britain and the U.S.A. should have helped Germany to revive economically and to raise her economic war potential. Of course, the U.S.A. and Britain, though helping Germany to revive economically, in so doing intended to direct the revived Germany against the Soviet Union, to use her against the country of socialism. However, Germany directed her forces in the first place against the Anglo-French-American bloc. And when Hitler Germany declared war on the Soviet Union, the Anglo-French-American bloc not only failed to join with Hitler Germany, but, on the contrary, was obliged to enter into a coalition with the U.S.S.R. against Hitler Germany.

Consequently, the capitalist countries' struggle for markets and the desire to crush their competitors turned out in actuality to be stronger than the contradictions between the camp of capitalism and the camp of socialism.

The question is, what guarantee is there that Germany and Japan will not again rise to their feet, that they will not try to wrest themselves from American bondage and to live their own independent lives? I think there are no such guarantees.

But it follows from this that the inevitability of wars among the capitalist countries remains.

It is said that Lenin's thesis that imperialism inevitably gives birth to wars should be considered obsolete since powerful peoples' forces have now grown up which are taking a stand in defense of peace, against a new world war. This is not correct.

The aim of the present movement for peace is to arouse the masses of the people for the struggle to preserve peace and to avert a new world war. Consequently, it does not pursue the aim of overthrowing capitalism and establishing socialism. It limits itself to the democratic aims of the struggle to preserve peace. In this respect the present movement for the preservation of peace differs from the movement during the first world war to turn the imperialist war into a civil war, since this latter movement went further and pursued socialist ends.

Under a certain confluence of circumstances, the struggle for peace may possibly develop in one place or another into a struggle for socialism. This, however, would no longer be the present peace movement but a movement for the overthrow of capitalism.

It is most probable that the present peace movement, as a movement for the preservation of peace, will, should it be successful, result in prevention of a particular war, in its postponement, a temporary preservation of a particular peace, to the resignation of a bellicose government and its replacement by another government, ready to preserve peace for the time being. This is good, of course. Even very good. But this, however, is still insufficient to eliminate altogether the inevitability of wars among capitalist countries. It is insufficient since with all these successes of the peace movement imperialism still remains and retains power, and consequently the inevitability of wars also remains.

In order to eliminate the inevitability of wars imperialism must be destroyed.

7. The Question of the Basic Economic Laws of Present-Day Capitalism and Socialism

As we know, the question of the basic economic laws of capitalism and socialism has been brought up several times at discussions. Various views were expressed in this connection, including the most fantastic. True, most of the participants in the discussions reacted feebly to this subject, and no decision was indicated in this matter. No one of the participants in the discussions denied, however, the existence of such laws.

Does a basic economic law of capitalism exist? Yes, it does. What is this law, what are its characteristic features? The basic economic law of capitalism is a law which determines not any one specific aspect or any particular processes in the development of capitalist production, but all the major aspects and all the major processes in this development.

Consequently, it defines the nature of capitalist production, its essence.

Is the law of value not the basic economic law of capitalism? No. The law of value is primarily a law of commodity production. It existed before capitalism and continues to exist, just as does commodity production, after the overthrow of capitalism, as for example in our country, though with a restricted sphere of operation. Of course, the law of value, which has a broad sphere of operation under capitalism, plays a great part in the development of capitalist production, but it not only does not determine the nature of capitalist production and the principles of capitalist profit, but does not even pose such problems. Hence it cannot be the basic economic law of present-day capitalism.

For the same reasons neither the law of competition and anarchy of production nor the law of the uneven development of capitalism in various countries can be the basic economic law of capitalism.

It is said that the law of the average profit norm is the basic economic law of contemporary capitalism. This is not true. Present-day capitalism, monopoly capitalism, cannot be satisfied by an average profit which, besides, shows a tendency to decline in view of the raising of the organic composition of capital. Present-day monopoly capital demands not an average profit but a maximum profit necessary to realize more or less regularly augmented reproduction.

The law of surplus value, the law of the birth and growth of capitalist profit, comes closest to the notion of the basic economic law of capitalism. It really predetermines the basic features of capitalist production. But the law of surplus value is too general a law and does not deal with the problems of a higher norm of profit, securing which is a requisite of the development of monopoly capitalism. In order to fill in this gap the law of surplus value must be concretized and further developed in application to monopoly capitalism, keeping in mind in so doing that monopoly capitalism demands not any profit but precisely maximum profit. This will be in fact the basic economic law of present-day capitalism.

The main features and demands of the basic economic law of present-day capitalism could be formulated roughly as follows: to secure the maximum capitalist profit through the exploitation, ruin and impoverishment of the majority of the population of a given country, through the enslavement and systematic robbing of the peoples of other countries, especially backward countries, and finally through wars and the militarization of national economy which are used to guarantee the highest profits.

It is said that an average profit could nevertheless be considered fully adequate for capitalist development in present-day conditions. This is wrong. Average profit is the lowest limit of profitability below which capitalist production becomes impossible. But it would be ludicrous to assume that the magnates of present-day monopoly capitalism, when they seize colonies, enslave peoples and foment wars, are seeking to guarantee themselves merely an average profit. No, it is not average profit, and not superprofit, which "as a rule" is merely a certain increase over average profit, but it is maximum profit which is the motive power of monopoly capitalism. It is precisely the need to obtain maximum profits which impels capitalism to take such risky steps as the enslavement and systematic robbing of colonies and other backward countries, the transformation of a number of independent countries into dependent countries, the organization of new wars, which, to the magnates of present-day capitalism, are the best "business" for the extraction of maximum profits, and finally the attempts to gain world economic domination.

The significance of the basic economic law of capitalism is, among other things, that by determining the most important phenomena in the development of the capitalist mode of production, its booms and crises, its triumphs and defeats, its merits and shortcomings, the entire process of its contradictory development, it enables us to understand and explain them.

Here is one of the numerous "striking" examples.

Everyone is conversant with instances from the history and practice of capitalism which demonstrate the tempestuous development of technology under capitalism, when capitalists

appear as standard-bearers of advanced technology, as revolutionaries in the development of production technology. But we are conversant also with instances of a different kind showing a standstill in technological development under capitalism, when capitalists act as reactionaries in the development of new technology, when they frequently revert to manual labor.

How is this blatant contradiction to be explained? It can be explained only by the basic economic law of present-day capitalism, that is, by the need to obtain maximum profit. Capitalism favors new technology when it promises the utmost profit. Capitalism is against new technology and favors a return to manual labor when the new technology no longer promises the utmost profit.

That is the long and short of the basic economic law of present-day capitalism.

Is there a basic economic law of socialism? Yes, there is. What are its essential characteristics and requirements? The essential characteristics and requirements of the basic economic law of socialism might be formulated roughly as follows: to assure maximum satisfaction of the constantly growing material and cultural requirements of all of society through the constant growth and improvement of socialist production on the basis of the highest technology.

Thus, instead of assuring maximum profits—to assure maximum satisfaction of the material and cultural needs of society; instead of developing production with interruptions, from boom to crisis and from crisis to boom—the uninterrupted growth of production; instead of periodic interruptions in the development of technology, accompanied by destruction of the productive forces of society—the uninterrupted improvement of production on the basis of the highest technology.

It is said that the basic economic law of socialism is the law of planned development of the national economy in the proper proportions. This is not true. Planned development of the national economy, and hence the planning of the national economy, too, which more or less truly reflects this law, in and of themselves can yield nothing unless it is known for what purpose the planned development of the national economy is taking place, unless the purpose is clear.

The law of planned development of the national economy can yield the desired effect only if there is a purpose for the sake of which the planned development of the national economy is being carried out. This purpose cannot be provided by the law of planned development of the national economy itself. Still less can it be provided by the planning of the national economy. This purpose is contained in the basic economic law of socialism in the form of its demands as expounded above. Therefore the operation of the law of planned development of the national economy can receive full scope only if it rests upon the basic economic law of socialism.

As for the planning of the national economy, it can achieve favorable results only if two conditions are observed: (a) if it correctly reflects the demands of the law of planned development of the national economy; (b) if it conforms in all respects to the demands of the basic economic law of socialism.

8. Other Questions

1. The question of other-than-economic compulsion under feudalism.

Of course, other-than-economic compulsion played a part in consolidation of the economic power of the landowner-serf-owners. But it was not this that was the basis of feudalism, but rather the feudal ownership of land.

2. The question of private property of the collective farmer's household.

It would be wrong to say in the textbook draft that "each household in a collective farm has a cow, small livestock and poultry at its private disposal." As a matter of fact, as is known, the cow, small livestock, poultry and so on are not at the private disposal of the collective farmer's household but are personal property. The expression "at its private disposal" presumably is taken from the Model Collective Farm Statutes. But this model charter of the agricultural artel contains a mistake. The Constitution of the U.S.S.R., which is more carefully drawn up, reads differently, namely, "each household

in a collective farm***has as its personal property a garden plot, a dwelling, productive livestock, poultry and minor agricultural implements."

This is obviously correct.

In addition, it should be stated in greater detail that each collective farmer has as personal property one or several cows, the number depending on local conditions, so-and-so many sheep, goats, pigs (the number likewise depending on local conditions) and unlimited numbers of poultry (ducks, geese, hens, turkeys).

These details are of great importance to our foreign comrades, who want to know exactly what has remained as the personal property of the collective farm household since the collectivization of agriculture in our country.

3. The question of the amount of rents paid by the peasants to the landowners, as well as the question of the amount of expenditures for the purchase of land.

The draft of the textbook says that as a result of nationalization of the land "the peasantry was freed from the payment of approximately 500,000,000 rubles annually in rents to the landowners" (one should say "500,000,000 gold rubles"). This figure should be made more precise, since I think it covers payment of rents not throughout Russia, but only in the majority of the provinces of Russia. In so doing, it should be borne in mind that in many outlying areas of Russia rents were paid in kind, a fact which the authors of the textbook draft evidently overlooked. In addition, it should be borne in mind that the peasantry has been freed not only from the payment of rents but also from annual outlays to pay for land purchased. Has this been taken into account in the draft textbook? It seems to me it has not, but should be.

4. The question of the process of fusion of the monopolies with the machinery of government.

The expression "process of fusion" ["srazhchivaniye"] is inappropriate. This expression superficially and descriptively denotes the process of the interlocking of monopolies and the state but does not show the economic significance of this process. The point is that what takes place in this interlocking process is not simply a fusion, but the subordination of the state machinery to the monopolies. Therefore, the word "fusion" ["srazhchivaniye"] should be rejected and replaced with the words "subordination of the state apparatus to the monopolies."

5. The question of use of machines in the U.S.S.R.

The draft textbook says that "machines are employed in the U.S.S.R. in all instances in which they save work for society." This is not at all what should have been said. In the first place, machines in the U.S.S.R. always save work for society, and accordingly we know of no instances in the U.S.S.R. in which they have not saved work for society. In the second place machines not only save work but at the same time they lighten work, in view of which, in our conditions, as distinct from the conditions of capitalism, the workers use machines with great willingness in the process of labor.

It should therefore have been said that nowhere else are machines used so readily as in the U.S.S.R., since machines save labor for society and lighten the labor of the workers and the workers use machines in the national economy with great willingness because there is no unemployment in the U.S.S.R.

6. The question of the material condition of the working class in the capitalist countries.

When we speak of the material situation of the working class, we usually have in mind the workers engaged in production and we do not take account of the material situation of the so-called reserve army of unemployed. Is such an attitude to the question of the material situation of the working class correct? I think it is wrong. If there exists a reserve army of unemployed, the members of which have nothing to live on except the sale of their labor, then the unemployed cannot fail to be included in the working class, but if they are included in the working class, their plight cannot fail to influence the material situation of those workers engaged in production. I think, therefore, that in characterizing the material situation of the working class in the capitalist countries one should take into account the situation of the reserve army of unemployed.

7. The question of the national income.

I think that a new chapter on the national income should certainly be included in the draft textbook.

8. The question of the textbook's special chapter on Lenin and Stalin as the creators of the political economy of socialism.

I think that the chapter: "The Marxist Teaching on Socialism: The Creation of the Political Economy of Socialism by V. I. Lenin and J. V. Stalin" should be excluded from the textbook. It is quite unnecessary in the textbook, since it says nothing new but gives a dull repetition of what has been said in greater detail in the preceding chapters of the textbook.

As for the remaining questions, I have no observations to make on the "proposals" of Comrades Ostrovityanov, Leontyev, Shepilov, Gatovsky et al.

9. The International Significance of a Marxist Textbook of Political Economy

I think that the comrades do not appreciate the full importance of a Marxist textbook of political economy. The textbook is needed not only for our Soviet youth. It is especially needed for the Communists of all countries and for people who sympathize with the Communists. Our foreign comrades want to know how we broke out of capitalist bondage, how we remade the country's economy in the spirit of socialism, how we achieved friendship with the peasantry, how we attained a situation in which our country, only recently poor and weak, has been transformed into a rich and powerful country, what collective farms are, and why we do not abolish commodity production, money, trade, etc., despite the socialization of the means of production. They want to know all this and much else, not out of simple curiosity, but in order to learn from us and to use our experience for their own countries. That is why the appearance of a good Marxist textbook of political economy is not only of domestic political importance but also of major international significance.

Consequently, what is required is a textbook which could serve as a handbook for revolutionary youth not only inside the country but abroad. It should not be too voluminous, since too large a textbook cannot be a handbook and it would be difficult to assimilate—to master. But it should contain all that is basic concerning both the economy of our country and the economy of capitalism and the colonial system.

During the discussion some comrades proposed to include in the textbook new chapters, historians on history, political scientists on politics, philosophers on philosophy, economists on economics. But this would have caused the textbook to swell to unwieldy proportions. This of course cannot be permitted. The textbook will employ the historical method to illustrate the problems of political economy, but this does not mean that we should turn a textbook of political economy into a history of economic relations.

We need a textbook of 500 or at most 600 pages, no more. It will be a handbook of Marxist political economy, a fine gift for the young Communists of all countries.

In any case, in view of the inadequate level of Marxist development of the majority of the Communist Parties in foreign countries, such a textbook could be of great benefit also to the veteran Communists in those countries who are no longer young.

10. Ways of Improving the Draft Textbook of Political Economy

During the discussion some comrades "tore into" the draft textbook too energetically, berated its authors for mistakes and omissions and asserted that the draft was a failure. This is unjust. Of course there are mistakes and omissions in the textbook—there almost always are in any big undertaking. But, however that may be, the overwhelming majority of those who took part in the discussion nevertheless acknowledged that the draft can serve as a basis for a future textbook and needs only some corrections and additions.

Actually, it is necessary only to compare the draft of the textbook with the existing textbooks of political economy now in circulation to reach the conclusion that the draft textbook stands

a head above the existing textbooks. For that the authors of the draft textbook deserve great credit.

I think that in order to improve the draft textbook a small committee should be appointed which would include not only the authors of the textbook and not only supporters of the majority side in the discussion, but also opponents of the majority, the strong critics of the draft textbook.

It would be well to include in the committee an experienced statistician to check the figures and introduce new statistical data and an experienced jurist to check whether the formulations used are exact.

The members of the committee should be temporarily relieved of all other work and should be fully provided for in a material regard so that they may devote themselves wholly to work on the textbook.

In addition, an editorial committee of, say, three persons should be appointed to edit the final text of the book. This is also necessary in order that stylistic unity—which is unfortunately lacking in the draft textbook—may be achieved.

The time limit for submission of the completed textbook to the Central Committee is one year.

J. STALIN.

Feb. 1, 1952.

REPLY TO COMRADE ALEXANDER ILYICH NOTKIN

Comrade Notkin:

I did not hasten to answer, as I do not regard the questions you raised as urgent. All the more so, since there are other questions of an urgent nature which naturally deflect attention from your letter.

I am answering point by point.

With Reference to the First Point.—The "Remarks" contain the well-known thesis that society is not helpless in the face of scientific laws, that people, perceiving economic laws, can apply them in the interests of society. You state that this thesis cannot be applied to other social formations, that it is valid only in reference to socialism and communism, that the elemental nature of economic processes under capitalism, for instance, does not afford society a possibility of using economic laws in the interests of society.

This is untrue. In France, for instance, in the epoch of the bourgeois revolution, the bourgeoisie used against feudalism the well-known law of obligatory conformity of production relations with the character of the productive forces, overthrew feudal production relations, created new, bourgeois production relations and brought them into conformity with the character of the productive forces that had arisen in the depths of the feudal order. The bourgeoisie accomplished this not by virtue of its particular abilities but by virtue of the fact that it was vitally interested in this. The feudal lords opposed this not by virtue of their stupidity but by virtue of the fact that they were vitally interested in preventing the application of this law.

The same must be said of the socialist revolution in our country. The working class used the law of the obligatory conformity of production relations with the character of the productive forces, overthrew bourgeois production relations, created new, socialist production relations and brought them into conformity with the character of the productive forces. It was able to do this not by virtue of its particular abilities but by virtue of the fact that it was vitally interested in this. The bourgeoisie, which, from a progressive force at the dawn of the bourgeois revolution, had managed by this time to turn into a counterrevolutionary force, fought with every possible means to prevent the application of this law—fought against it not by virtue of its lack of organization and not because the elemental nature of economic processes impelled it to oppose this, but chiefly because its vital interests ran counter to putting this law into effect.

Consequently:

1. Economic processes and economic laws are employed in the interests of society in one degree or another not only under socialism and communism, but also in other formations;

2. The use of economic laws has always and everywhere a class background in a class society, and the progressive class is always and everywhere the standard-bearer of using

economic laws in the interests of society, while the dying classes oppose this.

The difference in this matter between the proletariat, on the one hand, and other classes which in the course of history have accomplished revolutionary changes in production relations, on the other hand, consists in the fact that the class interests of the proletariat merge with the interests of the overwhelming majority of society, for the revolution of the proletariat signifies not the destruction of this or that form of exploitation, but the destruction of all exploitation, while the revolutions carried out by other classes, destroying only one or another form of exploitation, are confined within the framework of their narrow class interests, which contradict the interests of the majority of society.

The "Remarks" speak of the class background of the utilization of economic laws in the interests of society. It is said there that "as distinct from the natural sciences, where discovery and application of a new law proceeds more or less smoothly, discovery and application of a new economic law affecting the interests of the dying forces of society encounters the strongest opposition from these forces." However, you did not take note of this.

With Reference to the Second Point.—You maintain that full conformity of production relations with the character of the productive forces can be attained only under socialism and communism and only incomplete conformity can be achieved in other formations.

This is incorrect. In the epoch after the bourgeois revolution, when the bourgeoisie had destroyed feudal production relations and established bourgeois production relations, there unquestionably were periods when bourgeois production relations were in complete accord with the character of the productive forces. Otherwise capitalism could not have developed with the rapidity with which it developed after the bourgeois revolution.

Furthermore the words "full conformity" cannot be taken in an absolute sense. They cannot be interpreted to mean that under socialism there does not exist any lag of production relations behind the growth of productive forces. The productive forces are the most mobile and revolutionary forces of production. They unquestionably run ahead of production relations even under socialism. Only after a certain time lag do production relations change in adaptation to the character of the productive forces.

How then should one interpret the words "full conformity?" They should be understood to mean that under socialism matters do not usually reach [the point of] conflict between production relations and productive forces, that society is able to bring the lagging production relations into conformity with the character of the productive forces in good time. Socialist society can do this because it does not contain dying classes capable of organizing opposition. Of course, even under socialism there will be lagging, inert forces, which do not understand the necessity for change in the production relations but of course it will not be difficult to overcome these forces without bringing the matter to a conflict.

With Reference to the Third Point.—From your arguments it follows that you regard the means of production and, above all, the tools of production which are produced by our nationalized enterprises as commodities.

Can the means of production under our socialist system be regarded as commodities? In my opinion, not at all.

A commodity is a product of production which is sold to any buyer and upon sale of the commodity the owner loses the ownership of it and the purchaser becomes the owner of the commodity and can resell it, pawn it or let it rot. Do the means of production fit this definition? Clearly not. In the first place the means of production are not "for sale" to every purchaser, they are not even "sold" to collective farms, they are only distributed by the state among its enterprises. In the second place the owner of the means of production—the state—in transferring the commodity to this or that enterprise in no way loses its right of ownership to the means of production, but on the contrary retains this right to the full. In the third place, directors of enterprises which have obtained means of production from the state not only do not become their owners but on the contrary are the appointed

agents of the Soviet state as regards use of the means of production in accord with plans issued by the state.

As we see, under our system the means of production can in no way be classed in the category of commodities.

Why then in this case does one speak of value of the means of production, their cost, their price, and so on?

For two reasons.

First, this is necessary for purposes of calculation, for accounting, for determining the profits and losses of enterprises, for checking and controlling the enterprises. But this is only the formal aspect of the matter.

Second, this is necessary in order to conduct the sale of means of production to foreign states in the interests of foreign trade. Here, in the sphere of foreign trade, but only in this sphere, our means of production truly constitute commodities and are actually sold.

Thus it appears that in the sphere of foreign trade the means of production produced by our enterprises retain the qualities of a commodity both in fact and formally, while in the sphere of economic turnover within the country the means of production lose the qualities of commodities, cease to be commodities and leave the sphere of operation of the law of value, preserving only the outward appearance of commodities (accounting, etc.).

What explains this peculiarity?

The fact of the matter is that in our socialist conditions economic development occurs not through abrupt transitions, but through gradual changes, in which the old is not just completely abolished but is made to alter its nature to suit the new, preserving only its form, and the new does not just destroy the old but penetrates the old, alters its nature and functions without obliterating its form, utilizing the old form for the purpose of developing the new element. This is the case not only with commodities but also with money in our economic turnover, as well as with banks, which, losing their old functions and acquiring new ones, preserve the old form, which is utilized by the socialist system.

If one approaches the matter from a formal angle, from the angle of the processes which take place on the surface of events, one can reach the incorrect conclusion that the economic categories [concepts] of capitalism allegedly preserve their validity in our economics. But if one approaches the matter from the angle of Marxist analysis, making a strict differentiation between the content of an economic process and its form, between deep-lying processes of development and superficial phenomena, one is able to reach the only correct conclusion, that in our country we have preserved chiefly the form, the outer aspect of the old categories of capitalism, but we have essentially radically altered them to accord with the requirements of development of the socialist national economy.

With Reference to the Fourth Point.—You assert that the law of value exercises a regulatory effect on the prices of "the means of production" produced in agriculture and delivered to the state in accordance with the prices governing deliveries to the state. You have in mind such "means of production" as raw materials—cotton, for instance. You might have added flax, wool and other agricultural raw materials.

First of all it should be noted that in the given case agriculture produces not "means of production," but one of the means of production—raw materials. One cannot play with the words "means of production." When Marxists speak of production of the means of production they mean primarily production of tools of production—what Marx called "the mechanical means of labor, the sum total of which may be termed the bone and muscle structure of production." To equate part of the means of production (the raw materials) with the means of production, including the tools of production, is to sin against Marxism, because Marxism proceeds from the determinative role of the tools of production as compared with all other means of production. Everybody knows that raw materials in themselves cannot produce tools of production, although certain types of raw material are essential as material for the production of tools of production; on the other hand, no raw material can be produced without tools of production.

Further. Is the influence of the law of value on the price of agricultural raw materials a regulating influence, as you claim? It would be a regulating influence if we had "free" fluctuation

of prices of agricultural raw materials, if the law of competition and anarchy of production operated in our country, if we did not have a planned economy, if production of raw materials were not regulated by plan. But since all of these "ifs" are missing from the system of our national economy, the influence of the law of value on the price of agricultural raw materials cannot possibly be a regulating one. In the first place, in our country prices of agricultural raw materials are stable, laid down by plan and not "free." In the second place the proportions of production of agricultural raw materials are determined not spontaneously and not by chance but by plan. In the third place the tools of production essential for production of agricultural raw materials are concentrated not in the hands of individuals or groups of individuals but in the hands of the state. What then remains of the regulating role of the law of value after all this? It turns out that the law of value itself is regulated by the above facts which are characteristic of socialist production.

Consequently one cannot deny that the law of value influences the formation of prices of agricultural raw materials, that it is one of the factors in this matter. But all the more is it impossible to deny that this influence is not and cannot be a regulating one.

With Reference to the Fifth Point.—In speaking of the profitability of the national socialist economy, my "Remarks" contradicted a number of comrades who claimed that, inasmuch as our planned national economy does not show great preference for profitable enterprises and permits the simultaneous existence of enterprises which run at a loss, it kills the very principle of profitability in the economy. The "Remarks" state that profitability from the point of view of individual enterprises and individual branches of production can in no way be compared with that higher profitability which socialist production gives us by saving us from crises of overproduction and ensuring to us uninterrupted growth of production.

But it would be wrong to draw from this the conclusion that profitability of individual enterprises and branches of production has no special value and does not deserve serious attention. This is wrong, of course. The profitability of individual enterprises and branches of production is of tremendous importance from the point of view of development of production. It must be taken into consideration both in planning construction and in planning production. This is the ABC of our economic activity at the present stage of development.

With Reference to the Sixth Point.—It is unclear how to interpret your words concerning capitalism: "expanded production with a marked deformation." It is necessary to say that such production—moreover expanded—does not exist.

It is obvious that after the world market broke up and the sphere of exploitation of world resources by the main capitalist countries (U.S.A., Britain, France) began to contract, the cyclical character of the development of capitalism—growth and contraction of production—must nevertheless remain. However, the growth of production in these countries will proceed on a narrowed basis since the volume of production in these countries will contract.

With Reference to the Seventh Point.—The general crisis of the world capitalist system began in the period of the first world war, particularly as the result of secession of the Soviet Union from the capitalist system. This was the first stage of the general crisis. The second stage of the general crisis began in the period of the second world war, particularly after the secession from the capitalist system of the people's democracies in Europe and Asia. The first crisis in the period of the first world war and the second crisis in the period of the second world war should be viewed not as individual, independent crises separated from one another but as stages in the development of the general crisis of the world capitalist system.

Is the general crisis of world capitalism only a political or an economic crisis? Neither one nor the other. It is general, that is, a comprehensive crisis of the world capitalist system, extending to both the economy and politics. At the same time, it is clear that at its foundation lies the ever intensifying disintegration of the world economic system of capitalism, on the one hand, and on the other hand the growing economic might of the countries which have seceded from capitalism—the U.S.S.R., China and the other people's democracies.

J. STALIN.

CONCERNING COMRADE L. D. YAROSHENKO'S MISTAKES

Comrade Yaroshenko recently sent members of the Politburo of the Communist Party Central Committee a letter dated March 20 of this year concerning a number of the economic questions which were taken up at the well-known November discussion. The writer of the letter complains that the basic documents summarizing the discussion and also Comrade Stalin's "Remarks" contain "no reflection of the point of view" of Comrade Yaroshenko. In addition, the note includes a proposal by Comrade Yaroshenko that he be authorized to compile a "Political Economy of Socialism," taking a year or a year and a half and being given two assistants for this purpose.

I think that both Comrade Yaroshenko's complaint and his proposals should be examined in substance.

Let us begin with the complaint.

What, then, is the "point of view" of Comrade Yaroshenko which was not reflected in the above-mentioned documents?

I. Comrade Yaroshenko's Chief Mistake

If we were to sum up Comrade Yaroshenko's point of view in two words we should say that it is un-Marxist and therefore deeply mistaken.

Comrade Yaroshenko's chief mistake is that he deviates from Marxism on the question of the role of productive forces and production relations in the development of society, that he greatly exaggerates the role of the productive forces, similarly excessively underrates the role of production relations and caps matters by proclaiming production relations under socialism to be part of the productive forces.

Comrade Yaroshenko is willing to grant something of a role to production relations under the circumstances of "antagonistic class contradictions," since here the production relations "contradict the development of productive forces." He limits this role, however, to a negative one, that of a factor retarding the development of productive forces, fettering their development. Comrade Yaroshenko does not see any other functions, any positive functions, of production relations.

As for the socialist system, which no longer has any "antagonistic class contradictions" and where the production relations "no longer contradict the development of productive forces," Comrade Yaroshenko considers that here any trace of the independent role of production relations disappears, the production relations ceasing to be a serious factor of development and becoming absorbed by the productive forces as a part is absorbed by the whole. Under socialism, states Comrade Yaroshenko, "people's production relations constitute part of the organization of productive forces, as an instrument, an aspect of this organization." (Cf. Comrade Yaroshenko's letter to the Politburo of the Central Committee.)

If such be the case, what, then, is the main task of the political economy of socialism? Comrade Yaroshenko replies: "The main problem of the political economy of socialism therefore is not to study the production relations of the people of a socialist society but to work out and develop a scientific theory of the organization of the productive forces in social production, a theory for planning the development of the national economy." (Cf. Comrade Yaroshenko's speech at the plenary session of the discussion.)

This essentially explains why Comrade Yaroshenko is not interested in such economic questions of the socialist order as the existence of varied forms of property in our economy, commodity turnover, the law of value, and so on, considering them to be secondary questions entailing purely academic dispute. He states plainly that in his political economy of socialism "disputes over the role of this or that element in the political economy of socialism (value, commodity, money, credit, et al.)—disputes which, among us, frequently acquire a pedantic character—will be replaced by common sense discussion of the rational organization of productive forces in social production and the scientific basis for such organization." (Cf. Comrade Yaroshenko's speech at the section plenary discussion.)

This is political economy without economic problems.

Comrade Yaroshenko thinks that to accomplish the transition from socialism to communism without any particular

difficulties one need only establish "rational organization of the productive forces." He considers that this would be quite sufficient for the transition to communism. He bluntly declares that "under socialism the basic struggle in the establishment of a communist society consists only in the struggle for correct organization of the productive forces and their rational use in social production." (Cf. speech made at the plenary discussion.) Comrade Yaroshenko solemnly announces that "communism is the highest scientific organization of productive forces in social production."

From this it would seem that the essence of the communist system is exhausted by "rational organization of the productive forces."

From all this Comrade Yaroshenko draws the conclusion that there cannot be a single political economy for all social formations, that there must be two political economies: one for pre-socialist social formations, the subject of which is study of people's production relations, and the other for the socialist system, the subject of which should be not study of production (i.e., economic) relations, but study of problems of rational organization of the productive forces.

This is Comrade Yaroshenko's point of view.

What can one say about this point of view?

In the first place, it is wrong to limit the role of production relations in the history of society to the role of a brake restraining the development of productive forces. When Marxists speak of the restraining role of production relations they do not have in mind all production relations, but only the old production relations which no longer suit the growth of productive forces and consequently act as a brake on their development. Apart from the old production relations, however, there exist, as is known, new production relations, replacing the old. Can one say that the role of the new production relations is to be a brake on productive forces? No, one cannot. On the contrary, the new production relations are that chief and decisive force which in fact determines the further and, moreover, mighty development of productive forces and without which the productive forces are doomed to stagnate, as is the case at present in the capitalist countries.

Nobody can deny the colossal development of the productive forces of our Soviet industry during the five-year plans. But this development would not have taken place had we not replaced the old, capitalist production relations in October, 1917, with new, socialist production relations. Without this revolution in the production (economic) relations in our country, the productive forces would have stagnated in our country as they do today in the capitalist countries.

Nobody can deny the colossal development of the productive forces of our agriculture in the past 20 to 25 years. But this development would not have taken place had we not, in the '30s, exchanged the old, capitalist production relations in the village for new, collectivist production relations. Without this production revolution the productive forces of our agriculture would have stagnated, just as they do today in the capitalist countries.

Naturally, production relations cannot and do not remain forever new. They begin to age and to come into contradiction with the further development of productive forces, they begin to lose the role of the main driving power of productive forces and turn into a brake upon them. Then, in place of the production relations which have become old, there emerge new production relations, the role of which is to be the main driving power for the further development of productive forces.

This peculiarity of the evolution of production relations from the role of brake on productive forces to the role of the main power driving them forward and from the role of chief driving power to that of brake on the productive forces is a major element of Marxist materialist dialectics. Nowadays every tyro of Marxism knows this. Comrade Yaroshenko evidently does not.

In the second place, it is wrong that the independent role of production (i.e., economic) relations disappears under socialism and that production relations are swallowed up by the productive forces, that social production under socialism reduces to the organization of the productive forces. Marxism looks upon social production as an entity which has two indivisible aspects: society's productive forces (society's relation to

natural resources, in the struggle with which society obtains essential material benefits) and production relations (people's relations to one another in the process of production). These are two different aspects of social production, although they are inseparably linked with one another. And it is precisely because they are different aspects of social production that they can affect one another. To maintain that one of these aspects can be absorbed by the other and be turned into a component part of it is to commit a serious offense against Marxism.

Marx says:

"In production people influence not only nature but also one another. They cannot produce without uniting in some fashion for joint activity and for mutual exchange in their activity. In order to produce, people enter into definite connections and relationships, and only by means of these social connections and relationships do their relations to nature exist and only by means of them does production go on." *

Consequently, social production consists of two aspects which, despite the fact that they are indivisibly linked, reflect two different kinds of relations: the relationship of people to nature (productive forces) and the relationship of people to one another in the process of production (production relations). Only the existence of both aspects of production gives us social production, irrespective of whether we are speaking of a socialist society or other social formations.

Comrade Yaroshenko evidently does not fully agree with Marx. He considers that this thesis of Marx is not applicable to the socialist system. That is why he reduces the problem of the political economy of socialism to rational organization of the productive forces, ignoring production (economic) relations and divorcing the productive forces from them.

Consequently, instead of Marxist political economy Comrade Yaroshenko comes up with something like Bogdanov's "universal organizational science."

Thus, Comrade Yaroshenko takes the correct idea that the productive forces are the most mobile and revolutionary forces in production and carries this idea to a ridiculous extreme, to the point of denying the role of production (economic) relations under socialism; moreover, instead of life-size social production he presents us with a narrow and anemic technology of production, something akin to Bukharin's "social-organizational technique."

Marx declares:

"In social production for living (that is, in production of the material benefits necessary for life.—J. S.) people enter into definite, necessary relations, independent of their will—production relations which correspond to the definite stage of development of their material productive forces. The sum total of these production relations constitutes the economic structure of society, the real base on which rests the legal and political superstructure and to which the specific forms taken by social thought correspond." (Cf. foreword to "A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy.")

This means that every social formation, including socialist society, has its economic base, consisting of the sum total of people's production relations. The question arises, what happens to the economic base of the socialist system in Comrade Yaroshenko's interpretation? As we have seen, Comrade Yaroshenko has already liquidated production relations under socialism as a more or less independent matter and lumped the little that remained of them with the organization of production forces. One asks: Has the socialist system its own economic base? Evidently the socialist system is left without its economic base, since production relations have disappeared under socialism as a more or less independent force.

Consequently, here is the socialist system without its economic base. This is a funny state of affairs.

Is it possible to have a social order without an economic base? Comrade Yaroshenko evidently considers it possible. Well, Marxism holds that such social systems don't happen.

Finally, it is wrong to think that communism is the rational organization of productive forces, that rational organization of productive forces exhausts the essence of the communist system, that in order to effect the transition to communism without particular difficulty it is sufficient to organize the productive forces rationally. Our literature contains another

* Cf. "K. Marx and F. Engels" [in Russian], Vol. V, p. 429.

definition, another formula for communism, namely, Lenin's formula: "Communism is Soviet rule plus the electrification of the whole country." Evidently Comrade Yaroshenko does not like Lenin's formula and substitutes his own home-made formula: "Communism is the highest scientific organization of the productive forces in social production."

In the first place, no one knows what is meant by this "highest scientific" or "rational" organization of productive forces over which Comrade Yaroshenko sets up a hue and cry. What is its concrete content? Comrade Yaroshenko repeats this mythical formula dozens of times in his speeches at the plenary session, at the section discussions and in his letter to the members of the Politburo, yet nowhere has he sought by a single word to explain what is meant by his "rational organization" of productive forces, which allegedly entirely exhausts the essence of the communist system.

Secondly, if we must make a choice between the two formulas, we should reject not Lenin's formula, which is the only correct one, but Comrade Yaroshenko's so-called formula, which is obviously artificial, un-Marxist and taken from the Bogdanov arsenal of "universal organizational science." Comrade Yaroshenko thinks that it is sufficient to achieve rational organization of the productive forces in order to obtain an abundance of products and to reach communism, to change from the formula "to each according to his labor" to the formula "to each according to his needs." This is indeed the height of confusion, revealing complete lack of understanding of the laws of the economic development of socialism. Comrade Yaroshenko conceives in much too simple a way, one might say in a childish simple way, the conditions necessary for the transition from socialism to communism. He does not understand that one cannot achieve either an abundance of goods, capable of satisfying all of society's needs, or the transition to the formula "to each according to his needs" while retaining in force such economic factors as collective farm group ownership, commodity turnover, etc. Comrade Yaroshenko does not realize that before it is possible to change to the formula "to each according to his needs" it is necessary to go through a number of stages of economic and cultural re-education of society, during which work develops in the eyes of society from merely a means of supporting life to a prime, vital [human] need, and communal property into a secure and inviolable basis of society's existence.

In order to prepare a genuine and not a declarative transition to communism, at least three basic preliminary conditions must be attained.

1. It is essential, first, to ensure securely not a mythical "rational organization" of productive forces but constant growth of all social production, with preponderant growth of production of means of production. Preponderant growth of production of means of production is necessary not only because it must provide equipment for its own enterprises and for enterprises of all other branches of the economy as well, but also because without it, it is altogether impossible to have expanded reproduction.

2. It is essential, secondly, to elevate collective farm property to the level of property of the public as a whole, through gradual changes carried out in a manner profitable to the collective farms and consequently to the whole of society, and to replace commodity turnover with a system of exchange of goods—like-wise by gradual changes—so that the central authority [the government] or some other social-economic central agency might control the entire output of social production in the interests of society.

Comrade Yaroshenko is mistaken in asserting that under socialism there are no contradictions between production relations and the productive forces of society. True, our present production relations are going through a period in which, fully corresponding to growth of the productive forces, they are advancing the productive forces by seven-league strides. But it would be wrong to be complacent over this and to imagine that there are no contradictions between our productive forces and our production relations. Contradictions there definitely are and will be, since the development of production relations lags and will lag behind the development of productive forces. With a correct policy on the part of the directing agencies, these contradictions cannot turn into antagonism and matters here cannot go so far as a conflict between production relations

and society's productive forces. It would be a different matter if we were to follow an incorrect policy such as Comrade Yaroshenko recommends. In that case conflict would be inevitable and our production relations could turn into a most serious brake on further development of productive forces.

Therefore it is the duty of the directing agencies to note the growing contradictions promptly and to take measures in time to overcome them by adapting production relations to the growth of the productive forces. This concerns first of all such economic phenomena as collective farm group ownership and commodity turnover. Of course, at present we are successfully using these phenomena for the development of the socialist economy and they bring our society indubitable benefits. Doubtless they will continue to bring benefit in the immediate future. But it would be unforgivable blindness not to see that at the same time these phenomena are already beginning to act as a brake on powerful development of our productive forces, inasmuch as they are creating obstacles to full coverage of the entire economy, in particular of agriculture, by state planning. There can be no doubt that, the further we go, the more these phenomena will put a brake on further growth of our country's productive forces. Consequently, the task is to eliminate these contradictions by gradually turning collective farm property into the common property of all the people and—also along gradual lines—introducing exchange of products in place of commodity turnover.

3. It is essential, thirdly, to obtain such a cultural development of society as would ensure to all its members comprehensive development of their physical and mental abilities, affording them the opportunity of obtaining education sufficient to enable them to become active participants in social development, sufficient to enable them to make a free choice of occupation and not be shackled for life to any one occupation by reason of the existing labor specialization.

What is necessary for this?

It would be wrong to think that it is possible to attain such major cultural growth of the members of society without major changes in the present situation of labor. For this purpose it is necessary first of all to reduce the work day at least to six and then to five hours.* This is necessary in order that members of society may receive the leisure time necessary for a thorough education. For this purpose it is necessary, further, to introduce universal, compulsory polytechnical education, so that a member of society may be able to make a free choice of occupation and not be shackled for life to any one occupation. For this purpose it is necessary, further, to improve housing conditions radically and to raise the real wages of workers and employees a minimum of 100%, if not more, both through direct increase in money wages and particularly through further systematic reduction of prices of goods of mass consumption.

Such are the basic conditions for the preparation of the transition to communism.

Only after attainment of all these preliminary conditions taken together will one be able to hope that in the eyes of the members of society toil will be turned from a burden into "a prime human need" (Marx), that "toil will change from a heavy burden into enjoyment" (Engels), that public ownership will be regarded by all members of society as the firm and inviolable basis of society's existence.

Only after attainment of all these preliminary conditions, taken together, will it be possible to change from the socialist formula "from each according to his abilities, to each according to his labor," to the communist formula "from each according to his abilities, to each according to his needs."

This will be a fundamental change from one economy, the economy of socialism, to another, higher economy, the economy of communism.

As can be seen, the business of transition from socialism to communism is not at all as simple as Comrade Yaroshenko imagines.

To attempt to reduce this whole complicated and diverse matter, demanding very important economic changes, to "the rational organization of productive forces," as Comrade Yaroshenko does, is to substitute Bogdanovism for Marxism.

* [The Soviet Union has a six-day work week and, with some exceptions, an eight-hour day.—Trans.]

II. Other Mistakes of Comrade Yaroshenko

1. From his wrong point of view Comrade Yaroshenko draws wrong conclusions on the nature and subject of political economy.

Comrade Yaroshenko denies the necessity for a single political economy for all social formations, on the grounds that each social formation has its specific economic laws. But he is utterly wrong and here he is at variance with such Marxists as Engels and Lenin.

Engels said that political economy is "the science of the conditions and forms under which the various human societies have produced and exchanged and always on this basis have distributed their products" ("Anti-Dühring"). Consequently, political economy studies the laws of economic development not of one social formation but of various social formations.

With this, as is known, Lenin was in complete agreement. In his critical remarks on Bukharin's book "The Economics of the Transitional Period," Lenin said that Bukharin was wrong to limit the sphere of political economy to commodity production, primarily capitalist production. He remarked at the time that here Bukharin was "taking a step back vis-a-vis Engels."

The definition of political economy given in the draft textbook of political economy is in complete agreement with this when it says that political economy is a science studying "the laws of social production and distribution of material wealth at various stages of the development of human society."

This is quite obvious. In their economic development diverse social formations are governed not only by their own specific economic laws but also by those economic laws which are common to all formations, such as the law of unity of productive forces and production relations in one and the same [system of] social production or the law of the relationship between productive forces and production relations in the process of development of all social formations. This means that social formations are not only separated from each other by their specific laws but linked with each other by economic laws common to all formations.

Engels was quite right when he said:

"In order to carry out a critique of bourgeois political economy completely, an acquaintance with the capitalist form of production, exchange and distribution did not suffice. The forms which had preceded it or those which still exist alongside it in less developed countries had also to be examined and compared, at least in their main features." ("Anti-Dühring.")

Evidently here, on this point, Comrade Yaroshenko sees eye to eye with Bukharin.

Further, Comrade Yaroshenko asserts that in his "Political Economy of Socialism" "concepts of political economy—value, commodity, money, credit, etc.—will be replaced by common sense discussion of the rational organization of productive forces in social production," that consequently the subject of this political economy is not the production relations of socialism but "working out and developing a scientific theory of the organization of the productive forces, a theory for the planning of the national economy," etc., and that production relations under socialism lose their independence and importance and are swallowed up by productive forces as a component part of the latter.

I must say that not a single harebrained "Marxist" has yet uttered such preposterous balderdash among us. After all, what sense is there in a political economy of socialism without economic, production problems? Can such a political economy be? What does it mean to replace economic problems in the political economy of socialism with problems of the organization of productive forces? It means to liquidate the political economy of socialism. This is exactly what Comrade Yaroshenko does—he liquidates the political economy of socialism. Here he is completely in accord with Bukharin. Bukharin said that with the elimination of capitalism political economy must be eliminated. Comrade Yaroshenko does not say this but he does it, by liquidating the political economy of socialism. True, in doing so he pretends that he is not in full agreement with Bukharin, but this is subterfuge, and paltry subterfuge at that. In reality he is doing what Bukharin preached and Lenin opposed. Comrade Yaroshenko is following in Bukharin's footsteps.

Further, Comrade Yaroshenko reduces the problems of the

political economy of socialism to problems of rational organization of productive forces, problems of planning the national economy, etc. But he is utterly wrong. The problems of rational organization of productive forces, of planning the national economy, and so on, do not constitute the subject of political economy but the subject of the economic policy of the directing agencies. These are two distinct areas which must not be confused. Comrade Yaroshenko confused these two different things and went astray. Political economy studies the laws of development of people's production relations. Economic policy draws practical conclusions therefrom, concretizes them and constructs its day-to-day work upon this foundation. To burden political economy with problems of economic policy is to nullify it as a science.

The subject of political economy is people's production relations, their economic relations. These involve: (a) the forms of ownership of the means of production; (b) the consequent position of various social groups in production and their mutual relationship or, as Marx says, "mutual exchange in their activity;" (c) the forms of distribution of goods, which are entirely dependent on the above. All this together constitutes the subject of political economy.

The term "exchange," which figures in Engels' definition, is missing from this definition. It is missing because many persons commonly interpret "exchange" to mean exchange of goods, which is a characteristic not of all but only of certain social formations, a fact which sometimes causes misunderstanding, although Engels conceived of "exchange" as not only commodity exchange. However, it is evident that what Engels meant by "exchange" is covered by the above definition. Consequently, in content this definition of the subject of political economy fully corresponds to Engels' definition.

2. When one speaks of the basic economic law of this or that social formation, one ordinarily assumes that the social formation can have only a single basic economic law, a basic law in the precise meaning of the word, and not several basic economic laws for each social formation, which would contradict the very meaning of a basic law. Yet Comrade Yaroshenko disagrees with this. He considers that one may have not a single, but several basic economic laws of socialism. This is incredible, but a fact. In his speech at the plenary session of the discussion he said:

"The magnitudes and interrelationships of the material funds of social production and reproduction are determined by the existence and prospective growth of manpower drawn into social production. This is a basic economic law of socialist society, conditioning the structure of socialist social production and reproduction."

This is the first basic economic law of socialism.

In the same speech Comrade Yaroshenko stated:

"The relation between subdivisions I and II is conditioned in socialist society by the requirements of production of the means of production in magnitudes necessary for drawing the entire able-bodied population into social production. This is a basic economic law of socialism and at the same time a requirement [implicit] in our Constitution, based on the right of Soviet people to work."

This is, so to speak, the second basic economic law of socialism.

Finally, in his letter to the members of the Politburo Comrade Yaroshenko declared:

"From the above, the essential characteristics and requirements of the basic law of socialism may be formulated, it seems to me, in approximately the following fashion: constantly growing and improved production of material and cultural conditions of the life of society."

So we already have a third basic economic law of socialism.

Whether all these laws are basic economic laws of socialism, or only one of them the basic law, and if only one, which one—these are questions which Comrade Yaroshenko does not answer in his final letter to the members of the Politburo. We must assume that in formulating the basic economic law of socialism in his letter to the members of the Politburo he "forgot" that in his speech at the plenary session of the discussion three months previously he had already formulated two other basic economic laws of socialism, evidently supposing

that this dubious stratagem would be overlooked. But his calculations went awry, as we see.

Let us grant that the first two basic economic laws of socialism which Comrade Yaroshenko formulated no longer exist and that henceforth Comrade Yaroshenko regards his third formulation, set forth in his letter to the Politburo members, as the basic economic law of socialism. Let us turn to Comrade Yaroshenko's letter.

In this letter Comrade Yaroshenko said that he disagrees with the definition of the basic economic law of socialism given in Comrade Stalin's "Remarks." He said:

"Fundamental in this definition is 'assuring maximum satisfaction** of the needs of all of society.' Production is presented here as a means for attaining this chief aim of satisfying needs. This definition provides grounds for assuming that your formulation of the basic economic law of socialism is based not on the primacy of production but on the primacy of consumption."

Evidently Comrade Yaroshenko has utterly failed to grasp the essence of the problem and does not see that talk about the primacy of consumption or production has absolutely no relevancy. When one speaks of the primacy of this or that social process over other processes one ordinarily assumes that both processes are more or less similar. One can and should speak of the primacy of production of the means of production over production of the means of consumption, since in both cases we are dealing with production and consequently they are more or less comparable. But one cannot speak, it would be wrong to speak of the primacy of consumption over production or of production over consumption, since production and consumption represent two quite different areas. Comrade Yaroshenko evidently does not realize that we are dealing here not with the primacy of consumption or production but with defining the goal which society sets for social production, the task to which it applies social production, let us say under socialism. Hence Comrade Yaroshenko's statements that "production constitutes the basis of life of socialist society, just as of any other society" are completely irrelevant. Comrade Yaroshenko forgets that people produce not for the sake of production but to satisfy their needs. He forgets that production divorced from satisfaction of society's needs wilts and dies.

In general, can one speak of the aim of capitalist or socialist production, of the tasks that capitalist or socialist production serves? I think one can and should.

Marx says:

"The direct purpose of capitalist production is to produce not goods but surplus value, or profit in its developed form; not the product, but the surplus product. From this point of view labor itself is productive only insofar as it creates profit or surplus product for capital. Insofar as the worker does not create this, his labor is unproductive. The mass of productive labor consequently is of interest to capital only insofar as thanks to it—or in accordance with it—the quantity of surplus labor grows; only to this extent is there needed what we have called essential working time. Insofar as labor does not yield this result it is surplus and must be abandoned."

"The purpose of capitalist production always is to create the maximum surplus value or maximum surplus product with the minimum outlay of capital; insofar as this result is not attained by inordinate labor on the part of the workers, the tendency arises on the part of capital to seek to produce the given product with as little expenditure as possible—the striving to reduce labor and costs***"

"In this light the workers themselves represent what they actually are in capitalist production—merely means of production and not the *raison d'être* and beneficiaries of production."*

These words of Marx are remarkable not only in giving a concise and exact definition of the purpose of capitalist production but in indicating the basic purpose, the basic task which should be set before socialist production.

Consequently, the object of capitalist production is profit. As for consumption, it is needed by capitalism only insofar as it serves the purpose of assuring profits. Outside of this, the

question of consumption becomes meaningless to capitalism. Man and his needs are lost sight of.

But what is the purpose of socialist production, what is the chief function that social production must serve under socialism?

The object of socialist production is not profit, but man and his needs, that is, satisfaction of his material and cultural requirements. The aim of socialist production, as stated in Comrade Stalin's "Remarks," is "to assure maximum satisfaction of constantly growing material and cultural needs of all of society."

Comrade Yaroshenko thinks he is dealing here with the "primacy" of consumption over production. That, of course, is silly. In actuality we are dealing here not with primacy of consumption but with making socialist production serve its basic goal of assuring maximum satisfaction of constantly growing material and cultural requirements of all of society.

Consequently, assuring maximum satisfaction of the constantly growing material and cultural requirements of all of society is the goal of socialist production; constant growth and improvement of socialist production on the basis of the highest technology is the means for attaining this end.

This is the basic economic law of socialism.

Desirous of preserving the so-called "primacy" of production over consumption, Comrade Yaroshenko asserts that "the basic economic law of socialism" is "constant growth and improvement of production of the material and cultural conditions of society." This is completely wrong. Comrade Yaroshenko grossly distorts and vitiates the formula set forth in Comrade Stalin's "Remarks." He turns production from a means into a goal and ignores the matter of assurance of maximum satisfaction of the constantly growing material and cultural requirements of society. What we get, then, is production for growth of production, production as its own *raison d'être*; and Comrade Yaroshenko loses sight of man and his needs.

Hence it is not surprising that, in losing sight of man as the purpose of socialist production, Comrade Yaroshenko's "conception" loses the last remnants of Marxism.

Thus Comrade Yaroshenko emerges not with "primacy" of production over consumption but with something resembling "primacy" of bourgeois ideology over Marxist ideology.

3. The question of Marx' theory of reproduction is a separate matter. Comrade Yaroshenko asserts that Marx' theory of reproduction is a theory only of capitalist reproduction and that it contains nothing that might be valid for other social formations, including the socialist social formation. He says:

"Application to socialist social production of Marx' scheme of reproduction, which he worked out for capitalist economy, is the result of dogmatic understanding of Marx' teaching and contradicts the essence of his teaching." (Cf. Comrade Yaroshenko's speech at the plenary session of the discussion.)

He asserts, further, that "Marx' scheme of reproduction does not fit the economic laws of socialist society and cannot serve as a basis for study of socialist reproduction." (Cf. *ibid.*)

Comrade Yaroshenko says of Marx' theory of simple reproduction, where a definite relation is established between production of the means of production (subdivision I) and production of the means of consumption (subdivision II):

"In socialist society the relation between the first and second subdivisions is not conditioned by Marx' formula $B + M$ of subdivision I and C of subdivision II. This mutual relationship in development between subdivision I and subdivision II should not occur under socialism." (Cf. *ibid.*)

He asserts that "the theory Marx worked out for the relationship of subdivisions I and II is inapplicable to our socialist conditions, since Marx' theory is based on the capitalist economy and its laws." (Cf. Comrade Yaroshenko's letter to members of the Politburo.)

This is how Comrade Yaroshenko tears up Marx' theory of reproduction.

Of course, Marx' theory of reproduction—evolved through study of the laws of capitalist reproduction—reflects the specific nature of capitalist production and naturally is endowed with the form of commodity-capitalist value relations. It could not but be otherwise. But to see in Marx' theory of

*Cf. "Theory of Surplus Value" [Russian edition], Part II, Vol. II.

reproduction only this form and to fail to notice its principles, to overlook its basic content, which is valid not only for the capitalist social formation, is to fail to understand this theory at all. If Comrade Yaroshenko had any understanding of the subject at all, he would have realized the obvious truth that Marx' scheme of reproduction is far from exhausted by reflection of the specific nature of capitalist production, that along with this it contains numerous basic propositions concerning reproduction, propositions valid for all social formations, including the socialist social formation in particular. Such basic propositions of Marx' theory of reproduction as the thesis of division of social production into production of means of production and production of means of consumption; the thesis of the predominant growth of production of the means of production under augmented reproduction; the thesis of the relation between subdivision I and II; the thesis of the surplus product as the only source of accumulation; the thesis of formation and allocation of social reserves; the thesis of accumulation as the only source of augmented reproduction—all these fundamental propositions of Marx' theory of reproduction are propositions that are valid not only for the capitalist formation and which no socialist society can fail to apply in planning the national economy. It is characteristic that Comrade Yaroshenko, who sniffs haughtily at Marx' "schemes of reproduction," is himself obliged to resort right and left to the help of these "schemes" in discussing problems of socialist reproduction.

How did Lenin and Marx regard these matters?

Everyone knows Lenin's critical observations on Bukharin's book "The Economics of the Transitional Period." In these observations, as is known, Lenin recognized that Marx' formula of the relation between subdivisions I and II, against which Comrade Yaroshenko takes arms, remains valid for both socialism and "pure communism," i.e., the second phase of communism.

As for Marx, it is known that he did not like to be deflected from study of the laws of capitalist production and his "Capital" did not deal with the question of the applicability to socialism of his scheme of reproduction. However, in Chapter 20 of Volume II of "Capital," under the heading "Constant Capital of Subdivision I," where he treats exchange of goods of subdivision I within this subdivision, Marx parenthetically notes that exchange of goods in this subdivision would proceed under socialism with the same constancy as in capitalist production. Marx says:

"It is obvious that, if production were social and not capitalist, products of subdivision I would be distributed as means of production for reproduction purposes with no less constancy among branches of production of this subdivision: one part would remain directly in the sphere of production from which it came as a product, while another part would move to other lines of production, and thus there would be established constant movement, in opposite directions, among the various lines of production of this subdivision."*

Consequently, Marx did not at all consider his theory of reproduction to be valid only for capitalist production, although he was engaged in study of the laws of capitalist production. On the contrary, he assumed, as we see, that his theory of reproduction might also be valid for socialist production.

It should be noted that in his "Critique of the Gotha Program" Marx, analyzing the economy of socialism and of the period of transition to communism, proceeds from the basic principles of his theory of reproduction, evidently considering them to be binding for the communist system.

Such are the facts.

It turns out that here, in the problem of reproduction, Comrade Yaroshenko, despite his loose language regarding Marx' "schemes," has again run around.

4. Comrade Yaroshenko closes his letter to the members of the Politburo with the proposal that he be entrusted to compile "A Political Economy of Socialism." He writes:

"On the basis of the definition of the subject of the political economy of socialism presented by me at the plenary session of the section and in this letter, and using the Marxist dialectical method, I can, within one year or not more than 18 months,

with the assistance of two persons, work out theoretical solutions of the fundamental problems of the political economy of socialism; propound a Marxist, Leninist-Stalinist theory of the political economy of socialism, a theory which will turn this science into an active weapon in the people's struggle for communism."

One is obliged to confess that Comrade Yaroshenko does not suffer from modesty. Moreover, using the style of certain writers, one might say: "Even quite the contrary."

It has already been stated above that Comrade Yaroshenko is mixing up the political economy of socialism with the economic policy of the directing agencies. What he considers the subject of the political economy of socialism—rational organization of productive forces, the planning of the national economy, the formation of social funds, etc.—is not the subject of political economy of socialism, but the subject of economic policy of the directing agencies.

I need not mention that the serious mistakes committed by Comrade Yaroshenko and his un-Marxist "point of view" are not conducive to granting him such a commission.

Conclusions:

(1) Comrade Yaroshenko's complaint against the leaders of the discussion is senseless, since the leaders of the discussion, being Marxists, could not reflect his un-Marxist point of view in their summarizing documents.

(2) Comrade Yaroshenko's request to be assigned to write a political economy of socialism cannot be taken seriously, if only for the reason that it reeks of Khlestakovism.*

J. STALIN.

May 22, 1952.

REPLY TO COMRADES A. V. SANINA AND V. G. VENZHER

I have received your letters. It is evident that the writers of these letters are deeply and seriously studying the problems of the economics of our country. The letters contain many correct assertions and interesting thoughts. However, they also contain several serious theoretical errors. It is with these errors that I wish to deal in this reply.

1. Question of the Nature of the Economic Laws of Socialism

Comrades Sanina and Venzher assert that "the economic laws of socialism arise only from the conscious actions of Soviet people, engaged in material production." This thesis is utterly wrong.

Do laws of economic development exist objectively, outside us, independent of the will and minds of people? Marxism answers this question in the affirmative. Marxism considers that the laws of the political economy of socialism are a reflection in the minds of people of objective laws existing outside us. But the formulation by Comrades Sanina and Venzher presents a negative answer to this question. This means that these comrades have adopted the viewpoint of the mistaken theory which maintains that the laws of economic development under socialism are "created" and "changed" by society's directing agencies. In other words they break with Marxism and take the path of subjective idealism.

Naturally, people can discover these objective laws, recognize them and, relying on them, apply them in the interests of society. But they can neither "create" nor "change" them.

Let us suppose for a minute that we took the point of view of the mistaken theory which denies the existence of objective laws in economic life under socialism and proclaims the possibility of "creating" and "changing" economic laws. Where would that lead? It would lead to finding ourselves in the realm of chaos and chance; we would find ourselves slavishly dependent on chance occurrences, we would deprive ourselves of the possibility not just of understanding but even of deciphering things in this chaos of chance circumstances.

This would lead to our liquidating political economy as

* Cf. Marx, "Capital," eighth [Russian] edition, Vol. II, p. 307.

* [The name of Khlestakov, the chief character in Gogol's play "The Inspector-General," is synonymous with irresponsible, boastful exaggeration and presumption.]

a science, because science cannot exist and develop without the admission of objective laws, without study of these laws. And, having negated science, we would have deprived ourselves of the possibility of foreseeing the trend of events in the economic life of the country, that is, we would have deprived ourselves of the opportunity to organize even the most elementary economic leadership.

In the long run we would find ourselves in the power of the whims of the "economic" adventurers who are prepared to "annul" the laws of economic development and "create" new laws without understanding and reckoning with objective laws.

Everyone knows the classic formulation of the Marxist stand on this question given by Engels in his "Anti-Dühring:"

"The forces operating in society work exactly like the forces operating in nature: blindly, violently, destructively, so long as we do not understand them and fail to take them into account. But when once we have recognized them and understood how they work, their direction and their effects, the gradual subjection of them to our will and the use of them for the attainment of our aims depends entirely upon ourselves. And this is quite especially true of the mighty productive forces of the present day. So long as we obstinately refuse to understand their nature and their character—and the capitalist mode of production and its defenders set themselves against any such attempt—so long do the productive forces operate in spite of us, against us, and so long do they control us, as we have shown in detail. But once their nature is grasped, in the hands of producers working in association they can be transformed from demoniac masters into willing servants. It is the difference between the destructive force of electricity in the lightning of a thunderstorm and the tamed electricity of the telegraph and the arc light; the difference between a conflagration and fire in the service of man. When we begin to treat the productive forces of the present day on the basis of their real nature, at last recognized, social anarchy in production will be replaced by socially planned regulation of production for the needs both of society as a whole and for each individual member of it. The capitalist mode of appropriation, in which the product enslaves first the producer and then also the appropriator, will then be replaced by a new mode of appropriation of the products based on the nature of the modern means of production themselves: on the one hand direct social appropriation as a means to the maintenance and extension of production, and on the other hand direct individual appropriation as a means to life and pleasure."

2. The Question of Measures for Elevating Collective Farm Property to the Level of Public Property

What measures are necessary to elevate collective farm property, which is of course not public property, to the level of public ("national") property?

Some comrades consider that it is necessary only to nationalize collective farm property and to declare it public property, as was done at one time with capitalist property. This proposal is utterly wrong and absolutely unacceptable. Collective farm property is socialist property and we cannot treat it in the same way as capitalist property. Because collective farm property is not public property, it does not in any way follow that collective farm property is not socialist property.

These comrades consider that the transfer of the property of individuals and groups to state ownership is the only or at any rate the best form of nationalization. This is incorrect. In actual fact, transfer to state ownership is not the only and even not the best means of nationalization, but [only] an initial form of nationalization, as Engels correctly points out in "Anti-Dühring." Certainly, as long as the state continues to exist, transfer to state ownership is the most understandable initial form of nationalization. But the state will not exist forever. With the expansion of the sphere of operation of socialism in the majority of countries of the world, the state will wither away and, naturally, in connection with this the question of transferring the property of individuals and groups to state ownership will disappear. The state will disappear but society will remain. It follows that the recipient of public property will now no longer be the state, which will have disappeared, but society itself as represented by its central guiding economic agency.

In view of this, what should be done to elevate collective farm property to the level of public property?

As the principal measure to elevate collective farm property in this way, Comrades Sanina and Venzher suggest selling to the collective farms the basic means of production concentrated in the Machine and Tractor Stations, thus freeing the state of the burden of capital investment in agriculture and having the collective farms themselves bear the responsibility of maintaining and developing the Machine and Tractor Stations. They say:

"It would be incorrect to assume that the contributions made by the collective farms must be mainly directed toward the needs of culture in the collective farm villages and that the state should continue to make the basic investments for the needs of agricultural production. Would it not be more correct to free the state of this burden in view of the collective farms' complete ability to take over all of it? The state will find plenty of things to which to devote investment capital in order to create an abundance of consumers' goods in the country."

In support of this proposal its authors present a number of arguments.

First. Citing Stalin's statement that the means of production are not to be sold even to the collective farms, the authors of the proposal question Stalin's thesis, maintaining that the state nevertheless does sell means of production to the collective farms, such means of production as minor equipment—scythes, sickles, small motors, and so on. They reason that if the state sells these means of production to the collective farms it could also sell them all the other means of production, such as the Machine and Tractor Stations' machinery.

This argument has not a leg to stand on. Of course the state does sell the collective farms minor equipment, as provided in the Collective Farm Statutes and in accord with the Constitution. But can one really place minor equipment on a level with such basic means of production in agriculture as the machines in the M.T.S. or, let us say, the land, which after all constitutes one of the basic means of production in agriculture? Clearly one cannot. One cannot, because minor equipment in no way decides the fate of collective farm production, while such means of production as the M.T.S. machinery and land entirely decide the fate of agriculture in our present-day conditions.

It is not difficult to understand that when Stalin spoke of not selling the means of production to collective farms, he had in mind not small equipment but the basic means of agricultural production—the M.T.S. machinery and the land. The authors are playing with the words "means of production" and confusing two different things without noticing that they end up being muddled.

Secondly. Comrades Sanina and Venzher further refer to the fact that during the initial period of the mass movement of establishing collective farms, at the end of 1929 and the beginning of 1930, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union was itself in favor of turning over the M.T.S. to the ownership of the collective farms, requiring the collective farms to pay off the cost of the M.T.S. over a period of three years. They consider that although at that time this arrangement fell through "owing to the poverty" of the collective farms, now that the collective farms have become wealthy it would be possible to revert to this policy of selling the M.T.S. to the collective farms.

This argument also has no leg to stand on. At the beginning of 1930 the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union did indeed adopt a decision to sell the M.T.S. to the collective farms. This decision was adopted at the proposal of a group of leading collective farmers, as an experiment to be tried out on the understanding that this question would soon be discussed again and reviewed. But the very first test demonstrated the inexpediency of the above decision, and the decision was repealed in a few months, namely, at the end of 1930.

The further growth of the collective farm movement and the development of collective farming completely convinced both the collective farmers and the directing officials that concentration of the basic means of agricultural production in the hands of the state, in the hands of the Machine and Tractor Stations, is the only way to assure high tempos in the growth of collective farm production.

We are all pleased by the colossal increase in agricultural

production of our country, increased production of grain, production of cotton, flax, sugar beet, etc. To what is this increase due? This increase is due to modern technology, to the numerous modern machines serving all branches of production. The main factor here is not technology itself but the fact that technology cannot remain stagnant but has to be perfected constantly, that the old technology must be shelved and replaced by new, and the new must be replaced by the most up-to-date. Without this, the progress of our socialist agriculture, better harvests and an abundance of agricultural produce would be inconceivable. What is entailed in shelving hundreds of thousands of wheel tractors and replacing them with caterpillar tractors, in replacing tens of thousands of obsolete combines with new ones, creating new machines for, say, technical crops? It means investing billions, making an investment which can pay for itself only in six to eight years. Can our collective farms undertake such expenditures, even though they be millionaire farms? No, they cannot, for they are unable to undertake expenditures which will pay for themselves only in six to eight years. Only the state can undertake these expenditures, for it and only it is able to bear the losses involved in shelving old machines and replacing them with new ones, for it and only it is capable of accepting such losses for the period of six to eight years with the prospect of recovering the advanced sums after that period.

What does it mean, after all this, to demand sale of the M.T.S. to the collective farms? It means forcing the collective farms to accept heavy losses and ruining the collective farms, undermining the mechanization of agriculture and lowering the tempo of collective farm production.

Hence the conclusion: in proposing to sell the M.T.S. to the collective farms Comrades Sanina and Venzher are taking a step back, a step toward backwardness, and trying to turn back the wheel of history.

Let us assume for a moment that we accept the proposal of Comrades Sanina and Venzher and begin to sell the chief tools of production, the Machine and Tractor Stations, to the collective farms. What would be the result?

The result, first, would be that the collective farms would become the owners of the chief tools of production. That is, they would attain an exceptional position, such as no enterprise in our country enjoys, since, as is well known, even the nationalized enterprises in our country are not the owners of the tools of production. How could one justify this exceptional position of the collective farms, by what considerations of progress or advance? Could one say that such a situation would be conducive to raising collective farm property to the level of public property, that it would speed the transition of our society from socialism to communism? Would it not be more accurate to say that such a situation could only further separate collective farm ownership from public ownership and lead us not closer to communism, but, on the contrary, further from it?

In the second place, it would lead to an increase in the sphere of commodity turnover, for an enormous amount of the tools of agricultural production would fall within the orbit of commodity turnover. Do Comrades Sanina and Venzher think that enlarging the sphere of operation of commodity turnover would stimulate our advance toward communism? Would it not be more accurate to say that it could only retard our advance toward communism?

The basic error of Comrades Sanina and Venzher is that they do not understand the role and significance of commodity turnover under socialism, they do not understand that commodity turnover is incompatible with the prospect of transition from socialism to communism. Evidently they think that it is possible to make the change from socialism to communism even if we retain commodity turnover and that commodity turnover cannot be a hindrance to this transition. This is a profound blunder which arose from lack of understanding of Marxism.

In his criticism of Dühring's "economic commune," which functions with commodity turnover, Engels convincingly proved in his "Anti-Dühring" that the existence of commodity turnover would inevitably bring Dühring's "economic communes" to a revival of capitalism. Evidently Comrades Sanina and Venzher disagree with this. The worse for them. But we Marxists base ourselves on the well-known Marxist thesis that the transition from socialism to communism and the communist principle of

distribution of goods according to needs exclude any commodity turnover and consequently making commodities of goods, with their transformation into value.

That is how matters stand with the proposal and arguments of Comrades Sanina and Venzher.

What then must be done, in the final analysis, to elevate collective farm property to the level of public property?

The collective farm is an unusual enterprise. It functions on land and cultivates land which long ago ceased to be collective farm property and became public property. Consequently the collective farm is not the owner of the land it cultivates.

Further. A collective farm functions with basic tools of production representing not collective farm but public property. Consequently a collective farm is not the owner of the basic tools of production.

Further. The collective farm is a cooperative enterprise, it uses the labor of its members and distributes the income among members according to [number of] workdays.* At the same time a collective farm has its own seed stocks, which are renewed annually and go into production.

The question arises: what exactly does the collective farm own, where is the collective farm property of which it can freely dispose at its own discretion? The produce of the collective farm constitutes such property, the yield of collective farming: grain, meat, butter, vegetables, cotton, sugar beets, flax, etc., not counting the buildings and private plots of the collective farm members. The point of the matter is that a considerable part of this output, the surplus of collective farm production, enters the market and thus is included in the system of commodity turnover. It is this circumstance specifically which presently prevents collective farm property from being raised to the level of public property. Hence it is specifically at this point that it is necessary to start elevating collective farm property to the level of public property.

In order to elevate collective farm property to the level of public property it is necessary to take surplus collective farm production out of the system of commodity turnover and include it in the system of product exchange between state industry and the collective farms. This is the essence of it.

We do not yet have a developed system of product exchange, but we have the genesis of product exchange in the form of contract provision of goods in exchange for farm products ["otovarivaniye"]. As is well known, the yield of cotton-growing, flax-growing, beet-raising and other collective farms has long been under such contract exchange ["otovarivayetsya"]; not all of it, it is true, is disposed of on this basis, only part of it, but still it is on this basis. Let us note incidentally that the word "otovarivaniye" is a poor word and should be replaced by "product exchange" ["produktobmen"]. The task is to establish these rudiments of product exchange in all branches of agriculture and to develop them into an extensive system of product exchange so that the collective farms would receive for their products not only money but primarily articles they need. Such a system requires a tremendous increase in output delivered by the cities to the countryside, hence it should be introduced without particular haste and in proportion to the accumulation of city goods. But it should be introduced steadily, unwaveringly, without hesitation, step by step reducing the sphere of operation of commodity turnover and increasing the sphere of operation of product exchange.

Such a system, cutting down the sphere of operation of commodity turnover, will make easier the transition from socialism to communism. In addition, it will make it possible to include the basic property of the collective farms—the yield

* [Workday—the unit for accounting the labor of collective farmers: a quota of daily work per person, graded according to the kind of work and its quality. A skilled farmer earns more "workdays" in a day of work than an unskilled cowherd; an efficient skilled farmer earns more "workdays" than one performing like work but not performing as much in the same span of time. Somewhat like a share of stock, the "workday" is the unit by which the net income of the collective farm is divided among members at the end of the farming year. — Trans.]

of collective farming—in the general system of national planning.

This will be a realistic and effective means of elevating collective farm property to the level of public property under our present conditions.

Is such a system advantageous to the collective farm peasantry? Definitely yes. It is advantageous because the collective farm peasantry will receive from the state many more goods

and at lower prices than under commodity turnover. Everyone knows that the collective farms which have product-exchange contracts with the government receive incomparably greater benefits than collective farms which do not have such agreements. If the system of product exchange were extended to all collective farms in the country our entire collective farm peasantry would acquire these benefits.

Sept. 28, 1952

J. STALIN.

II. THE CONGRESS DOCUMENTS

The Announcement of the Congress

TO THE ATTENTION OF ALL ORGANIZATIONS OF THE ALL-UNION COMMUNIST PARTY (OF BOLSHEVIKS). (Pravda and Izvestia, Aug. 20, p. 1. Complete text:) A plenary session of the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party was held recently in Moscow.

The Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party decided to convene the next, 19th Congress of the All-Union Communist Party Oct. 5, 1952.

Agenda of the 19th Congress

1. Report of the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party—Comrade G. M. Malenkov, Secretary of the Central Committee, reporter.
2. Report of the Central Inspection Commission* of the All-Union Communist Party—Comrade P. G. Moskatov, Chairman of the Inspection Commission, reporter.
3. Directives of the 19th Party Congress for the Fifth Five-year Plan of Development of the U.S.S.R., 1951-1955—Comrade M. Z. Saburov, Chairman of the State Planning Committee, reporter.
4. Changes in the Statutes of the All-Union Communist Party—Comrade N. S. Khrushchev, Secretary of the Central Committee, reporter.
5. Election of central Party bodies.

Quotas of Representation and Method of Election Of Delegates to the Congress

1. One delegate with voting powers per 5000 Party members;
2. One delegate with consultative voice per 5000 candidates to Party membership.
3. In accord with the Party Statutes, delegates to the 19th Party Congress are to be elected by closed (secret) ballot.
4. Delegates from Party organizations of the Russian Fed-

erative Republic are to be elected at Party conferences of provinces, territories and autonomous republics. In other Union republics delegates are to be elected at province Party conferences or at Congresses of the Communist Parties of the Union republics, at the discretion of the Central Committees of the Union republic Communist Parties.

5. Communists enrolled in Party organizations of the Soviet Army and Navy and border units of the Ministry of State Security are to elect delegates to the 19th Party Congress together with other Party organizations at province or territory Party conferences or at Congresses of Communist Parties of the Union republics.

J. STALIN, Secretary, Central Committee, All-Union Communist Party (of Bolsheviks).

TRANSLATOR'S NOTE: Simultaneously with the above announcement, Soviet newspapers Aug. 20 printed two drafts prepared by the Communist Party Central Committee for the Congress: a draft of Congress directives for the Fifth Five-Year Plan and a draft of revised Party Statutes.

Chronological order would require printing these drafts at this point and then, at the end of the book, the final versions adopted by the Congress. (The final version of the Five-Year Plan directives appeared in Pravda Oct. 12 and the final version of the Party Statutes Oct. 14.)

However, the changes made in the drafts were so slight that it would be wasteful of space to print both the drafts and the final versions. Moreover, printing the drafts separately from the final versions would cause unnecessary trouble to the reader who wishes to compare them and to find the changes made.

Accordingly, only the final versions appear here, with the changes made during the Congress clearly delineated. All words or passages that were added to the drafts are shown by underlining. All words or passages deleted from the drafts are printed in square brackets. With this key, the reader has both the drafts and the final versions before him and a ready picture of the changes made during the Congress.

Elsewhere in this book square brackets are reserved for translator's notes or interpolations, and underlining to convey emphasis indicated in the Russian original by boldface type.

* ["Revizionnaya komissia," which is sometimes variously translated in other publications as "auditing," "inspection" or "revision" commission.—Trans.]

Directives on Fifth Five-Year Plan

The "Draft of the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party: Directives of the 19th Party Congress for Fifth Five-Year Plan of Development of the U.S.S.R., 1951-1955," published in Pravda Aug. 20, pp. 1-3, is identical with the directives adopted by the Congress (below) except for changes indicated: additions by underlining and deletions by square brackets.

DIRECTIVES OF 19TH PARTY CONGRESS FOR FIFTH FIVE-YEAR PLAN OF DEVELOPMENT OF THE U.S.S.R., 1951-1955.—Resolution of the 19th Congress of the All-Union Communist Party (of Bolsheviks) on the Report by Comrade M. Z. Saburov, Chairman of the State Planning Committee.—Adopted Unanimously. (Pravda, Oct. 12, pp. 1-3. Complete text.) The successful fulfillment of the Fourth Five-Year Plan makes it possible to adopt another, the Fifth Five-Year Plan, ensuring the further advance of all branches of the national economy and a rise in the material well-being, health and cultural standard of the people.

In conformity with this, the 19th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union deems it necessary to give the Party Central Committee and the U.S.S.R. Council of Ministers the following directives for the Fifth Five-Year Plan of development of the U.S.S.R., 1951-1955.

1. IN INDUSTRY

1. The advance in the level of industrial production for the five-year period should be fixed at approximately 70%, with an average annual rate of increase in total industrial output of approximately 12%. The rate of increase in the output of the means of production (Group A) should be set at 13%, and of the means of consumption (Group B) at 11%.

2. The increase in output of the major items of industrial production in 1955, compared with 1950, should be provided for in approximately the following magnitudes:

Pig iron 76%, steel 62%, rolled metal 64%, coal 43%, oil 85%, electric power 80%, steam turbines 2.3 times, hydroturbines 7.8 times, steam boilers 2.7 times, metallurgical equipment 85%, oil equipment 3.5 times, big metal-cutting machine tools 2.6 times, automobiles 20%, tractors 19%, calcine soda 84%, caustic soda 79%, mineral fertilizers 88%, synthetic rubber 82%, cement 2.2 times, cut timber 56%, paper 46%, cotton goods 61%, woolen fabrics 54%, leather footwear 55%, granulated sugar 78%, meat 92%, fish 58%, butter 72%, vegetable oils 77%, canned goods 2.1 times.

3. State capital investments in industry in 1951-1955 should be set at approximately double those of 1946-1950, in conformity with the plan for the further advance of industrial production. Together with opening new enterprises and units, increase in the capacity of operating enterprises should be ensured by their reconstruction, installation of new equipment, mechanization and intensification of production, and improvement of technological processes.

Expansion of existing enterprises should be used as a major source of increasing production with the least outlay.

The foundations should be laid for construction of metallurgical plants, power stations, oil refineries, chemical industry plants and coal mines so as to ensure the necessary development of these branches of industry in subsequent years.

Improvement in the geographic distribution of construction of industrial enterprises should be ensured in the new five-year plan period, bringing industry closer to the sources of raw material and fuel with the object of eliminating irrational and excessively long shipments.

4. In the iron and steel industry, along with further increase

in the production of ferrous metals, the variety and output of shortage types of rolled metal should be increased, particularly heavy sheet steel by approximately 80%, light section steel and rolled wire 2.1 times, and stainless sheet steel 3.1 times. Production of economical types and grades of rolled metal should be developed.

Production of special steels and alloys for the needs of machine building should be increased and their quality improved.

Further improvement should be made in the utilization of operating capacity of metallurgical enterprises. Work should be intensified on improving metallurgical production processes, automatization and mechanization of metallurgical aggregates and of labor-consuming jobs in enterprises of the iron and steel industry.

The introduction of additional production capacity for pig iron during the Fifth Five-Year Plan period should be approximately 32% more than in the Fourth Five-Year Plan, steel 42% more, rolled metal not less than twice as much, coke 80% more, and iron ore three times as much.

Together with the development of the iron and steel industry in the South, the Urals, Siberia, the Center and the Northwest, further development of the metallurgical industry in the Transcaucasus and conducting of planning and surveying work on iron ore deposits in the Karelo-Finnish Republic should be ensured.

Development of the production of ferrous metals by local industry should be provided for through building small steel mills.

5. Production of nonferrous metals should be substantially expanded. Production should be increased in the five years by the following approximate amounts: refined copper 90%, lead 2.7 times, aluminum not less than 2.6 times, zinc 2.5 times, nickel 53% and tin 80%.

Mining and labor-consuming operations should be mechanized, production processes automatized and intensified, complex extraction of metal from ore should be increased, further growth in the production of higher grade metals should be ensured, the utilization of capacity of existing plants considerably extended and improved, and new ones built.

6. In the sphere of electrification, the pace of increasing the power plant capacity should be high in order to meet the growing power needs of the national economy and the household needs of the public and to increase reserves in the power networks.

The total capacity of electric stations should be increased in the five years approximately twofold and of hydroelectric stations threefold, while in regard to fuel-operated power plants expansion of existing enterprises should be foremost. Large hydroelectric stations, including the Kulbyshev station of 2,100,000 kilowatts, as well as the Kama, Gorky, Mingeaur, Ust-Kamenogorsk and other stations (with a total capacity of 1,916,000 kilowatts), should be put into operation. The Kuibyshev-Moscow transmission line should be built and put into service.

Construction of the Stalingrad and Kakhovka and Novosibirsk Hydroelectric Stations should be developed and new big hydroelectric stations started at Cheboksary on the Volga, Votkinsk on the Kama, Bukhtarma on the Irtysh and many other places.

Work should be started on tapping the power resources of the Angara River, developing through cheap electric power local raw material sources for the aluminum, chemical, mining and other industries.

With a view to improving considerably the electric power supply of the South, the Urals, and the Kuznetsk Basin, a substantial increase should be ensured in the capacity of fuel-operated power plants for local and industrial service in these areas. In order to ensure the electric power supply to cities and districts, small and medium electric stations should be built as well as big ones.

In connection with the tasks of further industrialization, an increase of two to 2.5 times should be ensured in the production of electric power in the Lithuanian, Latvian and Estonian Republics. The Narva Hydroelectric Station and the Riga Fuel-Operated Central Power Plant should be built, and construction of the Kaunas Hydroelectric Station developed. Planning and surveying work for the construction of hydroelectric stations in the Baltic should be conducted.

Fuel-operated central power plants and central steam-heating systems should be built for central heating of cities and industrial enterprises.

There should be extensive automatization of production proc-

esses in power plants. Full automatization of district hydro-electric stations should be completed and a beginning should be made on introducing remote control operations in power systems.

7. High-speed development of the oil industry should be ensured. Further development of extraction of oil from tidelands deposits should be provided for.

In conformity with the projected increase in oil extraction development of the oil-refining industry should be ensured, and the oil refineries should be brought closer to the districts using petroleum products.

In the course of the five-year plan the capacity of primary refining plants should be increased approximately twofold and of cracking plants by 2.7 times, envisaging a substantial acceleration of oil processing and greater extraction of light petroleum products both at existing and new refineries.

Production of synthetic liquid fuel should be developed.

Construction and opening of trunk oil pipelines and storage tanks for oil and oil products should be substantially increased.

8. Further development of the gas industry should be ensured. Production of natural gas and of the oil gas that is a by-product of oil extraction, as well as production of gas from coal and shale, should be increased approximately 80% in the five years. Use of gas for household needs, its use as automobile fuel, and production of chemicals from gas should be expanded.

Production of artificial gas from shale in the Estonian Republic should be increased approximately 2.2 times and the Kohtla-Järve—Tallinn gas pipeline should be completed and opened.

9. In the coal industry, a more rapid increase should be envisaged in the production of coking coal, enlarging output of this coal by not less than 50% in the five years.

The quality of coal should be raised, substantially expanding the amount of concentration and briquetting; concentration of coal should be increased approximately 2.7 times in five years.

The methods of working coal deposits should be systematically improved. The latest coal-mining machinery and equipment should be introduced for the purposes of complex mechanization, further technical re-equipment of the coal industry and growth of labor productivity. Mechanization of the more labor-consuming processes should be thoroughly developed in coal mining, particularly in cutting and hauling coal and ore during the tunneling of preparatory workings, and mechanized propping methods should be introduced more widely.

Mine capacity should be enlarged approximately 30% as compared with the Fourth Five-Year Plan.

A 27% increase in peat production should be provided for in the five years and also further development of the extraction of local coal; production of shale should be increased 2.3 times, with an especially large increase in the Estonian Republic. On the basis of development of the shale chemical industry, production of synthetic liquid fuel in the Estonian Republic should be enlarged approximately 80% during the five-year period.

10. A high rate of development should be envisaged for machine building, as the basis of great new technical progress in all branches of the U.S.S.R. national economy. Output of the machine-building and metal-working industries should be approximately doubled in the five years.

Full provision of equipment for electric stations, for enterprises of the iron and steel and nonferrous metal industries, for construction of plants for processing oil and producing synthetic liquid fuel and for chemical industry plants should be considered a particularly important task in machine building. Production should be developed, in the necessary amounts, of hydraulic and steam turbines, generators, high-voltage equipment and various control instruments for the operation of big water power plants, fuel-operated electric stations, metallurgical, oil-refining and other plants, as well as heavy machine tools, forging and press equipment.

In the five years, output of rolling equipment should be increased more than twofold, precision machine tools approximately twofold, heavy forging machines and presses eightfold, operation and control instruments and instruments for automatic and telemechanic operations approximately 2.7 times. Production of chemical equipment should be increased approxi-

mately 3.3 times in the five years. Manufacture of large diesel trucks as well as gas generator trucks should be substantially increased.

Launching of seagoing freighters and tankers should be increased approximately 2.9 times in 1955, as compared with 1950; of river passenger boats 2.6 times, of vessels for the fishing fleet 3.8 times.

Further development of machine building should be ensured: Shipbuilding and manufacture of turbines, electric machinery and machine tools in the Lithuanian Republic; manufacture of electric machinery and machine tools and shipbuilding in the Latvian Republic; shipbuilding and manufacture of electric machinery in the Estonian Republic.

A considerable increase should be ensured in the manufacture of hoisting and transport equipment, machines for the mechanization of labor-consuming operations, complete-unit equipment for the production of building materials and automatic equipment for light industry and the food industry. Production of looms should be expanded.

Manufacture of efficient machines and equipment for the timber, pulp and paper, sawmill and wood-processing industries should be increased.

In designing new machines, their weight should be reduced and their quality improved.

In order to carry out the assignment for the manufacture of major types of equipment in 1951-1955, new plants must be built and put into operation, existing plants manufacturing power equipment and rolling-mill equipment must be reconstructed, and new plants built for the manufacture of rolling-mill equipment, turbines and boilers; existing capacity must be enlarged and new capacity put into operation for the manufacture of oil equipment, hoisting and transport machinery, and complete-unit equipment for the building-materials industry; existing capacity must be substantially expanded and new capacity created for the manufacture of heavy machine tools, cutting machines and presses, as well as precision measuring instruments and instruments for automatic control of technological processes.

11. In the chemical industry a very high rate of increase must be ensured in the production of mineral fertilizers, soda and synthetic rubber, paying particular attention to maximum development of the production of rubber from oil gases.

Production of plastics, dyes and raw material for artificial silk should be increased and the assortment of other chemical products enlarged. Production of synthetics as substitutes for nonferrous metals should be developed.

Expansion should be envisaged for the production capacity for manufacture of ammonia, sulphuric acid, synthetic alcohol, soda, mineral fertilizers—especially granulated—and chemical insecticides.

Production of superphosphates should be organized in the Estonian Republic and construction of a superphosphate factory should be begun in the Lithuanian Republic.

Construction of mineral fertilizer plants should be begun to assure the necessary development of this industry in subsequent years. Full use should be made of phosphate slag as fertilizer for the fields.

Use of oxygen on a wide scale should be introduced in technological processes in various industries, particularly in iron and steel and nonferrous metal industries, in the production of gas from coal, and in the cellulose and cement industries.

12. The lag of the lumber industry behind the growing requirements of the national economy should be overcome. Output of timber should increase and the manufacture of wooden parts for industry and building should be developed. There should be extensive shifting of lumber camps to districts with plentiful forest lands, especially in the North, the Urals, Western Siberia and the Karelo-Finnish Republic, reducing the felling of timber in poorly forested districts. The seasonal nature of lumbering should be lessened, for which purpose mechanized enterprises should be built in new districts, ensuring them permanent cadres of workers. Further complex mechanization of timber felling and hauling should be carried out. The organization of production and the utilization of equipment should be improved, ensuring a rise in labor productivity at lumber camps. The new sawmill capacity introduced in the five years in new districts where timbering is developing should be approximately eight times as much as was introduced in the preceding five-year plan.

The yield of cotton per hectare should be raised as follows: In Central Asia and South Kazakhstan to 26 to 27 centners; in the Transcaucasus to 25 to 27 centners; and in the southern districts of the European part, on watered land to 11 to 13 centners and on unwatered land to five to seven centners.

The yield of flax fiber per hectare should be increased in the non-Black Earth belt to 4.5 to 5.5 centners and in the Urals and Siberia to four to five centners; sugar beets in the Ukraine Republic, Moldavian Republic and North Caucasus to 255 to 265 centners, in the Central Black Earth regions to 200 to 210 centners, and in Central Asia and Kazakhstan to 400 to 425 centners; potatoes in the non-Black Earth belt to 155 to 175 centners, in the Central Black Earth regions to 140 to 160 centners, in the South and the North Caucasus to 135 to 155 centners, and in the Urals and Siberia to 125 to 145 centners; sunflowers in the Ukraine Republic, the Moldavian Republic and the North Caucasus to 17 to 20 centners, in the Central Black Earth regions to 14.5 to 16.5 centners and in the Volga area to ten to 12 centners.

3. Raising of vegetables and potatoes and output of dairy and meat products should be increased in the suburban zones around Moscow, Leningrad and the cities of the Urals, the Donets Basin, Kuznetsk Basin and other industrial centers and large cities; potato and vegetable and animal husbandry bases should be established in the new industrial districts.

During the five years the potato crop in the zones around distilleries and starch and molasses factories should be increased approximately 50% and vegetable crops should be doubled in zones around canneries and dehydrated vegetable factories.

During the five years the area of orchards and berry patches in the collective farms should be increased approximately 70%, vineyards 50%, tea plantations 60% and citrus orchards 4.5 times.

4. During the five years the output of animal products should be increased as follows: Meat and fats 80% to 90%, milk 45% to 50%, wool approximately twofold to 2.5 times, including fine wool 4.4 to five times, eggs (on the collective and state farms) sixfold to sevenfold.

The number of livestock should be increased as follows: Cattle in agriculture as a whole 18% to 20%, including cattle on collective farms 36% to 38%, and cows approximately 100%; sheep in agriculture as a whole 60% to 62%, including sheep on collective farms, 75% to 80%; hogs in agriculture as a whole, 45% to 50%, including hogs on the collective farms, 85% to 90%; poultry on the collective farms, three to 3.5 times; horses in agriculture as a whole, 10% to 12%, including horses on collective farms, 14% to 16%.

Further development of highly productive animal husbandry, particularly dairy cattle and hogs, should be ensured in the Lithuanian, Latvian and Estonian Republics; the milk yield per cow on the collective farms of the non-Black Earth belt should be raised to 1800 to 2000 kilograms; in the South and in the Volga areas to 1600 to 1900 kilograms; in Siberia, the Urals and Northeastern Kazakhstan to 1500 to 1700 kilograms; in Central Asia to 700 to 900 kilograms, and in the Transcaucasus to 900 to 1100 kilograms.

The wool clip per fine-wooled sheep on the collective farms of the South and of the North Caucasus should be increased to 5.2 to 5.8 kilograms; and per medium-wooled sheep to 4.2 to 4.8 kilograms; in the Central Black Earth regions per fine-wooled sheep to 4.2 to five kilograms, and to four to 4.2 kilograms per medium-wooled sheep; in the Volga areas per fine-wooled sheep to 4.6 to 5.4 kilograms, and to 3.9 to 4.5 kilograms per medium-wooled sheep; in Siberia per fine-wooled sheep to 4.3 to 4.9 kilograms, and to 3.8 to 4.2 kilograms per medium-wooled sheep.

5. New and higher-yielding grain strains, more productive and earlier-ripening cotton strains and sugar beet strains with a higher sugar content should be introduced, as well as more kinds of high-oil-content sunflowers; and new seed strains should be developed for planting on the newly irrigated lands. Seed production should be improved on collective and state farms.

6. Further development of work on shelter forestation in the steppe and forest-steppe areas should be ensured through soil and forest amelioration measures to combat soil erosion, as

well as through forestation of sandy areas, planting forests for lumber and planting green belts around cities and industrial centers and along the banks of rivers, canals and reservoirs.

During the five years not less than 2,500,000 hectares of forest shelter belts are to be planted on collective and state farms and about 2,500,000 hectares of nurseries and state forests.

7. Highly productive use of all the irrigated and drained lands should be ensured and the transition should be made everywhere to the new system of irrigation by temporary channels in place of permanent ones; the work of building irrigation and watering systems based on power from the Kuibyshev Hydroelectric Station and in the zone of the V. I. Lenin Volga-Don Navigation Canal should be considered a task of primary importance; work should be started on building irrigation and watering systems in the zone of the Stalingrad Hydroelectric Station and the Main Turkmenian, Southern Ukraine and Northern Crimea Canals.

Preparatory work should be conducted for the construction of irrigation and water systems for the lands of the Kulunda Steppe. The work of building irrigation systems should continue in the Central Black Earth regions, the Kura-Aras lowlands, the basins of the Syr-Darya, Zeravshan and Kashka-Darya Rivers, in the regions of the Central Fergana, the Kuban Yegoriy system, the Orto Tokoi Reservoir and the Great Chuisk Canal.

During the five years the area of irrigated lands should be enlarged 30% to 35%; 30,000 to 35,000 ponds and reservoirs should be built on collective and state farms, and their thorough economic utilization should be ensured.

Work on draining marshes should be carried out in the Belorussian Republic, the Ukraine Republic—particularly in the Polesielowlands—the Lithuanian, Latvian and Estonian Republics, the Karelo-Finnish Republic, the northwestern and central parts of the Russian Republic, the Baraba lowlands and other areas. The area of drained land should be increased 40% to 45% between 1951 and 1955.

8. The further introduction of more intensive methods of livestock care—stall feeding of livestock, taking into consideration the peculiarities of the various districts—should be regarded as of particular importance for increasing dairy yields of cattle on the collective and state farms.

For further development of sheep raising, well-equipped pasturage should be developed in the areas supplied with water from the V. I. Lenin Volga-Don Navigation Canal, the Caspian depression, the Nogaisk Steppe and the Turkmenian Canal; irrigation of the pasture lands should advance as new systems come into operation, so that in the above-mentioned areas there would be good pasture for large sheep flocks.

In Central Asia and Kazakhstan, high-yield hay areas and pastures should be established by employing local irrigation and artesian water, so as gradually to reduce long drives of cattle from one pasture to another.

9. Mechanization of basic field work should be completed on the collective farms and mechanization of labor-consuming work should be widely developed in animal husbandry, vegetable and orchard gardening and work connected with the loading, unloading and transport of agricultural produce, and in irrigation, draining of marshland and other land reclamation.

By 1955 the level of mechanization in plowing and sowing of grain, technical and fodder crops should be brought up to 90% to 95%, in combine harvesting of grain crops and sunflowers up to 80% to 90%, in harvesting sugar beets up to 90% to 95%, in machine harvesting of raw cotton up to 60% to 70%, in sowing and gathering of long-staple flax up to 80% to 90%, in planting, cultivation and digging of potatoes up to 55% to 60%, in hay-making and ensilaging up to 70% to 80%.

Improved operation by the Machine and Tractor Stations should be ensured, their mechanization of labor-consuming work in all branches of collective farming should be expanded and the Machine and Tractor Stations' responsibility for meeting planned goals for crop yields and productivity of animal husbandry should be increased.

By the end of the five-year plan the capacity of the Machine and Tractor Stations' tractor pool should be increased approximately 50%, in particular that of plowing tractors with cultivating equipment. During the five years daily output per tractor should be increased approximately 50%. Introduction of the more economic diesel tractors should be completed.

The network of Machine and Tractor Stations in the Lithuanian, Latvian and Estonian Republics should be enlarged and their tractors and agricultural machinery should be increased.

Introduction of electric tractors and agricultural machinery operating on electric power should be considered one of the chief tasks, particularly in areas near the large hydroelectric stations.

10. The capital investment of collective farms should go in the first place to develop communal economy—for erecting farm buildings and stables and sheds, for irrigation and drainage canals, for reservoirs, for clearing brush, for planting forest shelter belts, for building collective farm power plants and for other construction necessary for successful development of the collective farms' communal economy and for increasing the revenue of collective farms and the incomes of the collective farmers.

11. In the field of state farm operation, the most important problem is to increase marketed output, particularly of wheat, fine and semi-fine wool and meat, as well as to see to development of collective farm animal breeding by pedigreed stud stock.

For the purpose of setting up a dependable fodder base and fully ensuring coarse and succulent fodder for state farm livestock, sowings of fodder crops must be increased on the state farms by 45% to 55%. State farms should ensure a considerable increase in the yield of all crops. State farms should increase the number of cattle 35% to 40% (including cows 70% to 75%), sheep 75% to 80%, and hogs 40% to 45%.

The milk yield per cow on the state farms should be raised to the following figures by 1955: In the non-Black Earth belt to 3500 to 3900 kilograms, in the Central Black Earth regions to 3000 to 3400 kilograms; in the South and the North Caucasus to 2800 to 3200 kilograms; in Siberia and the northern provinces of Kazakhstan to 2400 to 2900 kilograms; on the state stud farms of the Volga areas, Central Asia, the Transcaucasus and the southern provinces of Kazakhstan, to 2100 to 2600 kilograms. The average clip per fine-wooled sheep on state farms of the South and the North Caucasus and Volga areas should be increased to 5.5 to 6.5 kilograms; in Siberia, Kazakhstan, Central Asia and the Transcaucasus to 4.3 to five kilograms.

The state farms must largely complete the complex mechanization of all the more labor-consuming work in the fields, in animal husbandry, in raising fodder crops and in fodder preparation.

There should be large-scale construction on the state farms of dwellings, buildings for cultural needs and everyday services and farm buildings.

12. For the purpose of ensuring the planned increase in agricultural production, the amount of state capital investments in agriculture should be set at approximately 2.1 times (and for irrigation and amelioration work approximately four times) as much as during the Fourth Five-Year Plan.

III. IN COMMODITY TURNOVER, TRANSPORT AND COMMUNICATIONS

1. On the basis of the increase in industrial and agricultural production, the retail goods turnover in state and cooperative trade should be increased approximately 70% in the five-year period.

Sale to the public of essential goods in 1955 should be increased by approximately the following amounts in comparison with 1950:

Meat products 90%, fish products 70%, butter 70%, cheese twofold, vegetable oil twofold, canned vegetables, fruits and milk 2.5 to three times, sugar twofold, tea twofold, wine twofold, beer 80%, clothing 80%, cotton, woolen, silk and linen textiles 70%, footwear 80%, hosiery twofold, knit goods 2.2 times, furniture threefold, metal kitchen utensils 2.5 times, bicycles 3.5 times, sewing machines 2.4 times, radio and television sets twofold, watches and clocks 2.2 times, domestic refrigerators, washing machines and vacuum cleaners several-fold.

During the five-year period the network of dining rooms, restaurants and tearooms should be enlarged and their volume of business increased approximately 80%, with considerable improvement in the menus.

The number of specialized shops for the sale of foodstuffs, clothing, footwear, textiles, furniture, household utensils and household goods, articles for cultural use and building materials should be increased. The manufacture of refrigerators and cold storage units for industry and the trade network should be substantially increased. The equipping of foodstuffs shops, restaurants and warehouses with refrigeration plants and the latest equipment should continue.

2. The increase of freight haulage by railroads in 1955, as compared with 1950, should be 35% to 40%, by river transport 75% to 80%, by the merchant marine 55% to 60%, by highway trucking 80% to 85%, by air transport not less than twofold; and conveyance by pipeline should be approximately fivefold.

3. To increase the carrying capacity of the railroads should be regarded as the most important task in rail transport. In this connection:

(a) Approximately 60% more double-tracking should be completed than in the last five-year plan, and four times as much double-tracking on electrified lines. The length of shunting lines should be increased to approximately 46% of the length of operating track.

(b) Approximately 2.5 times as much new railroad track should be laid and put into operation as in 1946-1950. The building of the South Siberian trunk line between Abakan and Akmolinsk should be completed, as well as a railroad line between Chardzhou and Kungrad, and construction of the line between Kungrad and Makat should be begun.

Construction of the following lines should be developed: Krasnoyarsk—Yeniseisk, Guryev—Astrakhan, Agryz—Pronino—Surgut. Necessary work should be carried out on reconstruction of railroad lines in the Lithuanian, Latvian and Estonian Republics.

(c) By the end of the five-year period, as compared with 1950, the length of railroad sections equipped with automatic block systems should be increased approximately 80%; railroad sections equipped with automatic train stops should be increased not less than 2.5 times; the number of switches electrically operated from control points should be increased approximately 2.3 times. Installation of centralized dispatchers' signal equipment should be considerably increased, further mechanization of sorting yards ensured, work should continue on incorporation of radio communications in directing train movement and shunting.

(d) The condition of the right of way should be improved. During the five-year plan the railroads should receive approximately 85% more new rails than in 1946-1950.

(e) The railroads' requirements should be fully met in long-haul locomotives, electric locomotives and diesel locomotives, and in freight cars, refrigerator cars and passenger coaches; the introduction of automatic coupling on all rolling stock should be completed in the main and we should begin equipping all rolling stock with roller bearings; production of powerful new steam locomotives, electric locomotives and diesel locomotives, as well as gas-generator locomotives, should begin.

In order to improve the utilization of rolling stock: in 1955 the time taken for turnaround of cars should be reduced not less than 18% as compared with 1950, and the average distance covered in 24 hours by railroad engines increased not less than 12%; utilization of freight car space should be considerably improved and the load per freight train increased.

Measures should be taken to improve the organization of work connected with the movement of trains, especially the work of locomotive crews.

4. The capacity of river ports to handle ships should be increased approximately twofold. The first stage of work should be completed in building and reconstructing river ports at Stalingrad, Saratov, Kuibyshev, Ulyanovsk, Kazan, Gorky, Yaroslavl, Molotov, Omsk, Novosibirsk, Khabarovsk, Osetrovo, Kotlas and Pechora. The main ports should be equipped with highly efficient machinery. Construction of mechanized landing stages for riverside industrial enterprises should be increased.

Work should be completed on the reorganization of the Volga-Baltic Waterway, the depth of the navigation channel on the river Kama increased, and a single deep-water transport system formed in the European part of the U.S.S.R.

Navigation should be improved and transportation of passengers and cargo increased along the waterways of the Nemunas

and Daugava Rivers. Bridges should be provided over the Nemunas River at Kaunas and over the Daugava River at Riga.

Existing shipbuilding and ship repair yards should be reconstructed and new ones built for the river fleet. The construction of a fleet of passenger and cargo vessels suitable for operation on large waterways should be ensured. The role of river transport should be increased in freight movement in Siberia and the Far North.

Cargo shipment on smaller rivers should be developed to meet local needs.

5. The total tonnage of the merchant marine should be considerably increased and the base of our ocean shipbuilding industry expanded by constructing new shipbuilding and repair yards and enlarging the existing ones. Work should be carried out to widen and reconstruct the Leningrad, Odessa, Zhdanovo, Novorossisk Makhachkala, Murmansk, Naryan-Mar and Far Eastern seaports. Further development of sea transport should be ensured in the Lithuanian, Latvian and Estonian Republics; the Riga and Klaipeda ports should be enlarged.

Approximately a twofold increase should be ensured in the capacity for handling ships at ocean ports and the capacity of ship repair yards for seagoing vessels. The capacity of fishing ports should be increased.

Shipping of cargo along the Northern Sea Route should be increased. New icebreakers should be added to the existing fleet.

The quality of work of inland shipping, merchant marine and fishing fleets should be improved. Delivery of cargo to the consumers should be faster, port work should be improved and ships' idle time reduced.

6. Hard surface motor roads should be rebuilt and reconstructed to the extent of approximately 50% more than in 1946-1950, especially in the South, the Transcaucasus and the Baltic region.

The part played by common carrier motor transport in the carriage of freight and passengers should be increased. The amalgamation of truck pools which come under administrative departments and agencies should be completed. Utilization of highway vehicles should be improved and the cost of shipment considerably reduced. The network of auto repair and service stations should be enlarged. During the five-year period, the length of year-round intercity bus lines should be approximately doubled.

7. The number of civil air lines' planes should be considerably increased, as well as the network of airlines and airports equipped for round-the-clock operation.

8. In order to ensure the further development of communications: During the five-year plan the length of intercity telephone and telegraph lines should be not less than doubled. The power of broadcasting stations should be considerably increased. Work on introducing ultra-short-wave broadcasting and building up the radio relay network should be developed. The capacity of urban telephone exchanges should be increased 30% to 35% during the five-year plan.

The work of the post office network in delivering printed matter and postal communications should be improved and interdistrict mail should be carried primarily by motor transport.

9. In accordance with the plan for the further development of transport and communications, state capital investments in transport and communications during 1951-1955 should be increased approximately 63% as compared with 1946-1950.

IV. IN FURTHER IMPROVEMENT OF THE MATERIAL WELL-BEING, HEALTH AND CULTURAL LEVEL OF THE PEOPLE

1. On the basis of the constant growth of socialist production and the rise in labor productivity, the national income of the U.S.S.R. in the five years should be increased not less than 60% and, in connection with this, further growth should be ensured in the incomes of workers, employees and peasants.

In accordance with the growth in the volume of production and labor productivity and also with the tasks in the field of cultural progress, the number of workers and employees in the national economy in 1955—the last year of the five-year plan—should increase approximately 15% in comparison with 1950.

2. Retail prices of consumers' goods should continue to be reduced steadily, bearing in mind that lowering of prices is the chief means of systematically raising the real wages of the

workers and employees and increasing the incomes of the peasants. The real wages of the workers and employees should be increased not less than 35%, taking into consideration the lowering of the retail prices.

State allocations for social insurance of workers and employees should grow approximately 30% during the five-year period as compared with 1950.

On the basis of the increase in labor productivity of collective farmers, the rise in collective farm production and the growth of output of agriculture and animal husbandry, the collective farmers' monetary income and income in kind should be increased, in terms of money, by not less than 40%.

3. For the further improvement of housing of the workers and employees, housing construction should be extended by all means. A broad program of state housing construction should be provided in the five-year plan, increasing capital investments for this purpose approximately 100% as compared with the previous five-year plan. In cities and workers' settlements the state should build new dwelling units with total floor space of about 105,000,000 square meters. The building of individual dwellings in cities and workers' settlements by the public at its own expense, with the aid of state loans, should be facilitated.

Community and everyday-living services for the population of cities and workers' settlements should be improved; water mains, sewerage, heating, gas supply and municipal transport should be extended and municipal improvements developed. By the end of the five-year plan the volume of capital investments in community construction should be increased approximately 50% over that of 1950.

4. Further improvement and development of public health services should be ensured.

The network of hospitals, dispensaries, maternity homes, sanatoriums, rest homes, nurseries and kindergartens should be expanded in the five years, increasing the number of hospital beds not less than 20%, the number of accommodations in sanatoriums approximately 15%, in rest homes 30%, children's nurseries 20% and kindergartens 40%.

During the five years the number of hospital beds in the Lithuanian Republic should be increased approximately 40%, in the Latvian Republic 30% and in the Estonian Republic 30%.

Further provision of the most modern equipment to hospitals, dispensaries and sanatoriums and improvement of their work should be ensured.

During the five years the number of doctors in the country should be increased not less than 25%, and greater provision should be made for raising the qualifications of doctors.

Medical research should be directed toward solving major tasks of health service, concentrating particular attention on the problems of preventive medicine and ensuring the quickest application of medical discoveries.

Manufacture of medicines, medical equipment and instruments should be increased in 1955 to not less than 2.5 times as compared with 1950, with particular attention to enlarging output of the latest medicines and other effective remedies, both curative and preventive, as well as modern diagnostic and curative medical equipment.

The further development of physical culture and sports should be ensured.

5. By the end of the five-year plan the transition from seven-year public school education to universal secondary (ten-year) education should be completed in republic capitals, cities under republic jurisdiction, province and territory capitals and the large industrial centers. The conditions should be prepared for full achievement in the subsequent five-year plan of universal secondary (ten-year) education in the remaining cities and rural localities.

To provide the increasing network of schools with the necessary number of teachers, admission to pedagogical institutes in 1951-1955 should be increased 45% as compared with 1946-1950; the increase in admission to pedagogical institutes of the Lithuanian Republic should be 130%, Latvian Republic 90% and Estonian Republic 60%.

Construction of urban and rural schools should be increased approximately 70% as compared with the previous five-year plan.

With the aim of further increasing the socialist educational

effect of public schools and guaranteeing to students completing secondary school the conditions for a free choice of occupation, polytechnical instruction should be introduced in the secondary schools and measures necessary for shifting to general polytechnical education should be undertaken.

6. In accord with the task of further development of the national economy and cultural progress, the graduation of specialists of all types from the higher and secondary specialized educational establishments should be increased approximately 30% to 35% during the five years.

The graduation by higher educational establishments of specialists for the most important branches of industry, building and agriculture in 1955 should be approximately twice the number in 1950.

During the five years the training of scientific research and teaching personnel through postgraduate study in higher educational establishments and research institutes should be approximately doubled as compared with the previous five-year plan.

The work of scientific research institutes and the scientific work of higher educational establishments should be improved; scientific personnel and facilities should be utilized more fully to solve important problems of development of the national economy, to generalize advanced experience and to ensure wide practical application of scientific discoveries. Scientists should be given every assistance in working out theoretical problems in all spheres of knowledge; and the ties between science and production should be strengthened.

In view of the constantly growing aspiration of the adult population to improve its education, correspondence courses and evening higher and secondary specialized educational establishments should be further developed, along with schools of general education which the working citizens may attend while continuing to work.

7. To meet the growing demands of the national economy for qualified personnel, especially in connection with further introduction of advanced technology, the quality of training of young skilled workers in the system of state labor reserves should be improved and provision should be made for training and raising the qualifications of workers by way of individual and brigade education and by way of a system of courses and schools organized at the enterprises.

8. Further development should be attained in motion pictures and television. The network of motion picture theaters should be extended, increasing the number of motion picture projectors during the five years by approximately 25% and also increasing the production of films.

The network of public libraries in 1955 should be not less than 30% larger than in 1950 and of clubs 15% larger, with improvement in their services to the public.

To ensure a considerable increase in the publication of belles-lettres, scholarly literature, textbooks, periodicals and newspapers, the printing industry should be expanded and the quality of printing and design of books improved.

9. In accordance with the planned development of public health, education and scientific and cultural establishments, the volume of capital investment for these purposes should be increased during the five-year plan by approximately 50% as compared with the previous five-year plan.

The Fifth Five-Year Plan outlines a new, mighty advance in the U.S.S.R. national economy and ensures a further considerable growth in the living standards and cultural level of the people. Fulfillment of the Fifth Five-Year Plan will be a big step forward on the path of the transition from socialism to communism.

To fulfill the tasks of the Fifth Five-Year Plan it is necessary:

(a) To mobilize the sources within the economy for further growth of socialist accumulation, attaining strict observance of state discipline and the fulfillment by each of the enterprises of the production plan in the assortment fixed for it. In order to meet the goals of the five-year plan in development of the national economy and in raising the living standards and cultural level of the working people, it is necessary to increase the total volume of state capital construction during 1951-1955 approximately 90%, but to increase state allocations for this

construction only approximately 60% as compared with the Fourth Five-Year Plan, covering the difference of 30% through lowering the cost of construction by way of increased labor productivity, lowered overhead expenditure and lowered prices of building materials and equipment.

(b) To raise labor productivity during the five-year plan approximately 50% in industry, 55% in construction and 40% in agriculture by introducing advanced technology in all branches of the national economy, improving the organization of labor and raising the workers' level of skill and technical knowledge. During the five-year plan it is necessary to complete in the main the mechanization of heavy and labor-consuming work in industry and construction.

To secure further improvement in labor safety in industrial enterprises.

(c) To lower the cost of industrial production approximately 25% during the five-year plan and the cost of construction work not less than 20%, to reduce time limits in construction and to see to improvement in the quality of construction work. To lower the cost of tractor work of the Machine and Tractor Stations by approximately 25%, railroad shipment 15% and retail trade costs 23%. To make a sharp reduction in overhead expenditure of marketing organizations in industry, as well as in the deliveries, purchase and marketing of agricultural products.

(d) To raise a mass movement of inventors and rationalizers among engineers, technicians, workers and collective farmers for further technical improvement and extension of production and for the general mechanization, lightening and further improvement of working conditions; to condemn the practice of economic organizations which underestimate the importance of introducing new technology and mechanizing labor and which use manpower incorrectly.

(e) To enforce a firm regime of economy in all economic sectors, large and small; to raise the profitability of enterprises. Business executives must search, find and use the hidden reserves within production, must utilize to the maximum the available production capacity, systematically improve methods of production, lower cost of production and employ cost accounting.

To ensure a further considerable economy of material resources by eliminating waste in the use of materials and equipment, intensifying the struggle against rejects, introducing economical materials, and wide use of good industrial substitutes and progressive technology of manufacture.

To increase monetary control by financial agencies over fulfillment of economic plans and the observance of a regime of economy.

(f) To double the state material and food reserves to ensure the country against any eventuality.

The present (fifth) five-year plan again demonstrates to the whole world the great vital force of socialism, the fundamental superiority of the socialist economic system over the capitalist system. This five-year plan is a plan of peaceful economic and cultural progress. It will facilitate the further strengthening and extension of economic cooperation between the Soviet Union and the people's democracies and the development of economic relations with all countries wishing to develop trade on the basis of equality and mutual benefit.

The peaceful development of the Soviet economy scheduled under the five-year plan contrasts with the economy of the capitalist countries, which are marching along the path of militarization of the national economy, attainment of the highest profits for the capitalists, and further impoverishment of the working people.

The tasks set by the five-year plan make great demands on Party, state, economic, trade union and Young Communist organizations and oblige them to mobilize the broad masses of the working people to fulfill and overfulfill the new five-year plan, developing broad criticism of shortcomings in the work of our organizations with the aim of prompt elimination of these shortcomings.

It is necessary to render full support to the innovators in industry and collective farming, as well as to the leading workers of transport and other branches of the national economy, in their efforts to increase production, to raise labor productivity and to lower cost of production.

The mighty force of socialist competition, the unanimous desire of the workers, collective farmers and intelligentsia to defend the cause of peace, and the steadfast determination of the working people to build a communist society should be directed to the fulfillment and overfulfillment of the new five-year plan.

The peoples of the Soviet Union, under the tested leadership of the Communist Party, will successfully fulfill the new five-year plan.

The New Party Statutes

The "Draft of the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party: Revised Statutes of the Party," published in Pravda Aug. 20, pp. 3-4, is identical with the Statutes adopted by the Congress (below) except for changes indicated: additions by underlining and deletions by square brackets.

STATUTES OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE SOVIET UNION. (Pravda, Oct. 14, pp. 1-2. Complete text:)

I. THE PARTY. PARTY MEMBERS, THEIR DUTIES AND RIGHTS

1. The Communist Party of the Soviet Union is a voluntary militant union of Communists holding the same views, formed of people of the working class, the working peasantry and the working intelligentsia.

Having organized the alliance of the working class and working peasantry, the Communist Party accomplished, through the great October socialist revolution of 1917, the overthrow of the rule of the capitalists and landowners, the organization of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the liquidation of capitalism and abolition of exploitation of man by man, and ensured the construction of a socialist society.

The chief tasks of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union now are to build a communist society by gradual transition from socialism to communism, to bring about a constant rise in the living standards and cultural level of society, to educate the members of society in internationalism and establishment of fraternal bonds with the working people of all countries, and to strengthen in every respect the active defense of the Soviet country against aggressive actions of its enemies.

2. Any working person who is a Soviet citizen not exploiting anyone else's labor, accepting the Program and Statutes of the Party, taking active part in effecting them, working in one of the Party organizations and carrying out all the decisions of the Party may become a member of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

Members of the Party pay the established membership dues.

3. It is the duty of a Party member:

(a) To guard the unity of the Party in every way, as the prime condition of the Party's strength and might.

(b) To be an active fighter for the fulfillment of Party decisions. Mere agreement with Party decisions does not suffice for a Party member; it is the Party member's duty to fight for the fulfillment of Party decisions. A passive and formal attitude on the part of Communists toward the decisions of the Party weakens the effectiveness of the Party and is therefore incompatible with membership.

(c) To set an example on the job and to master knowledge of it, constantly increasing his working skills; in all ways to strengthen the public socialist property as the basis of the Soviet system.

to strengthen contact with the masses, to respond promptly to the desires and needs of the working

people, and to explain to the non-Party masses the meaning of the Party policy and decisions, mindful that the strength and invincibility of our party lie in close, inseparable ties with the people.

(e) To work at increasing his political awareness, at mastering the principles of Marxism-Leninism.

(f) To observe Party and state discipline, obligatory for all Party members alike. There can be no two disciplines in the Party, one for the leaders and another for the rank and file. The Party has only one discipline, one law for all Communists, irrespective of their services and the offices they hold. Violation of Party and state discipline is a great evil, harming the Party and hence incompatible with membership.

(g) To develop self-criticism and criticism from below, to expose and seek to eliminate shortcomings in work and to fight against a show of well-being and against being carried away by successes in work. Suppression of criticism is a great evil. He who silences criticism and substitutes ostentation and boastfulness in its place cannot remain in the ranks of the Party.

(h) To report to leading Party bodies, right up to the Party Central Committee, shortcomings in work, irrespective of the persons involved. A Party member has no right to conceal an unsatisfactory state of affairs or ignore wrongdoings which damage the interests of the Party and state. He who hinders a Party member from carrying out this duty must be severely punished as violating the will of the Party.

(i) To be truthful and honest before the Party and never permit concealment or distortion of truth. Untruthfulness of a Communist toward the Party and deception of the Party are grave misdeeds incompatible with Party membership.

(j) To keep Party and state secrets and to display political vigilance, keeping in mind that the vigilance of Communists is necessary on every sector and in all circumstances. Disclosing Party or state secrets is a crime before the Party and incompatible with Party membership.

(k) At any post entrusted to him by the Party, to carry out without fail the Party directives on correct selection of cadres with regard to political and working qualifications. Violating these directives—selecting cadres on the basis of friendship, personal loyalties, local allegiance or kinship—is incompatible with Party membership.

4. The Party member has the right:

(a) To take part in free and businesslike discussion, at Party meetings and in the Party press, of matters of Party policy.

(b) To criticize any Party functionary at Party meetings.

(c) To elect or be elected to Party bodies.

(d) To insist on personal participation in all cases when decisions are adopted concerning his activities or behavior.

(e) To address any questions or statements to any Party body, at any level, right up to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

5. Admission to membership in the Party is granted exclusively on an individual basis. New members of the Party are accepted from among candidates who have completed their period as candidates. Workers, peasants and intelligentsia who are politically aware, active and devoted to the Communist cause are accepted as Party members.

They must have attained the age of 18.

The method of admitting candidates into the Party is as follows:

(a) Persons to be admitted to the Party must be sponsored by three members of the Party of at least three years' standing who have been acquainted with the candidate in their joint work for a period of not less than one year.

(Note 1)—In admitting members of the Young Communist League to membership in the Party, the recommendation of the Young Communist League district committee is equal to the recommendation of one Party member.

(Note 2)—Members of and candidates for membership in the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union must refrain from making recommendations.

(b) The question of admission to Party membership is discussed and decided by a general meeting of the primary Party organization; its decision comes into force upon ratification by the district Party committee, and, in cities

where there is no district* subdivision upon ratification by the city Party committee. When discussing admission to the Party, the presence of the persons recommending admission is not essential.

(c) Young people up to 20 years of age inclusive can join the Party only via the Young Communist League.

(d) Persons who have left other parties are admitted to the Party on the recommendation of five Party members—three having a membership of ten years and two who were Party members before the revolution—and only through the primary Party organization with the approval of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

6. The sponsors bear responsibility for their recommendations.

7. The Party membership of candidates admitted to the ranks of the Party dates from adoption, by the general meeting of the primary Party organization concerned, of a resolution confirming the given comrade's membership in the Party.

8. Each member of one Party organization, upon moving to a district under another organization's jurisdiction, is enrolled as a member of the latter organization.

(Note)—The transfer of Party members from one organization to another is carried out in accordance with rules set forth by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

9. Party members and candidates who have failed to pay their membership dues without valid reason for three months are considered to have automatically dropped out of the Party, and the primary Party organization adopts a resolution to that effect, which is ratified by the district or city Party committee.

10. The question of expelling a Communist from the Party is decided by the general meeting of the primary Party organization of which he is a member, and the resolution is confirmed by the district or city Party committee. The resolution of the district or city committee to expel a member from the Party comes into force only when it has been confirmed by the province Party committee, the territory Party committee, or the Central Committee of the Communist Party of a Union republic.

Until the province Party committee, the territory Party committee or the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Union republic ratifies the resolution expelling the member from the Party, his Party membership card remains in his hands and he has the right to attend closed Party meetings.

11. The primary Party organization cannot adopt a resolution to exclude from the Party or to return to candidate status any Communist who is a member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of a Union republic or a territory, province, region, city or district Party committee.

The question of expelling a member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of a Union republic or of a territory, province, region, city or district Party committee from membership in the committee or the Party or of returning the member to candidate status is decided at a plenary session of the committee concerned by a two-thirds majority.

12. The question of expelling a member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union from the Central Committee or from membership in the Party or of returning the member to candidate status is decided by the Party Congress or, in the interval between Congresses, by a plenary session of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union by a two-thirds majority. A person expelled from the Central Committee is automatically replaced by a candidate for membership in the Central Committee in the order established by the Congress in electing candidates to the Central Committee.

13. In cases where a Party member has committed an offense punishable by the courts, he is expelled from the Party on receipt of the reports on his misdeeds from the administrative and judicial authorities.

14. When deciding the question of expulsion from the Party, the maximum care and comradely concern must be exercised, and a very careful examination must be made of whether the accusation leveled against the Party member is justified.

Minor misdeeds should be punished by Party educational meas-

ures and other means of influencing the individual (warning, reprimand, etc.) and not by expulsion from the Party, which is the severest form of Party punishment.

When it is necessary as a measure of Party discipline, a Party organization may transfer a member of the Party to the status of candidate for a period of up to one year. The decision of a primary Party organization to return a Party member to candidate status is subject to ratification by the district or city Party committee. On expiration of the established period the person who has been returned to candidate status is admitted to Party membership on a regular basis and retains his former length of Party membership.

15. Appeals by those expelled from the Party and the decisions of Party organizations to expel members from the Party must be reviewed by the Party bodies concerned within a period of 20 days from the day of receipt.

II. CANDIDATES FOR PARTY MEMBERSHIP

16. All persons wishing to join the Party pass through a candidate stage, which is essential in order that the candidate may acquaint himself with the Program, Statutes and tactics of the Party and that the Party organization may verify his personal qualifications.

17. The method of admitting candidates (individual admission, presentation of recommendations and their verification, the resolution of the primary organization on admission and its ratification) is identical with that of admission to Party membership.

18. The status of candidate lasts one year.

The Party organization is obliged to help candidates to prepare to become Party members. On the expiration of the candidature, the Party organization must take up the question of the candidate's Party membership at a Party meeting.

If the candidate has been unable to prove himself for reasons which the Party organization considers valid, the primary Party organization may prolong his candidature for a period not exceeding one year. In cases where it has become clear during the course of the candidature that in his personal qualifications the candidate is not worthy of admission to Party membership, the Party organization adopts a resolution to expel him from Party candidature. Decisions of the primary Party organization prolonging candidature or expelling from candidature come into force after their ratification by the district or city Party committee.

19. Candidates for Party membership take part in meetings of the organization of which they are members, with the right to a consultative vote.

20. Candidates for Party membership pay the usual membership dues into the fund of the local Party committee.

III. STRUCTURE OF THE PARTY. INNER PARTY DEMOCRACY

21. The guiding principle of the organizational structure of the Party is democratic centralism, meaning:

- (a) Election of all Party governing bodies from bottom to top.
- (b) Periodic accountability of Party bodies to their Party organizations.
- (c) Strict Party discipline and subordination of the minority to the majority.

(d) The decisions of higher bodies are unconditionally binding upon lower ones.

22. The Party structure rests on a territorial-production* basis: the Party organization serving any given area is regarded as superior to all Party organizations serving parts of this area, and a Party organization serving an entire branch of production is regarded as superior to all Party organizations serving sections of this branch of production.

23. All Party organizations are autonomous in deciding local questions, provided that the decisions are not contrary to the Party's decisions.

24. The highest governing body of each Party organization is the general meeting (for primary organizations), the conference (for district and province organizations, for example), and the Congress (for the Communist Parties of Union republics and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union).

* [The Russian "raion" (district—a political subdivision roughly equivalent to an American county) is translated "borough" where it denotes a subdivision of a city.—Trans.]

* [Production is used to refer to industry, agriculture, transport, trade, etc.—Trans.]

25. The general meeting, conference or Congress elects the bureau or committee which is the governing body and directs the entire current work of the organization.

26. In the election of Party bodies, voting by lists is forbidden. Voting must be on individual candidates. Moreover, all Party members are assured the unrestricted right to challenge candidates and to criticize them. Elections are held by closed (secret) balloting on candidates.

27. In cities and district centers the aktiv of city and district Party organizations is convened for discussion of the more important decisions of the Party and government. Moreover, the aktiv must be convened not for appearance's sake or for mere formal approval of these decisions, but for a genuine discussion of them.

28. The free and businesslike discussion of questions of Party policy in individual Party organizations or in the Party as a whole is the inalienable right of each Party member, a right which stems from inner Party democracy. Only on the basis of inner Party democracy can [Bolshevist] self-criticism be developed and Party discipline be strengthened. This must be conscious, not mechanical discipline.

However, broad discussion of questions of Party policy, especially discussion on an all-Union scale, must be organized in such a way as not to lead to attempts by an insignificant minority to impose its will on the Party majority, or to attempts to form fractional groupings destructive of Party unity, or to schismatic efforts which may shake the strength and stability of the socialist system.

Broad discussion on an all-Union scale can be considered essential only in the following cases:

(a) If it is considered essential by at least several local Party organizations on the province or republic level.

(b) If within the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union there does not exist a sufficiently firm majority on major questions of Party policy.

(c) If in spite of the fact that a firm majority in the Central Committee adheres to a definite view, the Central Committee nevertheless regards it as essential to verify the correctness of its policy by means of a discussion in the Party.

Only by meeting these conditions can the Party be safeguarded against misuse of inner Party democracy by anti-Party elements. Only under these conditions can one count on inner Party democracy to serve the cause and not be used to harm the Party and the working class.

IV. THE SUPREME BODIES OF THE PARTY

29. The highest body of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union is the Party Congress. Regular Congresses are convened not less often than once every four years. Extraordinary Congresses are convened by the Party Central Committee on its own initiative or on the demand of at least one-third of the total number of members represented at the previous Party Congress.

Convocations of the Party Congress and its agenda are announced not later than one and one-half months before the Congress is to convene. Extraordinary Congresses are convened on two months' notice.

A Congress is considered valid if there is represented at it not less than one-half of all members of the Party represented at the previous regular Congress.

The norms of representation at the Party Congress are fixed by the Central Committee.

30. If no extraordinary Congress is convened by the Central Committee within the term indicated in Article 29, Party organizations demanding the convocation of an extraordinary Congress have the right to form an organizational committee possessing the right of the Central Committee to convene an extraordinary Congress.

31. The Congress:

(a) Hears and approves reports of the Party Central Committee, the Central Inspection Commission, and other central organizations.

(b) Reviews and amends the Program and Statutes of the Party.

(c) Determines the tactical line of the Party on fundamental questions of current policy.

(d) Elects the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Central Inspection Commission.

32. The number of members of the Party Central Committee and Central Inspection Commission is determined and their members are elected by the Congress. In the event of loss of members of the Central Committee, its membership is replenished from among the candidates elected by the Congress.

33. The Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union holds not less than one plenary session every six months. Candidates for membership in the Central Committee attend plenary sessions of the Central Committee with the right to a consultative vote.

34. The Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union organizes a Presidium to direct the work of the Central Committee between plenary sessions and a Secretariat to direct current work, chiefly as concerns verification of the fulfillment of Party decisions and selection of cadres.

35. The Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union organizes a Party Control Committee under the Central Committee. The Party Control Committee under the Party Central Committee:

(a) Verifies the observance of Party discipline by Party members and candidates; calls to account Communists guilty of violating the Party Program and Statutes or of breaches of Party and state discipline, as well as violators of Party ethics (those guilty of deception of the Party, dishonesty and insincerity in relation to the Party, slander, bureaucracy, moral turpitude, etc.).

(b) Examines appeals against decisions of the Central Committees of the Communist Parties of Union republics and of territory and province Party committees concerning expulsions from the Party and Party disciplinary measures.

(c) Has its representatives, independent of local Party bodies, in the republics, territories and provinces.

36. In the intervals between Congresses the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union directs the whole work of the Party; represents the Party in its relations with other parties, organizations and institutions; organizes various Party institutions and directs their activity; appoints editorial boards of central organs of the press, which function under its control and confirms the editorial boards of Party publications of large local organizations; organizes and directs undertakings of social significance; distributes the manpower and resources of the Party, and administers the central fund.

The Central Committee guides the work of the central Soviet and public organizations through the Party groups within them.

37. For purposes of strengthening administrative and political work, the Party Central Committee has the right to set up political sections and assign Party organizers of the Central Committee to individual sectors of socialist construction which may assume a special importance for the national economy of the country as a whole and, likewise, when these have fulfilled their tasks, to abolish them or turn them into ordinary Party bodies constituted on a territorial-production basis.

The political sections work on the basis of special instructions handed down by the Central Committee.

38. The Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union keeps the Party organizations regularly informed about its work.

39. The Central Inspection Commission inspects: (a) the speed and correctness of the conduct of affairs in central bodies of the Party and the organizational condition of the apparatus of the Secretariat of the Central Committee; (b) the treasury and institutions of the Party Central Committee.

V. THE PROVINCE, TERRITORY AND REPUBLIC ORGANIZATIONS OF THE PARTY

40. The highest body of the province, territory and republic Party organizations is the province or territory Party conference or the Communist Party Congress in Union republics, and, in the intervals between them, the province committee, territory committee, or the Union republic Central Committee of the Communist Party. These are guided in their work by the decisions of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and its governing bodies.

41. A regular province or territory conference or Union republic Party Congress is convened by the province or territory committee or the Central Committee of the Communist Party

of the Union republic once every 18 months, and extraordinary sessions by decision of the province committee, territory committee, or Central Committee of a Union republic or on the demand of one-third of the total membership of organizations subordinate to the province, territory or republic Party organizations.

The norms of representation at the province or territory conference and the Union republic Party Congress are fixed by the province committee, territory committee, or Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Union republic.

The province or territory conference or the Communist Party Congress of a Union republic hears and approves the reports of the province or territory committee or the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Union republic, the Inspection Commission, and other province, territory, or republic organizations; it discusses questions of Party, Soviet, economic and trade union work in the province, territory or republic, and elects the province committee, territory committee or Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Union republic, the Inspection Commission and delegates to the Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

42. The province or territory committee or the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Union republic elects an executive body consisting of not more than eleven persons, including three secretaries whose election is ratified by the Party Central Committee. Party membership of not less than five years is compulsory for the secretaries.

In the province and territory and the Communist Party Central Committees of the Union republics, Secretariats are formed to handle current questions and check on fulfillment. The Secretariat reports to the bureau of the province committee, territory committee, or Party Central Committee of the Union republic on the decisions adopted.

43. The province committee, territory committee or Union republic Party Central Committee organizes various offices of the Party within the province, territory or republic, and directs their activity; sees to undeviating fulfillment of the Party's directives and to developing criticism and self-criticism and educating the Communists in an uncompromising attitude toward shortcomings; directs the study of Marxism-Leninism by Party members and candidates; organizes the communist training of the working people; appoints the editorial boards of the province, territory and republic Party press organs, which function under its control; directs the activity of the province, territory and republic Soviet and public organizations through the Party groups in them; organizes and directs undertakings of general importance for the province, territory, or republic; distributes within the jurisdiction of its organization the manpower and resources of the Party; administers the province, territory or republic Party funds; keeps the Party Central Committee regularly informed and, at specified times, submits to the Central Committee reports on its activity.

44. The plenary session of the province committee, territory committee or Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Union republic is convened not less than once in two months.

45. The Party organizations of the autonomous republics, as well as of national and other provinces within territories and Union republics work under the direction of the territory committee or the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Union republic and, in their internal life, are guided by the regulations set forth in Section V of the Party Statutes concerning province, territory, and republic organizations.

VI. REGIONAL ORGANIZATIONS OF THE PARTY

46. In the provinces, territories and republics which have regions, regional Party organizations are formed in the latter.

The highest body of the regional Party organization is the regional Party conference, convened by the regional committee not less than once in 18 months, and extraordinary conferences convened by decision of the regional committee or on the demand of one-third of the total number of members of the organizations subordinate to the regional organization.

The regional conference hears and approves reports of the regional committee, the Inspection Commission and other

regional Party organizations, and elects the regional committee of the Party, the Inspection Commission and the delegates to the province or territory conference or the Party Congress of the Union republic.

47. The regional committee elects a bureau consisting of not more than nine persons, including three secretaries of the regional committee. A three-year Party membership is compulsory for the secretaries. The secretaries of the regional committee are confirmed by the province committee, the territory committee or the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Union republic.

The plenary session of the regional committee is convened not less than once in one and one-half months.

48. The regional committee organizes various offices of the Party within the region and directs their activities; sees to undeviating fulfillment of Party directives, the development of criticism and self-criticism and the training of Communists in an uncompromising attitude toward shortcomings; directs the study of Marxism-Leninism by Party members and candidates; organizes the communist training of the working people; appoints the editorial boards of the regional Party press organ, which functions under its direction and control; directs the activity of regional Soviet and public organizations through the Party groups in them; organizes undertakings of regional importance; distributes within the region the manpower and the resources of the Party, and administers the regional Party funds.

VII. CITY AND DISTRICT (RURAL-DISTRICT; URBAN-BOROUGH) ORGANIZATIONS OF THE PARTY

49. The city and district Party conference is convened by the city or district committee not less than once a year, and extraordinary conferences by decision of the city or district committee or upon demand of one-third of the total membership of the organizations subordinate to the city or district organization.

The city or district conference hears and approves reports of the city or district committee, the Inspection Commission and other city or district organizations and elects the city or district committee, the Inspection Commission and the delegates to the territory or province conference or the Union republic Party Congress.

50. The city or district committee elects a bureau consisting of from seven to nine persons, including three secretaries of the city or district Party committee. Party membership of not less than three years is compulsory for the secretaries of the city or district committee. The secretaries of city and district committees are confirmed by the province committee, the territory committee or the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Union republic.

51. The city or district committee organizes and approves the primary Party organizations at enterprises, state farms, Machine and Tractor Stations, collective farms and offices; directs their activity and keeps the records of the Communists; sees to fulfillment of Party directives, the development of criticism and self-criticism and the training of Communists in an uncompromising attitude toward shortcomings; organizes the study of Marxism-Leninism by Party members and candidates; carries on the communist training of the working people; appoints the editorial boards of city or district Party press organs, which function under its direction and control; directs the activity of the city or district Soviet and public organizations through the Party groups in them; distributes within the city or district the manpower and resources of the Party, and administers the city or district Party funds.

The city or district committee submits reports on its activity to the province committee, the territory committee or the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Union republic at the times and in the manner specified by the Party Central Committee.

52. Plenary sessions of city or district committees are convened not less than once a month.

53. With the permission of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, borough organizations subordinate to the city committee are established in large cities.

VIII. PRIMARY ORGANIZATIONS OF THE PARTY

54. The primary Party organizations are the foundation of the Party.

The primary Party organizations are set up in factories, plants, state farms, Machine and Tractor Stations and other agricultural enterprises, collective farms, units of the Soviet Army and Navy, villages, offices, educational institutions, etc., wherever there are no less than three Party members.

Candidates' groups or Party-and-Young Communist League groups are formed at industrial enterprises, collective farms, institutions, etc., where there are fewer than three Party members; these groups are headed by a Party organizer assigned by the district or city Party committee or the political section.

The primary Party organizations are chartered by the district or city committees or the appropriate political departments.

The highest organ of the primary Party organization is the Party meeting, which is convened not less than once a month.

55. At industrial enterprises, institutions and collective farms, etc., where there are more than 100 Party members and candidates within a single primary Party organization encompassing the entire enterprise or establishment, Party organizations may be established in shops, sectors, departments, etc., in each case with the sanction of the district or city Party committee or the appropriate political section.

Within the shop, department, etc., organizations, as well as within the primary Party organizations numbering fewer than 100 members and candidates, Party groups may be set up by brigades or sectors in the enterprise.

56. In large enterprises and establishments having more than 300 Party members and candidates, Party committees may be formed, but the shop Party organizations of these enterprises and establishments retain the rights of primary Party organizations; in each individual case the sanction of the Party Central Committee is required for this.

57. The primary Party organization links the mass of workers, peasants and intelligentsia with the Party governing bodies. Its task consists of:

(a) Agitation and organizational work among the masses for carrying out the public appeals and decisions of the Party, and providing the leadership of the primary press (house organs, wall newspapers, etc.).

(b) Enlisting new members in the Party and organizing their political training.

(c) Organizing the political education of Party members and candidates and seeing that they acquire a certain minimum knowledge of Marxism-Leninism.

(d) Cooperation with the district Party committee, city Party committee or political section in all their practical work.

(e) Mobilization of the masses in industrial enterprises, state farms, collective farms, etc., to fulfill the production plan, strengthen labor discipline and develop socialist competition.

(f) Struggle against laxity and thriftlessness in management of enterprises, state farms and collective farms, and constant concern for improving the cultural and living conditions of the workers, employees and collective farmers.

(g) Development of criticism and self-criticism and the training of Communists in an uncompromising attitude toward shortcomings.

(h) Active participation in the economic and political life of the country.

58. In order to increase the role played by the primary organizations of production and trade enterprises, including state farms, collective farms, and Machine and Tractor Stations, and their responsibility for the state of work in these establishments, these organizations are given the right to supervise* the work of the managements of the enterprises.

Party organizations of ministries, which, by virtue of the special conditions of work in Soviet establishments, cannot exercise supervisory functions, are obliged to signalize defects in the work of the establishment, report shortcomings in

the work of the ministry and its individual workers, and submit their data and views to the Central Committee and to the heads of the ministries.

The secretaries of the primary Party organizations in ministries are confirmed by the Central Committee of the Party.

All Communists working in the central apparatus of a ministry form part of a single Party organization for the entire ministry.

59. The primary Party organization elects a bureau to conduct current work, consisting of not more than 11 members and serving one year.

The bureaus of the primary Party organizations are set up in Party organizations numbering not less than 15 members. In Party organizations numbering less than 15 Party members, bureaus are not set up, but the primary Party organization elects a secretary instead.

With the aim of rapid development and education of Party members in the spirit of collective leadership, shop Party organizations numbering not less than 15 and not more than 100 Party members have the right to elect a bureau of the shop Party organization consisting of from three to five persons, while those numbering more than 100 Party members have a bureau of from five to seven persons.

In primary Party organizations embracing not more than 100 Party members Party work is carried out, as a rule, by persons not excused from their jobs. Party membership of not less than one year is compulsory for secretaries of primary and shop Party organizations.

IX. THE PARTY AND THE YOUNG COMMUNIST LEAGUE

60. The Young Communist League carries out its work under the guidance of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. The Young Communist League Central Committee, which is the governing body of the Young Communist League, is subordinate to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. The work of local organizations of the Young Communist League is guided and controlled by the respective republic, territory, province, city and district Party organizations.

61. Young Communist League members who become Party members or candidates leave the Young Communist League from the moment they join the Party, unless they occupy executive posts in Young Communist League organizations.

62. The Young Communist League is the active aide of the Party in all state and economic work. Young Communist League organizations must be channels for active application of Party directives in all fields of socialist construction, especially where there is no primary Party organization.

63. Young Communist League organizations have the right of broad initiative in discussing and submitting to the appropriate Party organizations all problems in the work of industrial enterprises, collective farms, state farms and offices connected with the aim of eliminating shortcomings in their operations and rendering them help needed to improve work, organize socialist competition, carry out mass campaigns, etc.

X. PARTY ORGANIZATIONS IN THE SOVIET ARMY, NAVY AND TRANSPORTATION

64. Party work in the Soviet Army and Navy is directed by the Chief Political Administrations of the Soviet Army and Navy of the U.S.S.R. and in transportation by the political administrations of the U.S.S.R. Ministries of Railroads, Merchant Marine and Inland Shipping. The political administrations function with the powers of departments of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

Party organizations in the Soviet Army and Navy and in transportation function on the basis of special instructions handed down by the Central Committee.

65. Party membership of five years is compulsory for heads of the political administrations of regions, fleets and armies, and heads of political sections of railroads; Party membership of three years is compulsory for heads of political administrations of divisions and brigades.

66. The political bodies [in the army, navy and transportation.—Trans.] must maintain close contact with local Party committees through constant participation in the local Party

* [The Russian word "kontrol" does not imply "management," but "supervision" or "checkup," depending on context.—Trans.]

committees by the heads of the political bodies, as well as through regular hearing by Party committees of reports by the heads of the political bodies on political work in military units and in the political sections in transportation.

XI. PARTY GROUPS IN NON-PARTY ORGANIZATIONS

67. At all congresses, conferences and elections of governing bodies of Soviet, trade union, cooperative and other mass organizations in which there are at least three Party members, Party groups are organized, the task of which is to intensify the Party's influence in every way, to carry out its policies among non-Party members, to strengthen Party and state discipline, to combat bureaucracy, and to check on fulfillment of Party and Soviet directives. For current work the group elects a secretary.

68. The Party groups are subordinate to the appropriate Party organizations (the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Union republic, or the territory, province, region, city or district Party committee).

In all matters the Party group must be strictly and undeviatingly guided by the decisions of the Party governing bodies.

XII. PARTY FINANCES

69. The financial resources of the Party and its organizations consist of membership dues, revenue from Party undertakings, and other revenue.

70. The monthly membership dues for Party members and candidates are established as follows (in per cent of income):

Monthly Income	
Below 500 rubles	1/2
Above 500 but not above 1000 rubles	1
From 1001 to 1500 rubles	1 1/2
From 1501 to 2000 rubles	2
Above 2000 rubles	3

71. Initiation fees are assessed upon admission to the ranks of Party candidates in the sum of 2% of monthly income.

MATERIALS FOR 19TH PARTY CONGRESS

(Pravda, Aug. 26, p. 2. Complete text:)

To All Communist Party Province Committees, Territory Committees and Union Republic Central Committees

The Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party (of Bolsheviks) directs you to develop wide discussion of the draft of the new five-year plan and the draft of the Party Statutes, beginning this work as far as possible with primary organizations [units]. All Party members and candidates should be drawn into the discussion and full freedom of criticism assured. The Party press should grant its pages to both favorable and critical articles.

—Secretariat of the Central Committee, All-Union Communist Party.

From the Editors of Pravda: The Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party has decreed that all directing organizations of the Party be called upon to develop discussion of the drafts of the new five-year plan and Party Statutes, above all in the primary organizations of the Party. The Party press should grant its pages to both favorable and critical articles.

The Central Committee has directed the editors of Pravda to establish in the pages of Pravda a special section entitled "Materials for the 19th Party Congress," containing articles and comment by comrades on questions on the agenda of the Congress.

Pravda appeals to Party organizations and individual comrades to take part in the discussion of Congress questions and to send articles and views to Pravda.

Khrushchev's Theses

CHANGES IN STATUTES OF THE ALL-UNION COMMUNIST PARTY OF BOLSHEVIKS.—Theses of Comrade N. S. Khrushchev's Report to the 19th Congress of the All-Union Communist Party. (Pravda, Aug. 26, p. 2. 5000 words. Condensed text:) Additions and changes in the Party Statutes are submitted for the consideration of the 19th Congress of the All-Union Communist Party. The need for these additions and changes arises from the fact that certain articles in the Statutes have become obsolete and the Statutes should reflect the experience in Party work accumulated in the years that have elapsed since the 18th Congress.

1. On the Party's New Name and the Definition in the Statutes of the Chief Tasks of the Party.—A need has matured to make the name of our party more precise. It is fitting to call the All-Union Communist Party (of Bolsheviks) henceforth the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, in view of the fact, first, that the name Communist Party of the Soviet Union is more exact and, secondly, that there is now no need to retain the dual name for the Party, Communist and Bolshevik, since the words Communist and Bolshevik express the same thing.

Section I of the Party Statutes should be entitled "The Party. Party Members, Their Duties and Rights." Before outlining the duties and rights of Party members, it is fitting to give a brief description of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and its chief tasks, in Article 1 of the section. ... [Article 1 is quoted.]

In view of this, there is no need for a preamble to the Statutes.

2. Who Can Be a Party Member.—In order to raise still higher the title of member of the Communist Party and the meaning of being a member, it is proposed that the article in the Statutes on eligibility for Party membership be given its new wording. ... [Article 2 is quoted.]

The statement in the Statutes that any working citizen of the Soviet Union who does not exploit the labor of others may be a member of the Party consolidates the attained achievements of the Party and reflects the tenet that the Communist Party consists of people of the working class, working peasantry and working intelligentsia.

As a result of the triumph of socialism the exploiting classes have been liquidated and there is no exploitation of man by man in our country. Soviet society consists of friendly classes. The moral-political unity of the Soviet people has been consolidated.

The new tasks confronting the Communist Party in building a communist society require greater responsibility by the Party member for the cause of the Party. Therefore the new wording of the proposed article on Party membership notes that to be eligible for Party membership one must not only accept the Party Program and Statutes but also actively promote their realization.

3. On the Duties of Party Members.—Experience shows that it is necessary to give a fuller definition in the Statutes of the duties of Party members.

First of all, it is necessary to set forth in the part on the duties of Party members that a Party member is under obligation to take every measure to protect the unity of the Party as the principal condition of the Party's strength and might. Concern for protecting the unity of the Party is a cardinal duty of a Party member, hence it will be quite right to begin the exposition of the Party member's duties with this basic requirement.

In order to raise still higher the leading role of Party members in the building of communism and their activeness in the struggle against shortcomings and unhealthy phenomena in the life and work of Party organizations it is necessary to add new points to the part of the Statutes dealing with the duties of Party members.

It should be noted that there are many Party members who adopt a formal, passive attitude toward carrying Party decisions into effect. This is a great evil, which the Party must combat resolutely, for such an attitude toward Party decisions on the part of Communists weakens the Party's effectiveness. The Statutes must provide that Party members must be active fighters for carrying out Party decisions and that a passive, formal attitude

to Party decisions on the part of Communists is incompatible with membership in the Party.

Another evil which occurs in our Party is that some Communists wrongly assume that there can be two kinds of discipline in our Party, one for rank-and-file members and another for leaders. The Party cannot tolerate such a lordly, anti-Party conception of discipline. This evil must be vigorously extirpated, since it undermines Party and state discipline and thereby seriously damages the interests of the Party and the state. It is necessary to specify in the Statutes that our Party has one discipline, one law for all Communists, irrespective of their services and the offices they hold, and violation of Party and state discipline is incompatible with membership in the Party.

Also, it has been established that much harm is caused the Party by Communists who shout endlessly about their devotion to the Party but in practice do not permit criticism from below and suppress it. The Party has always attached tremendous importance to the development of self-criticism and especially criticism from below, to the disclosure of shortcomings in work and to the struggle against a show of well-being and against being carried away by successes in work. But experience shows that it is not enough merely to explain the importance of criticism. It is necessary to conduct a resolute struggle against those who block the development of criticism. Therefore the Statutes should specify that suppression of criticism is a grave evil and that he who muzzles criticism and supplants it with fanfare and bragging cannot be in the ranks of the Party.

In this connection it should be stated that some Communists hold the pernicious view that members of the Party should not report to the Party governing bodies, all the way up to the Central Committee, on faults in the work. Not infrequently one encounters instances in which responsible officials obstruct Communists from disclosing to Party governing bodies, to the Central Committee, an unsatisfactory state of affairs, on the grounds that this allegedly hinders them in their work. It is clear that the Party must conduct a merciless struggle against such dignitaries. The Statutes now state that a Party member has the right to address any statement to bodies at any level of the Party, all the way up to the Central Committee.

It is evident that this is not enough. The Statutes should specify that a Party member not only has the right but the duty to report to Party governing bodies, all the way up to the Central Committee, on faults in the work, irrespective of personalities; and, as for those who hinder a Party member from performing this duty, it is necessary to stipulate in the Statutes that such persons must be strictly punished as violators of the will of the Party.

Further, instances (which have become common among some Communists) of concealing the truth from the Party, of untruthful and dishonest conduct toward the Party, represent a great evil. It is clear that the Party cannot tolerate frauds in its ranks, since such people undermine confidence in the Party and morally corrupt the ranks of Communists. It is necessary to specify in the Statutes that untruthfulness to the Party on the part of a Communist and deception of the Party constitute very grave misdeeds and are incompatible with membership in the Party.

One also cannot overlook the fact that political heedlessness and carelessness and instances of divulging of Party and state secrets have become quite widespread among Communists. Political vigilance is obligatory for every Communist on every sector and in every situation. In this connection it is necessary to stipulate in the Statutes that a Party member is under obligation to keep Party and state secrets and that divulging them is a crime against the Party and incompatible with membership in its ranks.

Finally, it should be admitted that in many Party, Soviet and economic organizations a great evil is the defective approach in the selection of personnel, when this selection is made on the basis of friendship, personal loyalties, local allegiance or kinship. It is clear that such selection of personnel has nothing in common with the principles established by our party and damages the Party. It is necessary to specify in the Statutes the duty of Party members to carry out without fail the Party directives concerning correct selection of cadres on the basis of their political and working qualifications and to stipulate that violation of the directives is incompatible with membership in the Party.

In view of the above, it is necessary:

(1) To cast the provisions of the Statutes on the duties of Party members in its new wording. ... [Article 3 is quoted.]

(2) It is also necessary to make the following additions in the section of the Statutes entitled "The Party. Party Members, Their Duties and Rights:"

(a) Include in the Statutes the following articles:

"11. The primary Party organization cannot adopt a resolution to exclude from the Party any Communist who is a member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of a Union republic or a territory, province, region, city or district Party committee.

"The question of expelling a member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of a Union republic or of a territory, province, region, city or district Party committee from membership in the committee or the Party is decided at a plenary session of the committee concerned by a two-thirds majority.

"12. The question of expelling a member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union from the Central Committee or from membership in the Party is decided by the Party Congress or, in the interval between Congresses, by a plenary session of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, by a two-thirds majority. A person expelled from the Central Committee is automatically replaced by a candidate for membership in the Central Committee in the order established by the Congress in electing candidates to the Central Committee."

4. On the Rights of Party Members.—The rights of Party members are somewhat limited and inexactly formulated in the present Statutes. It is necessary to replace Article 3 of the present Statutes with the following formulation. ... [Article 4 is quoted.]

5. On Candidates for Party Membership.—A serious shortcoming in the work of Party organizations is the fact that they do little to help candidates to prepare for membership in the Party and do not concern themselves with verification of their personal qualifications. The candidate stage is quite often turned into an empty formality and for a considerable number of candidates is stretched over many years. The Party cannot countenance this shortcoming. It is necessary to improve the Party organizations' work with candidates and also to raise the responsibility of the candidates themselves during their candidature.

In this connection it is necessary to make the following addition to the section of the Statutes entitled "Candidates for Party Membership:"

"The Party organization is obliged to help candidates to prepare to become Party members. On the expiration of the candidature, the Party organization must take up the question of the candidate's Party membership at a Party meeting.

"If the candidate has been unable to prove himself for reasons which the Party organization considers valid, the primary Party organization may prolong his candidature for a period not exceeding one year. In cases where it has become clear during the course of the candidature that in his personal qualifications the candidate is not worthy of admission to Party membership, the Party organization adopts a resolution to expel him from Party candidature."

6. On the Periods for Convocation of Party Congresses and Plenary Sessions of the Party Central Committee.—Experience shows that it is desirable to establish the following periods for convocation of Party Congresses and plenary sessions of the Party Central Committee:

Regular Congresses of the Party are called not less than once every four years.

Plenary sessions of the Party Central Committee are called not less than once every six months.

7. On All-Union Party Conferences.—Provisions concerning all-Union Party conferences are not included in the draft Statutes of the Party. In present conditions there is no need to convene all-Union Party conferences, since urgent questions of Party policy can be discussed at Party Congresses and at plenary sessions of the Central Committee.

8. On Reconstitution of the Politburo as the Presidium of the Party Central Committee.—It is appropriate to transform the Politburo into a Presidium of the Party Central Committee, or—

ganized to direct the work of the Central Committee between plenary sessions, since the title "Presidium" better accords with the functions which the Politburo actually performs at the present time. As regards the current organizational work of the Central Committee, as practice has shown, it is appropriate to concentrate this work in one body, the Secretariat, in which connection there is to be no Orgburo of the Central Committee in the future.

In connection with this it is necessary to phrase Article 34 of the Statutes as follows:

"The Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union organizes a Presidium to direct the work of the Central Committee between plenary sessions and a Secretariat to direct current work, chiefly as concerns verification of the fulfillment of Party decisions and selection of cadres."

9. On Reorganization of the Party Control Commission Into the Party Control Committee Under the Party Central Committee.—For the purpose of enhancing the role of the Party Control Commission in the struggle against violations of Party discipline and instances of unsatisfactory fulfillment by Communists of their duties, it is desirable to reorganize the Party Control Commission into a Party Control Committee under the Party Central Committee and to create in the localities the office of representatives of the Party Control Committee who are independent of the local Party bodies. The Party Control Committee is to be entrusted with verifying observance of Party discipline by Party members and candidates, calls to account Communists guilty of violating the Party Program and Statutes or Party ethics and examines appeals against decisions of the Central Committees of the Communist Parties of Union republics and territory and province Party committees concerning expulsion from the Party and Party disciplinary measures.

Proceeding from the above, it is necessary to rephrase Article 35 of the Statutes... [The article is quoted.]

10. On the Apparatus of the Party Central Committee and Local Party Bodies.—As experience has shown, the structure of the Party apparatus is subject to changes depending on the situation and concrete conditions. In view of this it is appropriate to refrain from defining in the Statutes precisely the sections and departments to be organized in the Party Central Committee and the local Party bodies.

11. On More Precise Stipulation of the Tasks of Local Party Organizations.—As experience has shown, the tasks and functions of the local Party organizations are not fully reflected in the Party Statutes. It is necessary in this connection to supplement the points of the Statutes defining the tasks of the local Party organizations with a statement to the effect that the Central Committees of the Communist Parties of the Union republics, the territory committees, province committees, region committees, city committees and district committees ensure undeviating fulfillment of Party directives and direct the activity of the local Soviet and public organizations through the Party groups in them. It is necessary to reflect in the Statutes the tasks of the Party organizations in expanding Party criticism and self-criticism and in training Communists in an uncompromising attitude toward shortcomings in the work of the Party and the state. The Statutes must also set before the Party organizations such important tasks as the communist training of the working people and guidance of the study of Marxism-Leninism by Party members and candidates, bearing in mind especially that propaganda of Marxism-Leninism is still organized unsatisfactorily.

Further, for more efficient handling of current questions and better organization of checkup on fulfillment of decisions, it is necessary to provide in the Statutes that Secretariats be set up in the Central Committees of the Communist

Parties of Union republics, territory committees and province committees. In order to prevent the Secretariats supplanting the bureaus of the province committees, territory committees and Central Committees of Communist Parties of Union republics, the number of secretaries should be reduced to three and the Secretariats should be directed to report the decisions adopted by them to the bureau of the province committee, territory committee or Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Union republic, respectively.

Finally, for the purpose of promptly remedying deficiencies in the work of local Party organizations and also to ensure consideration of successful experience in their work, it is necessary to direct the province committees, territory committees and Central Committees of the Communist Parties of Union republics to keep the Central Committee of the Party regularly informed and, at specified times, to submit to the Central Committee reports on their activity.

Proceeding from the above, it is necessary to introduce the following additions and changes into the sections of the Statutes dealing with the Party organizations:

(1) Add to the articles of the Party Statutes concerning the duties of local Party bodies and primary Party organizations statements to the effect that they see to undeviating fulfillment of the Party's directives, to development of criticism and self-criticism and educating Communists in an uncompromising attitude to shortcomings, direct the study of Marxism-Leninism by Party members and candidates, organize the political education of Party members and candidates and see that they acquire the obligatory minimum of knowledge in Marxism-Leninism, organize the work of communist training of the working people, and direct the activity of the local Soviet and public organizations through the Party groups in them.

(2) Add the following to Article 42 of the Statutes concerning governing bodies of the local Party committees:

"In the province and territory and the Communist Party Central Committees of the Union republics, Secretariats are formed to handle current questions and check on fulfillment. The Secretariat reports to the bureau of the province committee, territory committee, or Party Central Committee of the Union republic on the decisions adopted." It should be specified in this same point that the province and territory committees and Central Committees of the Union republic Communist Parties have three secretaries.

(3) Article 43 of the Statutes should be supplemented with a statement that the province or territory committee or Central Committee of a Union republic Communist Party keeps the Central Committee of the Party regularly informed and submits reports on its activity to the Central Committee at specified times.

12. Periods for Calling Plenary Sessions.—It is desirable to make provision in the Party Statutes for the following schedules for calling plenary sessions of the Central Committees of the Union republic Communist Parties and territory, province, region, city and district Party committees: plenary sessions of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of a Union republic, territory committee or province Party committee are convened not less than once in two months; plenary sessions of a region Party committee are convened not less than once in a month and a half; plenary sessions of a city or district Party committee are convened not less than once a month.

13. Membership Dues of Party Members and Candidates.—It is necessary to make provision in the Statutes for reducing the amount of the membership dues paid monthly by Party members and candidates, and in this connection to rephrase Articles 70 and 71 of the Statutes. ... [They are quoted.]

III. DISCUSSION PRECEDING THE CONGRESS

[Throughout the period preceding the Congress the Soviet press carried numerous articles and reports dealing with preparations for the Congress—pledges of increased output in honor of the Congress, accounts of meetings to study the draft materials, reports of Party Congresses and conferences in the various republics and provinces, etc., as well as letters discussing the revised Statutes and draft five-year plan. Below is a small part of the material of this kind which was translated in the Current Digest, and the next chapter contains fairly full reports of republic Party Congresses. In the limited space available, only a sampling can be offered of the reports of lesser Party sessions and meetings and of the discussion in the press. The pattern of most of this material—except for discussion of five-year plan details—is so repetitious, however, that even a small selection provides a fair sampling.—Editor.]

Meetings

SERVICEMEN STUDY HISTORIC DOCUMENTS. (By Lt. Col. M. Ivanov. Krasnaya zvezda, Aug. 22, p. 1. 700 words. Condensed text:) Like the entire Soviet people, the soldiers, noncommissioned officers and officers of N unit greeted with tremendous enthusiasm the news of the convocation of the 19th Party Congress. On that day the mailmen delivered newspapers to the units more promptly than usual. They realized that the documents printed in them were of exceptional importance and that each serviceman was awaiting them impatiently. ...

On the very first day the deputy commanders for political affairs in all units conducted with the soldiers and noncommissioned officers readings of the draft directives on the five-year plan. Next morning company commanders personally imparted to the personnel of their units political reports devoted to the historic Party Central Committee documents on the Congress. After receiving detailed instruction, platoon agitators joined in the work. All servicemen, from senior commanders to ordinary privates, are living now with a

great and important event in the life of our country—the preparations for the forthcoming 19th Congress of the great party of Lenin and Stalin.

COMMUNISTS UNANIMOUSLY APPROVE MATERIALS OF 19TH PARTY CONGRESS.—At Meeting of Party Organization of Leningrad Tire Plant. (By Staff Correspondent M. Kurtynin. Pravda, Sept. 2, p. 2. 1300 words. Condensed text:) The factory Party meeting of the Leningrad State Tire Plant lasted two days. The agenda consisted of discussion of the 19th Party Congress draft directives on the Fifth Five-Year Plan and discussion of the draft revised Party Statutes. ...

Communist Ivanov spoke at the meeting about the unanimous approval by the workers and employees of the Congress draft directives on the new five-year plan. He proposed the introduction into Part III of the draft directives of a point stipulating augmentation of the output of dual-axle freight cars and containers for the transportation of small consignments of freight and proposed that the output of barges with a capacity of three or four cars be increased for the river fleet.

Comrade Ivanov reinforced his proposal with arguments. ... In addition, Comrade Ivanov advocated that the draft five-year plan should state the necessity of state standardization of packing for the shipping of ready-made commodities. The absence of such standards when manufacturing packing cases leads to big waste of materials and funds; moreover, they are manufactured without sufficient concern for convenience and attractiveness.

Communist Smailovsky, a senior engineer of the technical department, noted in his speech that the draft directives of the Congress quite rightly envisage the introduction of universal polytechnical instruction, which will have a future fruitful effect on the training of skilled personnel. At the same time all conditions are being created in our country for young workers to obtain secondary education via the existing network of evening schools for working youth. "It is necessary," Comrade Smailovsky said, "for the draft directives on the new five-year plan to set forth how many youths are to be embraced by the evening schools. Finally, it is desirable that the academic program in them should not copy the ordinary schools of the Ministry of Education but should be drawn up in conformity with the conditions in which the students of schools for working youth live. ...

The meeting unanimously approved the draft directives for the five-year plan. ...

The Communists discussed in just as active and business-

like a manner the second item on the agenda of the meeting—the draft text of the revised Party Statutes. ...

Comrade Vasilyev, a roller, proposed that the rights of a Party member should be somewhat extended. "Owing to present-day interfactory relations," he said, "many of our Communists are often away on business trips for a long time. In this period they are completely severed from Party life. It is necessary for a Communist who is on a business trip or on leave to have the right to participate with a consultative vote in meetings of the local Party organization."

Comrade Lavrenov, head of the shift of the automobile-frame shop and secretary of the shop Party organization, considered that the same penalty measures should apply to Communists who do not pay their membership dues in full as apply to those who do not pay their dues at all. Comrade Lavrenov went on to introduce the proposal that Article 3 of the Party Statutes, which expounds the duties of a Communist, should be supplemented with the words: "Unworthy behavior of a Communist on the production line is incompatible with membership in the Party." ...

In a resolution the Party meeting unanimously approved the draft revised Party Statutes and directed the Party bureau to communicate all the comments and proposals expressed by the Communists to higher Party bodies.

PARTY CONFERENCE DISCUSSES MATERIALS OF 19TH PARTY CONGRESS.—At Party Conference in Railroad Borough, Moscow. (Pravda, Sept. 1, p. 2. 2200 words. Summary:) The Railroad Borough Party conference, which ended Aug. 30, was marked by a high ideological and political level, great activeness in the discussion and bold Bolshevik criticism of shortcomings in work.

Comrade Lesteva, Secretary of the Railroad Borough Party Committee, reported on the five-year plan draft directives. Delegates' speeches emphasized the fact that, when carried out, the plan will be a great contribution by the Soviet people to strengthening the homeland and a major step along the road to communism.

The conference directed the Party, trade union and economic organizations to guide the socialist competition that has developed in honor of the 19th Party Congress.

Comrade Korotkov, secretary of the borough Party combine, reported on the draft of the revised Party Statutes. He pointed out that it reflects the changes in recent years in the life of the Party.

Comrade Voronin, secretary of the Party committee of the Ministry of the Building Materials Industry, offered comments on the draft. In particular, he held it inexpedient to hold plenary sessions of city and district Party committees once a month. In practice, he said, this may result in taking up a good half of the working time of Party functionaries with preparation for plenary sessions. They will have less time to spend in the primary Party organizations. Plenary sessions of city and district committees, he said, should continue to be called once every six weeks.

Comrade Borisov, a delegate to the conference, disagreed with this. He said that the schedules envisaged by the draft are suggested by life itself. More frequent convening of plenary sessions of city and district committees will promote improvement in the work of the Party apparatus and strengthening of its ties with the Party units. At the same time, Comrade Borisov held that the report-and-election meetings in the primary Party units and district Party conferences should be held not annually, as envisaged by the draft, but every six months.

The conference unanimously adopted a resolution approving the draft revised Party Statutes. The conference directed the Party organizations to launch wide discussion of the draft Statutes by all Party members and candidates. The borough committee was instructed to communicate to higher Party bodies all comments and suggestions on the draft of the revised Party Statutes.

Party Life: ACTIVE DISCUSSION OF MATERIALS FOR 19TH PARTY CONGRESS.—At Stalin Borough Party Conference, Leningrad. (By Staff Correspondent M. Kurtynin. Pravda, Sept. 8, p. 2. 1400 words. Condensed text:) Leningrad—A Party conference was held in Stalin Borough, Leningrad.

The Party organization of the Vyborg Side—now Stalin Borough—is one of the largest in Leningrad. ...

A profound and concrete discussion took place at the conference of the draft of the new five-year plan. Practical suggestions and comments on the draft were made and several pressing questions on the development of the country's economy raised.

Comrade Martyanov, manager of the Red Dawn Factory, dwelt on the training of cadres for the communications industry and for research work in that field. He said that the rapidly developing communications industry now has great need for cadres. The existing Electrotechnical Communications and Signal Communications Institutes do not meet the demand for workers.

The speaker said in conclusion, "I consider it imperative that a special institute be set up in Leningrad or some other city to train designers and technologists for the communications industry."

Prof. Kuzmin, delegate from the M. I. Kalinin Polytechnical Institute's Party organization, spoke of the expediency of setting up a branch of industry to make furnaces for ferrous and nonferrous metallurgy. He said that the iron and steel furnaces consume 60% of all fuel used. But very often the coefficient of the furnaces' efficiency is not as high as science has shown to be possible. This occurs because we still permit a great deal of crude workmanship; furnaces are not always built in accord with the high standards of contemporary technology.

Comrade Kuzmin further pointed out that a lack of technical equipment in higher educational institutions' laboratories hampers the training of specialists. These laboratories do not have new machines or up-to-date equipment. The time has come to supply them with efficient equipment.

Other important questions concerning the draft five-year plan were raised. ...

Conference delegates also took a constructive and active part in a discussion of the revised draft Party Statutes. ...

Delegate Comrade Uzin agreed with the opinion expressed in the press on the need for adding to the Party Statutes' definition of Communist conduct in everyday life, in the family and among friends. Comrade Aristarkhov, Party organizer for the Party Central Committee at the Karl Marx Factory, spoke of the importance of more intensive work on the communist education of the younger generation. The Statutes should emphasize more strongly the responsibility of Party organizations for guidance of the Young Communist League. ...

It was also stated that it would be expedient for the term of office of the primary Party organization bureaus to be extended to two years and that Party committee plenary sessions should convene not once a month as the draft provides but not less than once every two months.

Delegate Comrade Zhivago proposed that a clause be added to the Statutes stating that the Hymn of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union is the "Internationale."

The delegates commented on several other proposals in the draft Statutes and on articles published in the press.

The Party conference unanimously approved the revised draft Party Statutes and outlined practical measures for further discussion of them by all Communists of the borough.

The conference delegates evaluated the borough Party committee's work in their speeches and sharply criticized its shortcomings in economic and ideological work in the light of the new, heightened tasks presented by the Congress materials. The speaker, secretary of the district Party committee Comrade Polyakov, and the delegates taking part in the discussion noted that the borough Party organization had achieved considerable success in directing economic and cultural work. Borough enterprises overfulfilled their plan last year and are working successfully this year. Large-scale housing construction is being carried out, gas is being installed, and the entire communal economy of the borough is being improved.

However, serious shortcomings in the borough committee's guidance work were disclosed. It was pointed out that the committee had passed resolutions without supporting them by the necessary organizational work. Checkup on fulfillment was inadequate. As a result, many resolutions were not carried out.

Participants in the conference criticized the borough Party committee for neglecting necessary work with primary Party organization secretaries and not helping them enough with their work. This has led to a large turnover of primary Party organization officials. Suffice it to say that at report-and-election meetings secretaries were replaced in 117 Party organizations.

The conference directed the borough Party committee to strengthen its ties with primary Party organizations and improve its checkup on fulfillment of Party resolutions. The resolution passed by the conference states that this will enable the borough Party committee to see events more clearly and analyze them more profoundly, raising the level of Party organizational and political work.

With tremendous enthusiasm the conference adopted greetings to the great leader and teacher Comrade J. V. Stalin.

At Party Conferences: RAISE LEVEL OF IDEOLOGICAL WORK. (By A. Chernichenko and A. Ryaboklyach. Pravda, Sept. 3, p. 2. 1400 words. Condensed text:) In his report to the Kiev city Party conference Comrade Sinitsy, secretary of the city Party committee, noted that Party organizational and political work in enterprises, institutions and educational establishments has been improved of late. On this basis the city Party organization has scored considerable successes in economic and cultural construction. ...

The delegates stressed in their speeches that the 19th Congress draft directives on the five-year plan open up wide prospects for further development in all branches of the country's economy. ...

Much attention was devoted to questions of ideological work. A year ago the central press brought to light serious bourgeois-nationalist errors and distortions in the work of a number of Ukraine artists' organizations. The conference noted that the city Party organization had taken some steps toward eliminating these defects. ...

But the delegates rightly pointed out that this was only the beginning of a big job. Many flaws still exist in the work of the Party organization of the Writers' Union. There are still many defects in the work of the theater, the opera and the ballet, where until recently the Russian classical repertoire has been ignored and the writing of Soviet operas but feebly encouraged. ...

In a number of the city's higher educational institutions teaching standards in the social sciences fail to measure up to demands. It was pointed out that formalism and the doctrinaire approach still occur in lectures at the university and in polytechnic and pedagogical institutes. The Party organizations do not yet delve deeply enough into the work of the social science departments and exercise weak control over the ideological content of seminars. With the connivance of certain Party organizations, many instructors are not working to improve their Marxist-Leninist training and academic qualifications. ...

Relapses into bourgeois nationalism and cosmopolitanism are still visible in the work of the Institute of Literature. For example, in the fourth volume of Kotsyubinsky's works, published under the editorship of S. Kryzhanovsky, materials are included which distort the writer's true meaning. In the fifth volume of Kotlyarevsky's works, which came out under the editorship of the institute's director, A. Beletsky, works were included which do not express the author's views and which were not certainly written by Kotlyarevsky. Those responsible for publishing the works of Stefannik—Grudnitskaya, Kryzhanovsky, Kurilenko and the above-mentioned Beletsky—have included material in which the names of bourgeois nationalists, mortal enemies of the Ukrainian people, are mentioned with approval. ...

The delegates pointed out that responsibility for all these defects and errors in ideological work is shared by the city Party committee, and especially its department of propaganda and agitation and its secretary, Comrade Pldtychenko. Participants in the conference also criticized the city committee for devoting little attention to the secondary schools and not genuinely striving to improve cultural services to the working people, especially those living on the outskirts of the city. ...

The delegates criticized the Kiev Province Party Committee and departments of the Ukraine Party Central Committee. ... Certain republic ministries and departments were sharply criticized.

Comrade L. G. Melnikov, Secretary of the Ukraine Party Central Committee, spoke at the conference.

A comprehensive resolution on the city committee's report was passed. The conference elected a new city committee and inspection commission. Greetings to Comrade J. V. Stalin were dispatched with great enthusiasm.

The Discussion

FIVE-YEAR PLAN

MATERIALS FOR 19TH PARTY CONGRESS. (Pravda, Sept. 4, p. 3. 5000 words. Excerpts:) From the Editors—In accordance with the decision of the Party Central Committee the editors of Pravda have established a special section entitled "Materials for 19th Party Congress." Articles and remarks by comrades on the questions on the Congress agenda will be printed on this page. At the present time the editors are receiving articles, notes and letters containing suggestions and comments on the draft directives of the 19th Party Congress on the Fifth Five-Year Plan for development of the U.S.S.R., 1951-1955, and on the draft text of the revised Party Statutes.

Today Pravda publishes a part of the materials for the 19th Party Congress which have been received by the editors.

Make Fuller Use of Equipment in Ferrous Metallurgy. (By S. Yakimenko, foundryman at the Zaporozhye Steel Mill.)—... In ferrous metallurgy there are large production reserves in using equipment in the most correct and highly productive way. I take as an example the open-hearth furnace shop of the Zaporozhye Steel Mill, where I work. Last year our shop gave the country 15% more steel than in 1950. In eight months of this year the rate of growth of steel smelting in the shop is no lower than last year's. And this without putting new open-hearth furnaces into operation!

But can it be said that the productive potentials in our shop section have been exhausted? No. We have such potentials, and even now they are great. This is eloquently shown by the work indices of many foundrymen. Take our brigade, for example. In eight months of this year we produced 15,000 tons more metal than the other open-hearth furnaces did on the average. In August we outstripped the average indices by nearly 5000 tons. And we were working under the same conditions as other brigades. ...

What has been said here about our shop and mill applies to many metallurgical enterprises. And this gives grounds for thinking that the tempos of metal production projected in the five-year plan can not only be successfully achieved but also surpassed. Industrial executives, local Party organizations and the U.S.S.R. Ministry of Ferrous Metallurgy must manage more concretely the work of individual enterprises and support innovators more solicitously in their efforts to reveal and make fuller use of production capacity.

Expand Amelioration Work in Every Way. (By Prof. M. Matsepuro.) Minsk—The draft directives of the 19th Party Congress on the Fifth Five-Year Plan reveal splendid prospects for a mighty new upsurge in all branches of the economy of our country. This historic document is of exceptional importance to the working people of Belorussia. It envisages the solving of one of the most important and fundamental problems of the socialist economy of the republic—the draining of the Belorussian marshes, and especially those of the Polesie lowland. ...

It should be said that the U.S.S.R. Ministry of Agriculture and the republic agricultural organizations view with extreme in-

difference the planning of amelioration work and do not get rid of the primitive methods prevailing.

The draining and development of marshland is being further impeded by the shortage of skilled amelioration and machine-operating personnel and by the inefficient placement and utilization of them. Although substantial work has been done recently in the republic to train engineers, machine operators, hydrotechnicians and other specialists, there is still a shortage of these in almost all regions of the republic. Under the new five-year plan it is necessary to expand more widely the training of amelioration personnel.

Serious alarm is caused by the fact that in many regions there is a long interval between the draining and developing of marshland. ...

MATERIALS FOR 19TH PARTY CONGRESS.—On Certain Electrification Problems. (By Prof. G. Petrov of the V. M. Molotov Energetics Institute, Moscow. Pravda, Sept. 14, p. 3. 1600 words. Condensed text:) ... The vast program of power development outlined in the draft directives on the Fifth Five-Year Plan can be carried out through extensive introduction of completely mechanized construction work and through the use of high-speed building and installation methods. This confronts Soviet scientists, planners and all industrial personnel with new and responsible tasks in connection with further improving construction principles and with the use of progressive building methods.

It is very important to determine the best methods of manufacturing and installing complex power generating and electrical equipment for power stations, grids and industrial enterprises. Soviet industry must produce and employ machinery which is unrivaled in capacity and size, including hydroelectric generators and turbines for the Volga power stations with a capacity of more than 100,000 kilowatts, three-phase transformers with a capacity of 370,000 kilowatts, switches with a capacity of 400 kilowatts and breaking capacity of 10,000,000 kilovolt-amperes, steam turbines and turbo-generators with a capacity of 150,000 kilowatts and operating at 3000 revolutions per minute, thermal equipment for power stations operated on superheated steam at pressures up to 175 atmospheres and temperatures up to 550 degrees [C.], and other unrivaled equipment.

Manufacturing such equipment is a new and very complicated technical task. It is therefore desirable to supplement to some extent some of the statements in the draft directives of the 19th Party Congress on the Fifth Five-Year Plan. It would be worth while, in my opinion, if Section 10 of Part I of the directives were to indicate specifically the power equipment which our machine-building industry must produce.

Soviet power engineers must solve an important group of questions involved in transmitting electric power over great distances by alternating and direct high-voltage current. Very important tasks are also set by the building of combined central heat and power plants and networks for widespread heating of cities and enterprises.

Some scientific and technical problems are still to be solved, however. I recommend that Point (6) of Section 1 of the draft directives on the Fifth Five-Year Plan indicate the need for increasing research in power engineering, primarily on such complex problems as the transmission of electric power over great distances, the development of practical heating methods, the combined production of electric power and heat at hydroelectric generating stations, etc.

In the next few years we will introduce automatic processes on a broad scale at power plants, complete the 100% automatization of district hydroelectric stations and begin introducing telemechanization of hydroelectric stations and substations in the Uzbek and Moscow power systems. Most work still lies in the future, however, for the task consists, in addition to complex automatization of hydroelectric stations, of simultaneously preparing to introduce such automatization at all fuel-operated power plants in the country. Therefore Section 6 of Part I of the draft directives should be supplemented by instructions to the U.S.S.R. Ministry of Power Plants to increase considerably the use of automatic equipment at fuel-operated power plants.

The vigorous development of power engineering provided by

the draft directives on the Fifth Five-Year Plan will create the necessary conditions for even greater electrification of all branches of industry, agriculture and transportation. The introduction of automatic electrical equipment is of special importance in controlling power machinery and aggregates. This will considerably increase the productive use of machinery and the quality of output and will lower the amount of rejects. That is why Section 10 of Part I of the draft directives of the 19th Party Congress on the Fifth Five-Year Plan should include a supplement to the effect that high-speed production methods based on the use of electric power must be broadly disseminated in our industry. ...

MATERIALS FOR 19TH PARTY CONGRESS.—For Complex Development of the Economy. (By I. Grishin, Secretary of the Stalingrad Province Party Committee. Pravda, Sept. 14, p. 3. 1500 words. Condensed text:) Stalingrad— ... The measures outlined in the draft directives will foster the rapid development of production capacity in the great construction project areas. However, matters relating to the construction and opening of the great hydrotechnical installations and to the vast perspectives for developing all branches of the national economy in the area of the great projects are so important and thrilling that I believe they should be mentioned more fully in the directives on the Fifth Five-Year Plan. ...

The accelerated schedules for building and opening the mighty hydroelectric stations, canals and irrigation systems are already giving rise to a tremendous amount of work in preparation for the operation and fullest possible utilization of the hydrotechnical installations, in solving a number of problems vital to the development of production capacities in the areas affected by the great projects. The example of Stalingrad Province shows, however, that there are still many serious shortcomings in this important work.

The V. I. Lenin Volga-Don Navigation Canal, the Stalingrad Hydroelectric Station and Volga-Ural Trunk Canal provide extremely favorable conditions for further developing production capacity over a tremendous area. ... Local Party, Soviet and economic organizations, as well as the ministries and scientific institutions concerned, and especially the U.S.S.R. State Planning Committee, must give prompt attention to drawing up a master plan for developing the economy of areas in the southeastern part of the country. Advance consideration must be given to correct and complete use of all the favorable opportunities being created here for increasing industrial and agricultural output.

Unfortunately, these questions do not greatly worry the U.S.S.R. State Planning Committee and the ministries involved in building enterprises in the Stalingrad Hydroelectric Station area. Sometimes new enterprises are set up without a real economic need for them because conditions for developing industry here have not been carefully studied in advance by the proper planning and research institutions. Serious mistakes are tolerated in the use made of irrigated land in the Volga-Don Navigation Canal area. The U.S.S.R. Ministries of Agriculture, State Farms and Cotton Growing are to blame for this because they were slow in planning the steps necessary for rapid utilization of irrigated land.

Twenty-five thousand hectares of land are due to be irrigated in the Volga-Don Navigation Canal area of Stalingrad Province in 1953, and vigorous work is now in progress to build irrigation canals. However, the high-voltage lines from Tsimlyanskaya Power Station to supply the pumping stations on the new irrigation systems have not yet been installed. The U.S.S.R. Ministries of Agriculture and Power Plants seem unable to agree on joint action and schedules. Nor can it be considered natural that, because of mistakes made by certain Union ministries and by the U.S.S.R. State Planning Committee, various branches of the national economy have developed unevenly in the southeastern areas, particularly in Stalingrad Province.

The construction of the Stalingrad Hydroelectric Station depends upon a tremendous amount of various building materials. However, there are serious interruptions already in the supply of these materials to the project. Railroad transport in the province is developing slowly. The capacity of the Stalingrad Railroad obviously cannot meet the project's constantly growing need for materials. The ferry railroad crossing in

Stalingrad District operates especially poorly. Province organizations have more than once confronted the U.S.S.R. Ministry of Railroads and State Planning Committee with the problem of eliminating the lag in development of railroad transportation, but the ministry and State Planning Committee do not pay proper heed to the reports and recommendations of local organizations. ...

In connection with the building of the Volga-Don and Stalingrad Hydroelectric Stations a grave disproportion has also been noted between the demand and supply of local building materials, chiefly brick. New brick works are being built very slowly in the city. Some organizations, including the U.S.S.R. and Russian Republic Ministries of the Building Materials Industry, are not taking appropriate measures for hastening the building of brick works. ...

It is also necessary to set up a special agency to direct work to exploit irrigated land in the area of the great canals and power stations being built on the Volga, in Turkmenia, the Crimea and the Ukraine. Plans call for irrigating and bringing water to more than 28,000,000 hectares of land in six to eight years. This is a major task and cannot be dealt with casually as the U.S.S.R. Ministry of Agriculture is now doing.

In view of the tremendous economic importance of the reclamation project in the southeast it is necessary, in my opinion, to define more concretely in the 19th Party Congress' directives on the Fifth Five-Year Plan the tasks of ministries involved and of the U.S.S.R. State Planning Committee in relation to this area. ...

MATERIALS FOR 19TH PARTY CONGRESS.—Problems of Collective Farm Life That Require Solution. (By P. Azhirkov, Chairman of Fighter Collective Farm, Bronnitsy District, Moscow Province. Pravda, Sept. 14, p. 3. 750 words. Condensed text:) ... I recommend that Part II of the draft directives on the Fifth Five-Year Plan be supplemented by a statement that the U.S.S.R. Ministry of Agriculture's Council on Collective Farm Affairs and the local Party and Soviet organizations should improve their supervision of collective farm work and make a more thorough study of advanced experience and broadly disseminate it. ...

The Ministry of Agriculture has a Chief Farm Propaganda Administration, but if one were to ask a collective farm chairman if he has heard of it he would unfortunately reply in the negative. ... We collective farm chairmen also have criticisms to level at the Council on Collective Farm Affairs. The Party and government have given it the responsible task of improving the Collective Farm Statutes on the basis of recommendations by collective farm workers, of working out measures for systematically expanding the communal economy of the collective farms and rewarding collective farms which honestly and conscientiously fulfill their obligations to the state.

Six years have passed since these tasks were formulated. During this period the council has done a certain amount of work to combat violations of the Collective Farm Statutes, to protect collective farm land and property from pilfering. Naturally, it is a matter of exceptional importance to guard the communal sector of the collective farms. At the same time, however, other questions of collective farm life must not be overlooked. Take the matter of rewarding leading collective farms. There is no system of incentives for them to this day and, what is more, local agencies sometimes require the leading collective farms to fulfill the grain and other quotas of lagging collective farms.

The council has a department for generalizing advanced experience, on recommendation of which the council's Presidium has heard reports by leading collective farm chairmen. Unfortunately, we collective farm chairmen learn about this by accident because the results of discussion and the resolutions adopted are not brought to the attention of the collective farms. Many experienced collective farm chairmen are members of the council. According to established procedure, the council's Presidium should call plenary sessions of the council not less than once every three months in order to discuss pressing questions. I do not know whether these sessions are called, but in any event the collective farm chairmen know nothing about them. ...

MATERIALS FOR 19TH PARTY CONGRESS.—Make More Precise Certain Provisions on Polytechnical Training. (By S. Shabalov, Doctoral Candidate in the Russian Republic Academy of Pedagogical Sciences. Pravda, Sept. 14, p. 3. 1200 words. Condensed text:) The draft directives of the 19th Party Congress provide for introducing polytechnical education in the secondary schools and for measures necessary for the transition to general polytechnical education. ... In our opinion, however, the text of the point on polytechnical education is unclear on certain matters and might give rise to arbitrary interpretations of the essence of the subject. ...

The planned introduction of compulsory polytechnical education can only be construed as a broad nationwide program applying not only to the secondary schools but also to the educational institutions of the labor reserves, to the trade schools of all other agencies and to the system of part-time technical education for employed persons, and not only to the school system but also to extracurricular forms of mass cultural work with the public.

The text of the draft directives implies, however, that general polytechnical education is to be offered only by the general education schools or, if by other institutions also, then apparently to serve the needs and purposes of developing the secondary schools, inasmuch as the draft mentions no other media for preparing for and offering general polytechnical education.

Can it be that general polytechnical education will have no bearing on the system of vocational training and that the general education school alone will handle the entire task?

Two opposite and equally incorrect views have been advanced in our literature on this issue. One is that polytechnical education is solely the concern of the general education school and that the trade school is the antithesis of the polytechnical school and cannot carry out tasks of this nature. The opponents of polytechnical elements in the trade schools find support in A. Leontyev's article "The Communist Manifesto" and the Two Phases of Communism," printed in *Bolshevik*, No. 14, 1948. This article treats all views of questions of polytechnical education which bear on personnel training as theories advanced by petty bourgeois obscurantists.

The opposite stand was taken by the magazine *Voprosy filosofii* in the article by M. Sidorov, a member of the editorial board, entitled "A False Stand" and printed in No. 3, 1952. * According to this article polytechnical education is not the responsibility of the general education school. This matter is resolved by the system of part-time education of employed persons, by the training of workers in the labor reserves system and by instruction in the technical schools, in higher educational institutions and in all sorts of vocational courses. This view states that general education has nothing in common with polytechnical education.

Both these views are incorrect. Lenin held that the contrasting of "polytechnical" and "monotechnical" (vocational) education was monstrously stupid and inadmissible. ...

I believe our trade schools are already prepared to take a number of immediate steps toward polytechnical education and that they are no less prepared for this task than the general education schools. Both branches of education can solve the same problem, but each in its own way, in accordance with its own specific nature and its own specific resources.

Hence I believe that the directives should formulate the tasks involved in shifting to polytechnical education during the present five-year period and should formulate them for the trade schools as well. ...

INCREASE PRODUCTION OF BUILDING MATERIALS. (By G. Sukharev, Russian Republic Minister of the Building Materials Industry. *Izvestia*, Sept. 17, p. 2. 1700 words. Excerpts:) The draft directives of the 19th Party Congress on the Fifth Five-Year Plan show that building materials production is due to surpass the rate of output of many other kinds of industrial products. In addition to an over-all increase of at least 100% in the output of basic building materials during the five-year period, the output of cement, bricks, slate and polished glass is to be increased to an even greater degree.

Solution of these tasks must be based on major qualitative

* Current Digest of the Soviet Press, Vol. IV, No. 35, pp. 6-8.

changes in the work of the building materials industry, on mechanization and automatization of production processes and on extensive introduction of new machinery and of the progressive experience of innovators. Plans call for ensuring an output of more than 2,600,000 bricks, 700,000 tons of lime and 200,000 tons of plaster during the five-year period solely by remodeling existing enterprises, installing new equipment, introducing mechanization, speeding production and improving technical processes at factories of the ministry.

Silicate brick production is being organized on a large scale in our country. Factories of the Russian Republic Ministry of the Building Materials Industry are now producing four times as many bricks as in 1940, and the capacity of existing silicate brick facilities will be increased approximately 80% during the current five-year plan. Mechanized brick works will be completed in a number of provinces and territories of the Russian Republic in 1952. New factories are being built for ceramic blocks and hollow bricks, with gas-fed tunnel ovens. These enterprises will produce various types of high-quality ceramic building materials: drain pipe, facing tile, etc. ...

Many provinces, territories and autonomous republics of the Russian Republic possess large unexploited reserves for increasing the output of building materials and broadening the assortment of goods produced. The Russian Republic Ministry of the Building Materials Industry and the province organizations must discover and make extensive use of these reserves. ...

INLAND SHIPPING IN THE NEW FIVE-YEAR PLAN. (By Z. Shashkov, U.S.S.R. Minister of Inland Shipping. *Izvestia*, Sept. 18, p. 2. 1900 words. Condensed text:) The draft directives of the 19th Party Congress on the Fifth Five-Year Plan open up vast new perspectives for our country. Together with the tremendous growth of the entire national economy, a high rate of further development is envisaged for navigation on the country's lakes and rivers. In 1955 the volume of inland shipping is to be 75% to 80% greater than in 1950. ...

One of the most common types of inland shipping cargo is lumber. The lumber industry is not meeting the growing demands of the national economy, and its failure to fulfill lumber delivery plans in turn affects fulfillment of assignments in hauling lumber by water. This year, for example, the U.S.S.R. Ministry of the Lumber Industry, the main shipper of lumber by water, had turned over to the river fleet by Sept. 1 about 13% less than the planned amount of lumber cargo for raft transport. This situation has created a danger of nonfulfillment of the freight shipments plan by a number of navigation lines and by the Ministry of Inland Shipping as a whole. ...

Unfortunately, certain officials of the Ministry of Railroads and of its local agencies continue to underestimate the full importance of combined rail and water shipments. They often fail to heed the just demands of inland shipping personnel, which are directed toward improving and developing this important service. A number of railroads consistently fail to fulfill the plans set for hauling freight cars to ports or for transferring freight to water-borne carriers. ...

Inland shipping personnel face the major task of rapidly increasing the speed of freight shipments via the V. I. Lenin Volga-Don Navigation Canal. Construction of the port of Ust-Donetsk, one of the largest in the U.S.S.R., is to be completed in 1954 to handle large amounts of coal from the Donets Basin and lumber from the Urals. ...

MATERIALS FOR 19TH PARTY CONGRESS.—Overcome Lag in Printing and Publishing. (By Printing Engineers N. Mishustin and N. Sinyakov and Stalin Prize-Winner Printing Engineers V. Lapatukhin and V. Kolchanov. *Pravda*, Sept. 20, p. 3. 950 words. Condensed text:) ... Thanks to the concern of the Communist Party, newspapers, magazines and books are produced on a large scale in our country. More than 14,000,000,000 copies of books have been published during the Soviet regime.

However, the printing and publishing industry lags far behind the scope of cultural work in our country in terms of capacity and technical equipment and by no means meets the Soviet people's requirements for newspapers, magazines, books and reproductions. Not enough publications are produced and there is often a delay of four, six or more months in book printing.

Color printing is poorly developed and low in quality, and typography, especially of local newspapers, is still poor. ...

It is our opinion that the draft directives...should make separate mention of the problem of increasing the production of paper for the Soviet press. Section 46 of the draft directives in their present form mentions an over-all increase in paper production. Such an increase is insufficient for printing grades of paper. It is our opinion that fulfillment of the cultural goals outlined in the new five-year plan will necessitate approximately double the output of paper for the press (books, magazines and newspapers). ... The variety and quality of paper for books, magazines and newspapers do not satisfy the printing and publishing trades. ...

We recommend that the directives...make special provision for developing the output of paper of all grades for the press...

Fulfillment of the tasks of developing printing and publishing and improving the quality of printing and publishing work poses the pressing problem of establishing a scientific and technical press center. It is our opinion that such a center could take the form of a large printing and publishing combine with the most modern equipment. Such a combine would be the chief center for scientific research and technical work in the printing and publishing field. Hence we recommend that provision be made for building a large printing and publishing combine in Moscow, the capital of our homeland, during the five-year plan.

MATERIALS FOR 19TH CONGRESS.—More Attention to Construction and Planning of Cities. (By Architects K. Ivanov and P. Semyonov and Construction Engineer V. Tsingalyonok. *Pravda*, Sept. 20, p. 3. 1200 words. Condensed text:) ... A tremendous amount of work has been done in further building our cities since the war. It is well known that more than 100,000,000 square meters of housing were built or renovated in cities and workers' settlements during the Fourth Five-Year Plan alone and that millions more square meters were completed in 1951 and the first half of 1952. ... At the same time it must be frankly admitted that the restoration and construction of many cities are proceeding very slowly and that they suffer serious shortcomings. This is especially true of Velikiye Luki, Vyazma and Smolensk and to some extent Voronezh, Kursk, Pskov and Orel. ... It is therefore desirable that Section 3 of Part IV of the draft directives stipulate the need for more work on the building and planning of cities, with special attention to improving the quality of city building. Mention should be made in this section of the task of rapid and complete restoration and further development of the 15 ancient Russian cities of Smolensk, Vyazma, Rostov-on-Don, Novorossiisk, Pskov, Sevastopol, Voronezh, Novgorod, Velikiye Luki, Kalinin, Bryansk, Orel, Kursk, Krasnodar and Murmansk.

Mention must also be made of shortcomings in the construction of many cities, both old and new. Construction work in Chelyabinsk, Kemerovo, Sverdlovsk, Kuibyshev and Molotov is mainly in the outskirts and consists largely of low buildings, causing an unnecessary increase in the over-all area of these cities, increased building costs and increased difficulties in installing water systems, sewer systems and other improvements. The result is that although construction has gone ahead on a large scale the centers of some cities have, oddly enough, remained unchanged. Many buildings have been erected in Gorky during recent years, for example, but not a single large building has been put up in the center of town.

City building is often accompanied by flagrant violation of building regulations and of city-building practices. These grave shortcomings are evidence of poor control over the quality of building. Agencies of state architecture and construction control must either be taken from the jurisdiction of the local executive committees and made independent locally or a special administration must be established under the U.S.S.R. Council of Ministers.

The Ministry of Housing and Public Construction and the local agencies share responsibility with the Russian Republic Council of Ministers' Architecture Administration for many of the major shortcomings in city building. It shows little interest in city building and restricts its activity largely to approving plans and estimates. ...

Experience has demonstrated that the small construction

organizations are guilty of the poorest work and the highest expenses. This makes it necessary to add the following passage about construction in the draft directives of the 19th Party Congress: "In order to strengthen the construction organizations, speed up schedules, reduce costs and improve the quality of construction work, the large number of small construction organizations in the cities should be merged."

MATERIALS FOR 19TH PARTY CONGRESS.—Proposals and Remarks.—From Letters Received by the Editors. (Pravda, Sept. 20, p. 3. 1300 words. Condensed text:) Pravda is receiving numerous letters and articles from readers who unanimously approve the draft directives of the 19th Party Congress on the Fifth Five-Year Plan and offer their recommendations.

Comrade P. Shcheglov (Kemerovo) points out that increased opencast coal mining is of great importance in developing the coal industry and recommends that in Section 9 of Part I of the draft directives the words "a more rapid increase should be envisaged in the production of coking coal, enlarging output of this coal by not less than 50% in the five years," be followed by:

"With this in view, the planning and opening in the Kuznetsk and other coal basins of opencast mines to exploit wide strata of coking coal and strata of common lignite should be speeded, and 25% of all coal produced should be extracted by the opencast method." ...

Comrade A. Drannikov (Moscow) writes that automatic loaders are important pieces of equipment to mechanize difficult and laborious processes in industry and construction work but that not enough attention is being devoted to increasing production of them. ... Comrade Drannikov thinks that the following supplement should be made to Section 10 of Part I of the draft directives:

"The output of automatic loaders of various capacities should be doubled during the five-year plan." ...

Comrade P. Pavlenko (Stalinsk, Kemerovo Province) recommends that in order to develop production of local building materials more rapidly, a statement should be added to Section 16 of Part I of the draft directives on organizing building materials trusts, factories and district quarries under all-Union jurisdiction within the network of the U.S.S.R. Ministry of the Building Materials Industry. ...

Comrade V. Tsarev (Tula) states that the new five-year plan stipulations on increased housing construction should be accompanied by provision for proper maintenance and renovation of existing housing. ...

Comrade Z. Travin (Tashkent) takes up matters of road building and recommends the following addition to Section 6 of Part III of the draft directives:

"The quality of truck roads should be improved and trucks should be kept off poorly built roads. The heads of enterprises, of the city and district Soviet executive committees and of the collective and state farms should keep up the roads within their jurisdiction." ...

Comrade S. Klyuchnikov (Moscow) writes of a number of major shortcomings in building design. He points out that there are no over-all state standards of technical design, that planning organizations show insufficient concern for designing standardized industrial installations. There are, for example, no standardized plans as yet for foundry, forge, woodworking, form, etc., shops. Comrade Klyuchnikov recommends that in Section 16 of Part I of the draft directives the words "construction projects must be provided blueprints and estimates in the accorded time" should be followed by:

"and over-all standards of technological designing should be set up, progressive technical economic indices should be introduced and standardized plans should be applied on a broad scale. A state research center for technological designing should be set up for this purpose."

MATERIALS FOR 19TH PARTY CONGRESS.—Urgent Problems in Development of Machine Building. (By V. Dikushin, Chief Designer in Experimental Scientific Research Institute for Metal-Cutting Tools. Pravda, Sept. 27, p. 3. 1200 words. Condensed text:) ... It is necessary to intensify the work of coordinating and standardizing assemblies and parts for various pieces of machinery and equipment with a view to

ensuring much greater serial production than at present and better organization of technological processes to make greater savings possible. However, such important problems in the development of machine building are being worked out slowly as yet, even though there are unlimited opportunities for coordination and standardization of assemblies and parts. It would be advisable for Section 10 of Part I of the directives of the 19th Party Congress on the Fifth Five-Year Plan to provide for intensified work to coordinate and standardize the basic parts of new equipment and for the attention of the machine-building ministries, research institutes and the U.S.S.R. Council of Ministers' Administration of Standards to be called to this matter. ...

It is our opinion that the tasks of the machine-building industry in increasing precision in the production and assembly of industrial equipment should be particularly stressed in the Fifth Five-Year Plan. ...

The draft directives state: "In designing new machines, their weight should be reduced and their quality improved." Here it is desirable to introduce certain stipulations regarding the means of accomplishing the task in question. In particular, it is necessary to point out the need for stricter control by designers over reductions in the total weight of machine motors and over reductions in the weight per unit of output or capacity of operating machinery—machine tools, transport and other aggregates—during the planning stage.

MATERIALS FOR 19TH PARTY CONGRESS.—Proposals and Remarks.—From Letters Received by the Editors. (Pravda, Sept. 27, p. 3. 1500 words. Condensed text:) Published below are some of the recommendations, amendments and comments Pravda has received in connection with various passages in the draft directives of the 19th Party Congress on the Fifth Five-Year Plan.

Industry.—Comrade A. Shcherban (Kiev) recommends that the section of the draft directives on the Fifth Five-Year Plan dealing with the coal industry list measures for shifting all mines to operations on the cyclical schedule and for extensive development of semi-industrial and industrial application of methods of underground combustion of both coal and lignite.

Comrade V. Kudrov (Leningrad) recommends that more attention be paid to the nonmetallurgical coking of coal to ensure increased output of such valuable derivatives and diverse types of raw materials and supplies as gas, electric cokes, benzene and tar and, in addition, to clear city air of smoke and soot. Comrade Kudrov considers it advisable to include in the Fifth Five-Year Plan the construction of a coke and gas plant in the Leningrad area, to operate on common Pechora coal, coking it for general (nonmetallurgical) use.

Comrade A. Gembel (Borovich, Novgorod Province) reports that the northwestern parts of the country are rich in raw materials for building purposes and in minerals. He recommends centralized and integrated production of these raw materials (fire-resistant clays, lignites, pyrites), because production of them has so far been under the jurisdiction of various agencies, causing excess expenditures.

Comrade L. Yegorova (Ulan-Ude, Buryat-Mongolian Autonomous Republic) recommends that the new five-year plan provide for more rational use of valuable waste products during the procurement and processing of timber and that the output of cut lumber and prefabricated housing be increased by this means.

Comrade A. Romashkov (Nikolayevsk-on-Amur) recommends that the draft directives envisage further exploitation of the fish resources of the Far East, especially in the Lower Amur Basin, that the fish catch be particularly increased and that fish-processing facilities on the Okhotsk coast be expanded.

Comrade A. Batkov (Ivanovo) advocates that the five-year plan provide for increasing the capacity of the textile machine-building industry, that more new machinery and assemblies should be produced for finished light industry products and that more super-fast dye should be produced and the number of shades increased.

Agriculture.—Comrade Ye. Topilin (Mikhailovka, Stalingrad Province) recommends that the following addition be made to the draft directives on the five-year plan: "The use of any but selected seed in sowing grain crops should be prohibited on the collective and state farms, beginning in spring, 1954."

Comrades N. Galikaderov, A. Yelemanov, A. Borodin, G. Nigmatillov and L. Chulkov (Alma-Ata) submitted a number of recommendations for the development of animal husbandry during the Fifth Five-Year Plan. They point to the need for effecting a conversion in Kazakhstan and all parts of the country from range stock raising to the stall and pasture system of stock raising. Referring to the feed base as a crucial factor in the development of animal husbandry, the authors recommend in particular the supplying of machinery to the Machine and Tractor Stations and the Animal Husbandry Machinery Stations to ensure that every facility is employed in hay harvesting and to increase the role of these stations in feed procurement, farm section mechanization and intensified construction of water supply installations.

Comrade I. Gudilin (Moscow) considers it advisable to hold the state farms responsible for increasing cultivation of seed for perennial grasses, primarily clover and alfalfa, and for supplying them to the collective farms. Such a supplementary provision is justified, he believes, by the fact that development of the grass-field system on the collective farms is being held up by a shortage of perennial grass seed, with resultant difficulties not only in crop cultivation but in livestock raising as well. ...

Transport and Communications.—Comrade N. Slednikov (Archangel) recommends that the current five-year plan envisage the construction of railroads in areas where railroad communications are underdeveloped (Archangel, Vologda and Kirov Provinces and the Komi Autonomous Republic). Regular maritime communications should be provided for Novaya Zemlya, Vaigach and Kolguyev Islands in order to ensure better supply for the inhabitants of these islands and to ensure prompt shipment of raw materials and furs from them.

Comrade K. Yastrebov (Stalingrad) expresses a wish to supplement slightly the passage in the draft directives dealing with the exploitation of small rivers for hauling freight, pointing to the need for ensuring complex development of the small rivers by combining plans for the development of shipping on them with plans for hydroelectric stations, and for irrigation, water supply and fishing.

Comrade A. Zinkov (Kiev) recommends an amendment to Section 6 of Part III of the draft directives concerning the need to increase output of spare parts and assemblies (especially motors) for automobiles. ...

Comrade N. Georgidze (Tbilisi) submits a recommendation that the new five-year plan provide for substantially expanding the public telephone network in cities and workers' settlements and for improving telephone communications between the cities and rural settlements.

Science and Culture.—... Comrades A. Gorbachev, L. Nebret and P. Sachkov (Kemerovo) point to the extremely inadequate network of higher educational and research institutions in the Kuznetsk Basin as an obstacle in the way of training engineers and developing scientific work in connection with exploitation of the Kuznetsk Basin's wealth of natural resources. They mention in particular the need for providing for a branch of the U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences in the Kuznetsk Basin, together with a number of scientific institutions.

Comrades V. Kovalenkov, P. Tager, A. Tarantsov and G. Dobrovolsky (Moscow) recommend the development in our country of telephoto transmission as a new communications medium with a great future and one of great importance to the national economy. ...

Comrade V. Pokhvalin (Leningrad) considers it essential that the following supplement be made to Section 4 of Part IV of the draft directives:

"In order to make medical aid more available to the working people, the medical network should be expanded and hospital facilities should be made compulsory at large industrial enterprises. Construction or provision of grounds for medical institutions at enterprises should be made the responsibility of the ministry and agency involved."

Comrade Pokhvalin recommends that the new five-year plan provide for the establishment of a large influenza and angina research institute, with modern equipment and competent medical specialists. ...

A. Popov, Chief of Stalingrad Canal-Building Trust. Pravda, Sept. 27, p. 3. 900 words. Condensed text:) Stalingrad—... It is essential to reduce by at least one year the time set for constructing the irrigation systems in the southern districts of Stalingrad Province and to expand the irrigation plan here from 150,000 to 225,000 hectares of land. ... The directives for the five-year plan should provide for speeding up the schedules for building the trunk canals in the Stalingrad Hydroelectric Station area. These schedules are quite protracted in their present form, and yet the canals should be completely ready by 1956, i.e., by the time the hydroelectric station goes into operation. ...

The directives for the five-year plan should charge enterprises of the machine-building industry with beginning immediate production of small tractors, rollers, scrapers and other machinery and equipment which can be hauled easily over long distances and which are extremely necessary in building irrigation systems. ...

The need for increased exploitation of artesian wells not only in Central Asia and Kazakhstan but also in the areas beyond the Volga and in the Caspian area near the Stalingrad Hydroelectric Station should be stressed in the directives of the Congress. ...

Problems of Science and Technology: ON CERTAIN IMPORTANT PROBLEMS OF RAILROAD EQUIPMENT. (By T. Khachaturov, Corresponding Member of the U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences. Izvestia, Sept. 27, p. 2. Complete text:) The draft directives of the 19th Party Congress for the Fifth Five-Year Plan of development of the U.S.S.R. outline a further mighty advance in all types of transportation in conformity with the requirements of developing production and trade. A 35% to 40% increase in railroad freight volume in 1955, as compared with 1950, is envisaged.

As is well known, railroad transportation surpassed the pre-war level in 1948, and in 1950 it exceeded the 1940 level by 45%. Transportation is continuing to develop at a rapid rate in the course of the Fifth Five-Year Plan.

The further growth of freight traffic necessitates improvement of the railroads' traffic capacity. The draft directives of the 19th Party Congress point out that increasing the roads' traffic capacity is a most important task in the field of railroad transportation.

Solution of this task entails double-tracking, enlargement of depots, electrification of railroad lines, introduction of automatic block signals, automatic stops and electrified central switches, improvement of roadbeds and the provision of adequate rolling stock.

In addition, it is necessary to consider the fact that railroad transportation has considerable internal reserves at its disposal, the use of which can ensure increased traffic volume. We shall consider only one of these reserves: greater speed. The growth in volume during the five-year plans was achieved mainly by increasing the weight of trains. However, the speed of trains has increased to a lesser degree. Present speeds are inadequate, do not meet the requirements of the national economy and must be increased considerably.

The speed of freight shipments depends both upon the actual rate of movement and, to an even greater extent, the time freight cars are not in motion. For this reason, the speed of freight hauling must be judged by the turnaround time, which is to be reduced in 1955 by not less than 18% of the 1950 figure. This must be accomplished first of all by reducing idle time at stations. Railwaymen must widely apply Stakhanovite methods of handling freight cars, they must improve the organization of marshaling and keep strictly to schedules.

The reduction of idle car time also depends to a large extent upon the clients and involves time wasted during loading operations. More than three-fourths of all railroad loading is done on industrial sidings. Yet many of the sidings at industrial enterprises are poorly maintained, the speed of operations at them is limited and loading and unloading facilities are inadequate, which complicates returning the cars. The reason for this is that the managers of industrial enterprises do not give proper attention to their shipping operations. It is necessary to increase the amount of technical equipment used on industrial sidings and to mechanize loading and unloading operations.

In addition to reducing idle time, it is necessary considerably to speed train traffic. High rates of production are being applied everywhere in the national economy of the U.S.S.R.—high-speed metal cutting, rapid smelting and high-speed construction. Yet the speed of train movement still falls short of present demands.

Roadbeds on a number of trunk lines have been completely overhauled or relaid during the postwar five-year plan. The draft directives of the Party Congress provide for delivering approximately 85% more new rails to the railroads than during the period from 1946 to 1950. It is important to use these rails correctly, not by fanning them out throughout the entire network but by improving whole sectors in order to permit the operation of powerful high-speed locomotives.

The speed of passenger trains should have been increased long ago. The number and duration of passenger train stops should be reduced. More time is now wasted on unwarranted stops than before the patriotic war.

The draft directives of the 19th Party Congress provide for supplying the railroads with new and advanced equipment. It is the task of scientists, engineers, and technical workers to recommend and introduce the most rational plans for technical installations and the best methods for their utilization.

Electrification is of tremendous importance as a means for the technical development of transportation. V. I. Lenin and J. V. Stalin have placed great importance on electric traction. Electrification of the railroads occupied an important place in the Lenin GOELRO [State Electrification] Plan. Several important main lines in the Urals, Transcaucasus, Dnieper area and Kuznetsk Basin have now been converted to electric traction.

The Fifth Five-Year Plan aims at completing four times as many electric lines as were completed during the last five-year plan. The importance of electric traction lies in the fact that it can increase the traffic capacity of a single-track railroad 50% to 100% over that attainable with steam traction. With electric traction it is possible in a number of cases to avoid expensive double-tracking, to increase traffic speed 15% to 20%, to increase the weight of trains 40% to 60% and to reduce transportation cost sharply.

Steam traction, as is known, is very uneconomical in terms of fuel. The conversion to electric traction makes it possible to reduce fuel expenditures by one-half to two-thirds. No fuel at all is consumed when electricity is produced from water power. Electric traction also has the great advantage of considerably improving all railroad operations. Smoke, soot, coal dust and slag—the usual companions of steam traction—are absent.

Great opportunities for electrification of railroad transport are offered by construction of hydroelectric stations on the Volga, Don, Dnieper and Amu-Darya. A number of important problems confront railroad science and technology. It is necessary to decide whether further electrification will employ the direct current now in use (technically far from advanced) or whether it will be advantageous to shift to the system of single-phase, normal industrial frequency and considerably higher voltage. Such a power system would permit power substations to be placed farther apart and would simplify their layout, with resultant reductions in both capital investments and current operating expenses.

Unfortunately, however, the railroads are not engaged in serious research on the application of such a system, even though its advantages have been known for a long time. They still have a long way to go before checking equipment, installations and rolling stock under actual working conditions. The Ministry of Railroads must intensify studies so that the question of the system of current to be used can be solved as soon as possible on the basis of conclusive experimental data.

Serious scientific and technical problems arise in connection with the task of improving the operation of existing electrified roads. The traction power of electric locomotives is still inadequately utilized, the weight of the trains is less than it could be, average daily runs are low and too much power is consumed.

Sometimes comparatively simple measures would increase the efficiency of electric traction but they are not carried out. The need for installing electric meters on electric locomotives

and power-operated cars has existed for a number of years, for example. A meter was developed long ago but has yet to be installed.

Handling the growing freight volume in the new five-year plan will necessitate the use of locomotives much more powerful than those now in use. Very heavy trains are being run on some lines already. Super-powered locomotives will have to be built with a greater number of drive axles (in order not to increase the pressure of the axles on the roadbed). This involves so-called twin-engine locomotives, which have eight drive axles, and two tandem steam engines at each end.

A more powerful and economical type of twin-engine locomotive is needed, one able to pull doubled weight, for example. The railroads have been as backward in planning such locomotives as they have been in solving the problems of single-phase current. The research organizations of the Ministry of Railroads are slow in solving important, long-range problems. They are not developing basic scientific, theoretical and experimental work on models of new technical equipment and are bogged down in minor work of a routine nature. This is why inadequately tested designs are sometimes approved for widespread use when life compels the adoption of new technical equipment.

All this would not happen if the Ministry of Railroads were to see that a number of plans were worked out in due time and to select the best of them. Unfortunately, it is necessary to restress the ministry's failure to provide plans for new super-powered twin-engine locomotives, as well as for new main-line, all-climate locomotives.

A tremendous number of new freight and passenger cars must be built. It is necessary to solve the important problem of reducing their weight, which is disproportionately large at the present time. Forty per cent to 50% of the carrying capacity of our freight cars is taken up by the freight cars themselves, so that payloads comprise about 55% of the gross weight. This means that on the average about eight tons of car facilities are required for each ton of freight! A tremendous amount of fuel is wasted on deadheading freight cars, and, after all, railroad transportation consumes a large enough share of the coal produced in the country. Lightening the weight of a freight car by only one ton will effect a great saving in operating expenses, not to mention the fact that this would make increased freight volume possible.

Some years ago the Ministry of Railroads' Central Research Institute worked out draft plans for a light, all-metal freight car, but not even an experimental model of this car has been built. Extensive research work must be launched in order to shift from building the type of cars which were built 25 or more years ago to new types of cars.

Great tasks also confront us in the technical development of other branches of the railroad economy: the introduction of new types of power, mechanization and automatization, the development of safety in train movement, etc. Transportation research and planning must be widely developed. The Ministry of Railroads has at its disposal the material resources and qualified, experienced cadres of scientists, designers, engineers and practical workers able to solve the most difficult scientific and technical tasks. It is necessary to utilize these resources in every way for the further technical progress of railroad transportation during the Fifth Stalin Five-Year Plan.

MATERIALS FOR 19TH PARTY CONGRESS.—Proposals and Remarks.—From Letters Received by the Editors.

(Pravda, Oct. 2, p. 3. 1700 words. Condensed text.) Industry.—

... Comrade A. Osintsev (Sverdlovsk) comments that the draft directives for the Fifth Five-Year Plan should provide for the solution of a number of important problems involved in developing Urals metallurgy, in particular for prospecting for additional sources of coking coal and for developing new coalfields. ...

Comrade I. Nazarov (Krasnoyarsk) points out that the Chief Lumber Marketing Administration is responsible for large amounts of cut timber being left on the Yenisei and its tributaries every year, part of which later rots, and recommends that the lag between cutting operations and removal of the timber be eliminated through correct planning. ...

Agriculture.— ... Comrades P. Nikitin and A. Savchenko-Belsky (Moscow) note that the draft directives for the five-year plan make no mention of care for tree plantings. ...

Comrade M. Simon (Novosibirsk) points to the need for broader development of reclamation work in the Baraba lowlands. ...

Transportation and Communications.—Comrades G. Ryleyev, V. Dmitriyev and K. Shishkin (Moscow) believe that in addition to the development of electrification on the railroads the draft directives for the Fifth Five-Year Plan should outline goals for introducing diesel power. ...

Comrade V. Smirnov (Vilnius) comments that the draft directives devote much space to improved navigation and increased passenger service in the Neman River Basin. He expresses the desire to provide for more complete solution of the problem of improved navigation in the Neman River Basin through restoration of the Masurian Waterway System in the neighborhood of Kaliningrad [Königsberg] Province and the Oginsky Waterway System in the Belorussian Republic. ...

Comrade A. Kromov (Lisichansk) believes that the draft directives for the Fifth Five-Year Plan should offer more details on measures to expand and organize telephone communications. ...

Science and Technology.— ... Comrade F. Aktuganov (Volks, Saratov Province) points out that great amounts of heat are lost in the gases from metallurgical furnaces, sometimes reaching 50% of the thermal energy of the fuel. He holds that in order to utilize the heat it is necessary to install recovery boilers at open-hearth furnaces. Such boilers have already been designed and some have already been made for major iron and steel mills, but so far they have not been installed at enterprises.

Comrade M. Latash (Kiev) recommends extensive use of molten slag from blast furnaces in manufacturing facing panels and slag blocks, which are an excellent material for road surfacing. Experiments to produce cast stoneware from slag mixtures were carried out before the war, but slag from blast furnaces is not yet being used for this purpose and continues to pile up around the iron and steel mills.

Comrades S. Chetverikov and P. Gribovsky (Moscow) comment on the great importance of ceramics as a cutting material for metalworking tools. ...

Academician A. Vinter (Moscow) points to the need for extensive development of windmill production and for more research on clusters of wind-generators for electric stations and wind-generator steam installations for combined production of electricity, steam and hot water.

Culture and Everyday Life.— ... Comrade A. Makogon (Chernigov, Ukraine Republic) recommends that the new five-year plan ensure that instruction in the secondary agricultural schools provides graduates with thorough grounding in all problems of collective farm life. ...

Comrade I. Levitin (Leningrad) recommends that the current five-year plan ensure expansion of the public catering network and, in particular, that it provide for the possibility of organizing restaurants in newly erected large buildings.

Comrade P. Kiryak (Raspopeny, Moldavian Republic) recommends that in order better to meet the needs of the working people a small machine shop for repairing bicycles, radios and various household articles be set up in every district center. ...

MATERIALS FOR 19TH PARTY CONGRESS.—Skilled Workers for Soviet Industry. (By P. Moskatov, U.S.S.R. Deputy Minister of Labor Reserves. Pravda, Oct. 2, p. 2. 1000 words. Excerpt:) ... The training of new reinforcements for the working class is a matter of great state importance. Major changes are taking place in the geographical distribution of the country's manpower resources as the U.S.S.R. national economy develops. These resources are shifting eastward at a considerable rate. Unfortunately, the present network of state labor reserves educational institutions cannot guarantee these areas qualified cadres of workers without further shifts. For example, only about 27% of the total number of state labor reserves educational institutions are situated in the Urals, Western and Eastern Siberia and the Far East at the present time.

This distribution of state labor reserves educational institutions in relation to economic areas must be changed. We believe it is advisable to supplement Section 7 of Part IV of the draft directives of the 19th Party Congress with a statement on the need for approximately doubling during the five-year plan the network of state labor reserves educational institutions in the Urals, Siberia and the Far East. ...

MATERIALS FOR 19TH PARTY CONGRESS.—Proposals and Remarks.—From Letters Received by the Editors. (Pravda, Oct. 5, p. 3. 1700 words. Condensed text:)

Industry.— ... Comrade P. Shanin (Khabarovsk) states that the Fifth Five-Year Plan should reflect the task of extensive construction of enterprises of the lumber industry in the Far East. ...

Agriculture.—Comrade D. Kalugin (Simferopol) makes a number of recommendations for reforestation. He believes that forest resources and self-seeding areas should be inventoried and that plans should be drawn up for adding to and restoring these resources during the next three to five years. ...

Comrade K. Kobyzhev (Moscow) offers a recommendation for more extensive use of aviation in agriculture. ...

Transportation and Communications.—Comrade N. Chernov (Kiev) holds that reconditioning of discarded rails constitutes a major source for improving the state of tracks. Yet this matter is not properly organized on the railroads. Hence the author recommends that the current five-year plan ensure the reconditioning of discarded rail through electric-contact welding. ...

Comrade P. Zemskov (Moscow) makes the recommendation that Part III of the draft directives for the Fifth Five-Year Plan envisage solution of the problem of using gas [vapor] as an automobile fuel. It is his opinion that the following addition should be made to this chapter:

"Extensive use should be made of gas as an automobile fuel, and a broad network of gas filling stations should be established for this purpose. Existing enterprises should be equipped with and all gasoline refineries now under construction should have special gas-trapping facilities."

Science and Technology.—Academician D. Belyankin calls attention to the need for developing research in mineral geology. ...

Comrade M. Svetlichny (Krivoi Rog) considers it necessary to organize a determined struggle against smoke and dust, especially at enterprises of ferrous and nonferrous metallurgy, coal-tar chemical industry and at fuel-operated power plants. ...

MATERIALS FOR 19TH PARTY CONGRESS.—Why One Cannot Agree With A. Popov. (By A. Prokhorov, Party Organizer for the Communist Party Central Committee at the Central Volga Development Construction Trust. Pravda, Oct. 5, p. 3. 900 words. Condensed text:) Kuibyshev— ... There can be no agreement with some of the proposals by Comrade A. Popov, Chief of the Stalingrad Canal-Building Trust, in his article "On Schedules for Constructing Irrigation Systems in the Volga Area" printed in Pravda Sept. 27. Comrade Popov considers it inexpedient to regard construction of irrigation systems utilizing the electric power of the Kuibyshev Hydroelectric Station as a work of first priority. What reasons does he give for his proposal?

In Comrade Popov's opinion irrigating and watering for Kuibyshev Province is not as acutely necessary as, let us say, for Stalingrad Province and the North Caspian regions. The author of the article alleges that in Kuibyshev Province there is greater rainfall, there are fewer dry winds, etc.

Not one of these arguments can be declared sound. Numerous observations indicate that the most fertile black earth lands of the steppe regions in Kuibyshev, Chkalov and Saratov Provinces are exposed to drought and dry winds. Irrigating the lands on the basis of the Kuibyshev Hydroelectric Station's electric power will make it possible to make the chief grain regions of the Trans-Volga an extremely rich wheat base for the country, a major milk, butter and wool producer. This corresponds to the interests of the state and the people.

Comrade Popov contradicts the facts and does not take extremely important circumstances into account. It is well known

that the Kuibyshev Hydroelectric Station is being put into operation before the Stalingrad station. From this circumstance arises the need for more intensified construction of irrigation systems on a basis of utilizing the power of the Kuibyshev Hydroelectric Center.

However, Comrade Popov proposes the introduction of an amendment under which the construction of trunk canals is to be completed first of all in the area of the Stalingrad Hydroelectric Station and not in the area of the Kuibyshev station. Where is the logic in this, Comrade Popov?

Even now it is evident that the speed of constructing irrigation systems in the area of the Kuibyshev Hydroelectric Station is lagging behind the schedules for construction of the hydroelectric center. Therefore, in our opinion, an amendment on the need to shorten time limits for the construction of irrigation and watering systems in the Central Trans-Volga regions should be introduced into the draft directives of the 19th Party Congress on the Fifth Five-Year Plan.

All this shows that Comrade Popov's proposal does not comply with the interests of further developing agriculture in the Trans-Volga area. ...

Construction of the first small irrigation systems permits one to draw certain conclusions. Experience shows that the utilization of small-size scrapers, rollers and other machinery is not always warranted in constructing comparatively small irrigation systems. ...

Despite this fact, Comrade Popov proposes to introduce an amendment to the draft directives on the Fifth Five-Year Plan to the effect that machine-building enterprises begin immediate production of small-size tractors, rollers, scrapers and other machines and equipment which can be transported easily over long distances for building irrigation systems. It seems to us that this proposal by Comrade Popov will also not hold up under criticism. ...

PARTY STATUTES

MATERIALS FOR 19TH PARTY CONGRESS. (Pravda, Sept. 1, p. 4. 4200 words. Condensed text:) Concerning Article 2 of Draft of Revised Party Statutes. (By Party Member T. Mashtalenko, worker in the October Revolution Plant.) Voroshilovgrad— ... The expression "any working person who is a Soviet citizen not exploiting anyone else's labor" can and I think should be replaced by a different one. The Stalin Constitution lays down the legislative provision that exploitation has been abolished in the land of socialism. But if we leave in the Party Statutes the expression "any working person who is a Soviet citizen not exploiting anyone else's labor," we may give the impression that there is still exploitation and a definite exploiting class in the Soviet Union. It is clear that such an extremely important historical document as the Statutes of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union must not give rise to misrepresentation. Yes, and there is no necessity for writing into the Party Statutes what has long since vanished from our socialist society. ...

Necessary Additions and Clarifications. (By Party Member A. Popov.) Moscow— ... After attentive study of the draft revised Statutes and the theses of Comrade N. S. Khrushchev, Secretary of the Party Central Committee, I have come to the conclusion that a number of provisions put forward for discussion require a more succinct formulation.

Article 1 of the draft revised Statutes gives a definition of the Party. ... This definition should be supplemented with a statement that the Party unites the best, most advanced people, and it should be phrased as follows: "The Communist Party of the Soviet Union is a voluntary militant union of Communists holding the same views, formed of the best, most advanced people of the working class, the working peasantry and the working intelligentsia."

Such a definition will reflect more precisely the well-known provision that our party is a political organization not of the entire Soviet people but only of its advanced part, its vanguard.

Further. At the end of the article it is necessary to stipulate: "In all its work the Communist Party of the Soviet Union is guided by the theory of Marxism-Leninism." The necessity

for such a statement, it seems to me, is quite indisputable, since it will reflect the real state of affairs and will underline once again the great significance of the Marxist-Leninist theory for the work of the Party and of each of its individual members.

I consider it expedient to expand slightly Point (j) of Article 3, which refers to the duties of a Party member.

In the draft revised Statutes this point states that the Party member is under obligation "to keep Party and state secrets and to display political vigilance, keeping in mind that the vigilance of Communists is necessary on every sector and in all circumstances. Disclosing Party or state secrets is a crime before the Party and incompatible with Party membership." I propose that this provision be supplemented with a statement to the effect that we are living in a state of capitalist encirclement, that this obliges the Party member to wage a vigorous struggle against heedlessness, smugness and complacency and that the disclosure of Party and state secrets is a most grave crime. ...

In addition, Article 3, dealing with the duties of a Party member, should be supplemented with a special point which would state that a Communist is under obligation to take an active part in internal Party life. I propose the following phrasing for this point:

"(1) To display wide initiative, to take a daily, active part in all internal Party work conducted by the Party organization and to carry out Party assignments in a timely and punctual manner. Failure of Communists to carry out Party assignments in a timely and punctual manner is a serious violation of Party discipline."

Finally, I consider it necessary to supplement the draft revised Statutes with a special section on the tasks of the organizational work of Party organizations, the necessity of mastering the Leninist-Stalinist style of work and the principal duties of the secretaries of primary Party organizations. ...

Raise Title of Party Member Still Higher. (By D. Lebedev, Secretary of Dzerzhinsky Borough Party Committee.) Moscow— ... The requirement of the draft revised Statutes that a Party member should develop self-criticism and criticism from below is of special significance. Suppression of criticism, the draft states, is a great evil. He who silences criticism and substitutes ostentation and boastfulness in its place cannot remain in the ranks of the Party.

In practice one still comes across instances in which certain executives, acknowledging verbally the importance of criticism and self-criticism as the principal law of the development of socialist society, in practice do not tolerate criticism but silence it. ...

The draft revised Party Statutes place a Party member under obligation to observe Party and state discipline, equally obligatory for all Party members. There can be, the draft states, no two disciplines in the Party, one for the leaders and another for the rank and file. The Party has only one discipline, one law for all Communists, irrespective of their services and the offices they hold. Violation of Party and state discipline is a great evil, harming the Party and hence incompatible with membership.

The purpose of this requirement of the draft is to play a major role in the struggle for fulfillment of Party and government assignments. It will make it possible to conduct a more successful struggle against those who consider that the laws of the Party and the state are not binding on them. And we still come across such officials in some places. Certain executives of enterprises embark on the path of deceiving the state, padding their reports on plan fulfillment, violating technological norms and not conducting a persistent struggle for fulfillment of the state plan. ...

In the link with the masses, in the strengthening and expansion of these links lies the source of the strength and invincibility of Bolshevik leadership.

It should be noted that certain Communists—Party, Soviet and economic officials—do not always remember this requirement and sometimes adopt a bureaucratic attitude to the requirements and the needs of the working people. ...

The draft revised Statutes quite rightly raise the question of making the name of our party more precise. But it seems to me that it would be better to name our party "The Communist

Party of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics." This name would reflect more fully the character of our state.

It is expedient to supplement Article 3 of the draft revised Statutes dealing with the duties of Party members with a special point stating that a Communist is under obligation to show an example in daily life, to observe Communist ethics strictly. It should, moreover, be stressed that corruption in daily life is incompatible with membership in the ranks of the Party. ...

In the draft revised Statutes it is necessary to include a special point dealing with the tasks and rights of the Party organizations of scientific research institutes.

For greater efficiency in the work of the borough committee it is desirable that plenary sessions should be held not once a month, as is envisaged by the draft, but once every six or eight weeks. The borough committee would thus have time to prepare and conduct its own plenary session during one month and a meeting of the aktiv of the borough organization the next. ...

Strengthen Demand for Development of Self-Criticism and Criticism From Below. (By P. Smirnov, Party Organizer of the Party Central Committee at the Kirov Plant.) Leningrad—... *Criticism and self-criticism is the motive force in the development of Soviet society, the well-trying method of training executive personnel.* ...

Carrying out the injunctions of Lenin and Stalin, the Party develops criticism and self-criticism in an over-all manner, teaching Communists to speak about shortcomings directly, honestly and openly, to disclose and remove their causes and, thanks to this, to achieve ever new successes.

It should be noted that even now we not infrequently come across people who speak in fine and glowing terms about the importance of criticism and self-criticism but who do this not because it is their conviction but because, so to speak, they are following the "fashion." But when you take a look at how such people in practice view critical comments about themselves, then you find out that they do not in any way promote the expansion of criticism. On the contrary they stifle every manifestation of it, if not by direct suppression then by an indifferent attitude toward the critical comments which are made about them. ...

The demand made on every Communist—to be irreconcilable toward shortcomings, to criticize errors and blunders honestly and directly—will have a fruitful effect on the standard of inner Party life, on all the work of Party organizations in directing economic and cultural construction. ...

The draft revised Party Statutes contain a sufficiently precise and complete formulation of the provisions for shielding the critical thought of Communists from the highhandedness of suppressors of criticism. But it seems to me that that part of the point dealing with the duty of a Communist to criticize shortcomings should be strengthened. After all, it is a fact that the expansion of criticism is impeded not only by the attempts of certain executives to suppress it, but also by the philistine complacency displayed by certain Communists. A person sees shortcomings but remains silent: "What," he says, "should I do more than anyone else?" Such behavior should be vigorously condemned as alien to the very spirit of Party allegiance. ...

Improve System of Party Education (By Party Member I. Krivosheyev)—Comrade N. S. Khrushchev's theses at the 19th Party Congress on the revisions in the Party Statutes emphasize that the propagandizing of Marxism-Leninism is still unsatisfactorily organized.

What then are the principal shortcomings in propaganda work? In my opinion the basic shortcoming is that the existing system of organizing Marxist-Leninist studies does not meet the increased standard of the Communists' knowledge and the requirements for further profound study of Marxism-Leninism. The fact is that there is still a great deal of makeshift method and lack of control in the organization of Party studies. There exist many heterogeneous and diverse circles which are set up quickly and, in a number of instances, arbitrarily liquidated. ...

For the purposes of improving the study of Marxism-Leninism and raising the responsibility of the Communists for mastery of it, I propose that a point worded as follows be introduced in the Statutes of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union: "Mindful that Marxism-Leninism is the principal weapon of the Party in the struggle for the building of communism, a Party

member is under obligation, in the shortest possible period, to master the basic laws of social development revealed by Marxism-Leninism."

MATERIALS FOR 19TH PARTY CONGRESS.—Refinements and Supplements to Certain Points in the Party Statutes. (By Party Member A. Pshenichkin. Pravda, Sept. 14, p. 4. 1200 words. Condensed text:) Moscow—The draft revised Statutes ...take account of the vast changes in the life of the Party from the 18th Congress to the present. Take for example the fact that our party is given a new name in the draft revised Statutes. Instead of "All-Union Communist Party (of Bolsheviks)," it is proposed to call it henceforth "The Communist Party of the Soviet Union." The proposed new name is more correct than the present name because the words "Communist" and "Bolshevik" now express one and the same thing. However, in our opinion it would be more accurate to name our party "Communist Party of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics."

It seems to me that a reference should be made to the fact that Communists, holding the same views, have a uniform Marxist-Leninist world outlook. ... Hence I believe it would be better to give the following definition of the Party:

"The Communist Party of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics is a voluntary militant union of Communists, holding the same views, formed of people of the working class, the working peasantry and the working intelligentsia who accept Marxism-Leninism as their world outlook." ...

With respect to the period of Party membership required of secretaries of Party committees, my proposals reduce to the following:

An obligatory period of Party membership of not less than ten years should be established for secretaries of Central Committees of Communist Parties of the Union republics instead of the six years proposed in the draft; for secretaries of territory and province committees the period should be not less than ten years; for secretaries of region, city and district committees it should be not less than five years, and for secretaries of primary organizations [units] it should be not less than two years. In exceptional cases (small Party organizations, no members with a membership period of more than two years) the obligatory period for secretaries of primary organizations could be less than two years but not less than one year, with special permission from the city and district Party committees. ...

MATERIALS FOR 19TH PARTY CONGRESS.—Mention Careful Treatment of Personnel in Party Statutes. (By Party Member M. Magnitsky. Pravda, Sept. 14, p. 4. 700 words. Condensed text:) Petrozavodsk—... The draft revised Statutes quite rightly provide that one of the most important duties of a Party member, no matter what post he holds or what powers he has, is strict observance of the Bolshevik principle of personnel selection.

In our opinion, however, Point (k) in Article 3 reflects only one side of the question: improved personnel selection. It is true that we can no longer tolerate instances of a faulty approach to personnel selection, but at the same time the Party Statutes must require Communists to deal thoughtfully with personnel. ...

There is no point in denying that we still encounter cases in which individual Communists to whom the Party has entrusted key posts not infrequently adopt a lordly, disdainful attitude toward personnel and show no interest in the training or assigning of them, which is a great evil for the Party and the state.

For instance, so-called administrators who appreciate only themselves and their own labor think nothing of continually removing persons they do not like from their posts, using plausible pretexts and at the same time mourning the "shortage of personnel." In order to evade responsibility for failure in the work assigned to them, such so-called administrators not infrequently try to and do find persons "responsible" for the mistakes and blunders which they themselves have made, "get rid" of these supposedly guilty persons and themselves emerge unscathed. Moreover, we still have takers-of-no-chances who, for the sake of their own peace and quiet, are ready at any moment to get rid of officials who cause them the slightest bother.

Is it not these factors which in many ways explain the situation that exists in various Party and Soviet agencies where per-

sonnel turnover is high and criticism and self-criticism poorly developed? ...

In this connection it seems to us that Point (k) in Article 3 should be worded as follows:

"At any post entrusted to him by the Party, to carry out without fail the Party directives on correct solution of cadres with regard to political and working qualifications. Violating these directives, [that is,] selection of officials on the basis of friendship, personal loyalties, local allegiance, or kinship, as well as a lordly, disdainful, insensitive, bureaucratic attitude toward personnel, is incompatible with Party membership."

MATERIALS FOR 19TH PARTY CONGRESS.—From Letters Received by the Editors. (Pravda, Sept 14, p. 4. Complete text:) Below are some of the recommendations and observations on the draft revised Party Statutes received by Pravda from Party members and candidates.

Party member Comrade N. Shulegin (Moscow Province) proposes that the word "Bolsheviks" be retained in the name of the Party. He writes: "It is well known that the Communists have been called Bolsheviks for 50 years now. This name is near and dear to our hearts. The word 'Bolshevik' has become traditional and a profoundly patriotic word among Communists and the entire Soviet people. Taking this into consideration, I believe that we should leave the name 'Bolshevik' in the title of our party."

Comrade G. Kutukov (Moscow), noting that the lofty title of member of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union obliges a Communist to be a model of service to the Party and state, proposes the following addition to Article 3 of the draft revised Party Statutes:

"It is the duty of a Party member: To esteem the lofty title of member of the Communist Party and in all situations to set an example of class consciousness and organization and of devotion to the cause of the party of Lenin and Stalin. Passivity and indifference, formalism in work, boastfulness and disdain and obsequiousness are a stain on the title of member of the Communist Party and must be severely punished."

Vice-President of the Armenian Republic Academy of Sciences Comrade A. Iosifyan (Yerevan) proposes the addition of the following point to Article 3 of the Statutes:

"To guard state (public) property vigilantly against appropriation and embezzlement, to economize and conserve state property. A passive, inactive, conniving attitude toward pilferers of state (public) property and toward bribe-takers, and wasteful, careless treatment of state property are incompatible with membership in the Party."

Comrade D. Olkhovoi (Leningrad) proposes the addition of the following words to Point (d) in Article 3, after the words "respond promptly to the desires and needs of the working people:" "not only to explain to the non-Party masses the meaning of the Party policy and decisions but also to assist in the communist education of the masses, mindful that the strength and invincibility of the Party lie in close and inseparable ties with the people."

Comrade L. Pavlov (Nerl, Kalinin Province) proposes an addition to Article 26, to read as follows:

"In the election of Party bodies, voting by lists as well as preliminary discussion of lists of candidates in any form whatsoever is prohibited. The nomination of candidates must be completely free, without any restriction whatsoever on the number of candidates. All Party members are assured the unrestricted right to challenge candidates and to criticize them. Candidates who receive a plurality of votes are elected. Elections are held by secret balloting in closed booths."

A number of comrades recommend in their letters that the Statutes refer to questions of personal life, family, morality and the attitude of a Communist toward religion. For example, Comrade N. Danilenko (Moscow) proposes the addition of a statement to Article 3 of the Statutes to the effect that a Party member is under obligation "to carry out strictly and unflinchingly the principles of Communist morality and ethics. He who does not daily support these principles in public or private life must be punished severely as a violator of the will of the Party."

Comrade N. Akhmedeyev (Alma-Ata) writes in his letter: "It seems to me that the revised Statutes must make it the duty

of Party members and candidates to fight for further strengthening of the friendship of the peoples of the U.S.S.R. It would also be desirable to state in the Statutes that any manifestation of chauvinist and bourgeois nationalist views is incompatible with membership in the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, which is an internationalist party."

MATERIALS FOR 19TH PARTY CONGRESS.—On Party Organizations in Institutions. (By M. Lukovkin, Secretary of the Party Bureau for the Transbaikalian Railroad Administration. Pravda, Sept. 14, p. 4. Complete text:) Chita—Article 57 of the draft revised Statutes clearly defines the tasks of the primary Party organizations [units], which will promote further advance in the activity of Communists and will considerably strengthen the role of the primary organizations in the life and work of enterprises, Machine and Tractor Stations and collective and state farms. However, the draft revised Statutes contain no really clear statement on the rights and work methods of the Party organizations of Soviet institutions. Of course, it may be assumed that the Party organizations of Soviet institutions should be guided by the second paragraph of Article 58 of the draft revised Statutes, which refers to Party organizations in ministries, inasmuch as they all have about the same functions as do the Party organizations of the ministries. This can only be inferred, however.

It seems to me that the following should be added to Article 58: "The Party organizations of Soviet institutions cannot exercise supervisory functions but are under obligation, in fulfillment of the tasks defined by Article 57 of the Statutes, to reveal shortcomings in the work of the institution, to note defects in the work of the staff and its individual officials and to send their reports and recommendations to the district, city or province Party committee and also to raise these questions with the heads of the institutions."

MATERIALS FOR 19TH PARTY CONGRESS.—For Effective Criticism. (By G. Zimanas, Editor of the Newspaper Tiesa. Pravda, Sept. 14, p. 4. 900 words. Condensed text:) Vilnius—... The question of the effectiveness of criticism has found reflection in the draft revised Statutes. It is expressed in the formula placing every Party member under obligation to bring to light defects in work and to seek their removal. At the same time, in my opinion, there should be stronger stress in the Statutes on the obligation of every Party member and Party body to fight for the effectiveness of criticism.

In urging that criticism and self-criticism be developed in every way, our party has more than once warned against vulgarization of self-criticism, against antipatriotic criticism, against slanderers who, under the guise of criticism, try to defame the policy of our party and the people who carry it out.

In my opinion it would be expedient to warn our local Party organizations in the Party Statutes against slanderers and frauds who, under the guise of developing criticism, attempt to suppress criticism, to deprive it of effect or to retaliate for criticism.

It would be worth while to stipulate that criticism must be honest and principled and that it must promote the strengthening of Soviet society, that persons who employ criticism for selfish purposes cannot belong to the Party and must be brought to book.

MATERIALS FOR 19TH PARTY CONGRESS.—On Certain Duties of a Party Member.—Review of Letters Received by the Editors. (Pravda, Sept. 20, p. 4. 1000 words. Condensed text:) The editors of Pravda continue to receive a large number of letters in connection with discussion of the draft revised Party Statutes. Warmly approving the draft, the writers of the letters make recommendations and comments aimed in particular at further enhancing the title and importance of the Party member. ...

Comrade M. Aydeyev, secretary of the Ashkhabad Silk Weaving Plant Party organization, writes: "... It cannot be tolerated that individual Communists conduct themselves unworthily in their personal lives and do not do their duty to public and family. The provision of the revised Statutes on the duties of a Party member must be strengthened by inclusion of a special point to the effect that every Party member must be high-principled and

crystal pure. Acts in personal life and public life unworthy of an advanced person are a great evil incompatible with Party membership."

Some comrades propose that the Statutes be supplemented with a point on the attitude of a Communist to the family and children. Comrade Kozlov (Kriovl Rog) writes: "I think that strengthening the family and increasing the responsibility of Party members for the upbringing of children meets the interests of the whole society, the interests of our party, which is the vanguard of the fight to build a communist society. ..."

MATERIALS FOR 19TH PARTY CONGRESS.—For Regularity in Calling Party Meetings. (By V. Tikhomirov, Party Organizer for the Party Central Committee at the Red Sormovo Plant. Pravda, Sept. 20, p. 4. 300 words. Excerpt:) Gorky— ... With regard to the tremendous and ever-increasing role of Party meetings as a highly important means of improving the efficiency of the primary Party organizations, I consider it expedient to provide in the Statutes for periods for calling meetings of Communists. It seems to me that the Statutes should provide for meetings to be held at least once or twice every month in the primary Party organizations. It goes without saying that if necessary a Party organization could hold meetings two, three or more times in a month.

MATERIALS FOR 19TH PARTY CONGRESS.—Against Proposal by D. Lebedev and A. Pshenichkin.—New Name of Our Party 'Communist Party of the Soviet Union' Alone Is Correct. (By Party Member M. Kutikhin. Pravda, Sept. 20, p. 4. 1200 words. Condensed text:) Rostov-on-Don— ... Pravda printed an article by Comrade Lebedev Sept. 4 which expressed—along with correct propositions—what in my view was a groundless recommendation concerning the draft. Objecting to the name of the Party as given in the draft, the author of the article recommends the following name: "Communist Party of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics." The same proposal was advanced by Party Member Pshenichkin in Pravda Sept. 14. Moreover, both of them explain their recommendation by the need for "making more precise" the name of our party.

What do these comrades have in mind when they speak of the necessity of naming our party the "Communist Party of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics?" Evidently they have in mind the fact that the Soviet Union is made up of 16 Soviet socialist republics. But it is well known that this fact is recorded in the Stalin Constitution, which is the fundamental law of our state.

It seems to me that their recommendation can hardly be deemed correct because the name "Communist Party of the Soviet Union" is the most precise, short and general. It truly and succinctly expresses both the nature of our party and the name of our state. Their proposal is evidently dictated by a desire to retain the element of the old name of the Party which stressed that our party is "all-Union." ...

The words "Communist Party of the Soviet Union" fully and graphically express the monolithic nature of our party, its unity and the indestructibility of the bonds which join all Communists in our multinational state. Hence I consider that the name of the Party proposed in the draft Statutes is the only right one.

Further, I should like to express my opinion on another comment by Comrade Lebedev on the draft revised Statutes. He proposes to supplement Article 3 with a new point to the effect that "a Communist is under obligation to protect socialist property vigilantly. A conciliatory attitude toward pilferers of socialist property must be stated to be incompatible with Party membership." The same addition was advanced by Comrade Iosifyan, whose proposal was published in Pravda Sept. 14. ... Some local Party and Soviet officials are not devoting proper attention to strengthening and augmenting communal socialist property. They are not waging a resolute struggle to guard socialist property and they tolerate the fact that crooks, rascals, squanderers, etc., sometimes operate unhindered. Communists are encountered who, despite all their honesty and devotion, fail to realize that an indifferent attitude toward the pilfering of public property is a stain on the high title of Party member.

This is why I believe that there must be a point in Article 3

about the protection of socialist property. The Statutes must stipulate that the protection of socialist property is a sacred duty and cardinal obligation of the Party member, that an indifferent and conciliatory attitude toward pilferers of socialist property is incompatible with Party membership. A provision for protection of socialist property must also find reflection in one of the points of Article 57, dealing with the tasks of primary Party organizations.

MATERIALS FOR 19TH PARTY CONGRESS.—Concerning Article 1 of Statutes. (By Party Member I. Vlasov. Pravda, Sept. 20, p. 4. 600 words. Condensed text:) Leningrad— ... I wish to express my opinion on the definition of the Party contained in the first article of the draft revised Statutes. It seems to me that we should not scrap the comprehensive description of the class nature of our party contained in the present Statutes. I have in mind the phrase which says that the Party is the advanced, organized detachment of the working class of the U.S.S.R., the highest form of its class organization. The draft revised Statutes omit this statement.

Of course, the triumph of socialism has resulted in a great rapprochement between the working class and the peasantry in our country. ... But does this mean that the Party has ceased to be the party of the working class, its vanguard? I do not think so. ...

The Soviet state goes through various stages and periods in its development. But its class nature, its historic mission, remain unchanged so long as classes and class differences exist: it has been and remains a state in which the guiding role belongs to the working class. ...

MATERIALS FOR 19TH PARTY CONGRESS.—Remarks on Frequency of Convening Plenary Sessions and Conferences. (By A. Avezklychev, Secretary of the Ashkhabad City Committee. Pravda, Sept. 20, p. 4. 650 words. Condensed text:) Ashkhabad— ... The draft revised Statutes state that "plenary sessions of city or district committees are convened not less than once a month."

It seems to me that such frequent convening of plenary sessions would somewhat complicate the work of the Party committees, especially where the cities are divided into districts [boroughs]. The reason is that a great deal of preparatory work is involved in convening a plenary session. ...

The frequent convening of plenary sessions of district and city committees also complicates the work of the primary Party organizations. A plenary session of a city or district committee discusses important questions of Party life. As a rule these questions have to be discussed in the primary Party organizations, but since there must be two plenary sessions each month in cities divided into districts (a plenary session of the city committee and a plenary session of the district [borough] committee), the primary Party organizations therefore have to convene two meetings each month merely to discuss the resolutions of these plenary sessions. Moreover, the primary Party organizations also discuss the resolutions of the province committee plenary sessions and of the plenary sessions of the Central Committee of the republic Communist Party. This poses the question of when the primary Party organizations will be able to discuss their own affairs, the matters which they bring up themselves.

In this connection I propose that the plenary sessions of the city or district [borough] Party committees be convened not less than once every two months. I repeat that I have in mind primarily cities which are divided into districts [boroughs]....

MATERIALS FOR 19TH PARTY CONGRESS.—On Functions of Primary Party Organizations. (By N. Zherebin, Party Organizer for the Party Central Committee at the Stalin Automobile Plant. Pravda, Sept. 27, p. 4. 1400 words. Condensed text:) Moscow— ... It seems to me that the section of the draft revised Statutes concerning primary Party organizations [units] does not define adequately enough the tasks and functions of the Party organizations at individual enterprises. I think that the general principle of the work of Party organizations, irrespective of the sector of economic and cultural work in which they are located, should be formulated in the Party Statutes. This principle consists of the fact that the primary

organization must approach any question concerning its activity from the viewpoint of the interests of the Party and the state. Specifically, I propose that the following clause be introduced into the draft revised Party Statutes: "The primary Party organization must orient all its work to the general interests of the Party and state and be intolerant of all shortcomings preventing fulfillment of state plans. The interests of the Party and the state are the highest law by which every Party organization must be guided." ...

It is well known that the economy of the land of Soviets constitutes a single, complex and diversified organism. Disregard of the general interests of the state by an enterprise does harm in one degree or another to the entire national economy. However, one still quite often encounters cases when the interests of one's "own" factory, one's "own" enterprise gain the upper hand over the general interests of the state. This is expressed in particular in creation of excessive reserves of raw materials and supplies, in efforts to reduce quotas, etc.

It should be noted that some Party organizations sometimes find themselves hampered by individual inept business executives and countenance their antistate actions. Such instances occur even in the practical work of our plant: The heads of individual shops sometimes stop considering the interests of the enterprise as a whole (and consequently the interests of the state) and approach the job in hand from the viewpoint of the narrow interests of the shop. This July we encountered cases in which Comrade Shlenov, head of the assembly shop, and Comrade Ruchkin, secretary of the Party bureau, were responsible for each other's work and covered up each other's wrong actions. ...

MATERIALS FOR 19TH PARTY CONGRESS.—Proposals on Individual Questions.—From Letters Received by the Editors. (Pravda, Sept. 27, p. 4. 1100 words. Condensed text:) Pravda continues to receive a large number of letters from Communists. A considerable number of the letters contain proposals regarding the rights and duties of primary organizations and of district and city Party committees. ...

Comrade B. Gubin (Orel) holds that Party meetings at which admission to the Party takes place must be open, with non-Party people participating. He writes: "In a number of instances the admission of new members and candidates to the Party takes place at closed Party meetings. The impression is thus given that when admitting people to its ranks the Party organization shies away from non-Party people and conceals from them who is admitted and when. However, the Party not only does not shy away from non-Party people but in all its work relies upon their support. ..."

Comrade P. Snetkov (Moscow) proposes that the Statutes be supplemented with a provision to the effect that "whoever fails to obtain two-thirds of the votes during the election of Party bodies at a Party conference or Party meeting, cannot be elected secretary of a primary Party organization or first secretary of a territory, province, city or district committee."

P. Petrov (Moscow) considers that in the interest of strict observance of Party and state discipline it is necessary to prohibit the maintenance of secretaries of shop Party organizations at the expense of the enterprise. He writes: "There are still many such instances; they are well known to the district and city committees, but nobody wants to comment on them or take measures to bring to book Party and economic officials who violate the decrees of the Soviet government." ...

Comrade V. Murnin (Barnaul) draws attention to the fact that the present structure and organization of the work of local Party and Soviet bodies is such that it gives rise to parallelism. The author holds that "the existence of an agricultural department under the district Party committee and a department of agriculture under the district executive committee creates conditions for parallelism, duplication and dual supervision of practical affairs of agriculture in the districts." ...

MATERIALS FOR 19TH PARTY CONGRESS.—My Refutation of A. Poym. (By Party Member V. Bykov. Pravda, Sept. 27, p. 4. 500 words. Condensed text:) In the article "Necessary Additions and Clarifications," published in Pravda Sept. 4, Comrade A. Poym expressed dissatisfaction with the definition of the Party given in Article 1 of the draft revised Party Stat-

utes. He recommends that the draft Statutes be supplemented with a statement to the effect that the Communist Party unites the best, advanced people and that it be worded as follows:

"The Communist Party of the Soviet Union is a voluntary militant union of Communists holding the same views, formed of the best, most advanced people of the working class, of the working peasantry and the working intelligentsia."

The author motivates his amendment by saying that his definition of the Party would "reflect more precisely the well-known provision that our party is a political organization not of the entire Soviet people but only of its advanced part, its vanguard."

First, there can be no agreement with Comrade Popov that our Communist Party is not a party of the entire Soviet people. It is well known that we have no other parties but the Communist Party in our country. It is also well known that the entire Soviet people regard the Communist Party as their own party, to whose guidance it has voluntarily entrusted its destiny.

The second thing that follows from Comrade Popov's statement is the division of Soviet people into better and worse. The moral-political unity achieved in Soviet society does not permit such categories to be set up for Soviet citizens. There are of course relatively less social-minded and active builders of the new society among the country's workers, peasants and intelligentsia, but they can by no means be segregated from the other working people by the term "worse." ...

I consider that the definition of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union as a voluntary militant union of Communists holding the same views, formed of people of the working class, the working peasants and the working intelligentsia, is correct, profound, scientific and not in need of further refinement. ...

MATERIALS FOR 19TH PARTY CONGRESS.—Introduction Statement on Party Press in Statutes. (By Party Member G. Ponik. Pravda, Sept. 27, p. 4. 750 words. Condensed text:) Proskurov—... I have made a careful study of the draft revised Statutes and the theses of the report by Comrade N. S. Khrushchev, Secretary of the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party, to the 19th Party Congress, and it seems to me that a statement concerning the Party press should be added to the Statutes. The reason is that we still encounter quite a few instances in which certain Party committees exercise poor supervision over their press organs, devote little attention to problems of the selection, placement and training of newspapermen, do not always react in the Party manner to articles in the press and do not shield workers and peasant-correspondents and journalists from suppressors of criticism. ... While I approve of the draft revised Party Statutes as a whole, I consider it expedient to add the following statement to the Statutes:

"The Soviet press is a mighty weapon of the party of Lenin and Stalin in the struggle to build a communist society in our country. Party committees must:

"(a) exercise constant Party supervision of their press organs, seeing that every newspaper is a genuine collective propagandist, agitator and organizer of the masses;

"(b) assist the comprehensive development of criticism and self-criticism in the press and react promptly both to favorable and critical articles in the newspapers and magazines;

"(c) discipline through Party channels, even to the point of expulsion, Communists who persecute worker- and peasant-correspondents and other newspapermen who rightly criticize shortcomings in the work of Party and Soviet bodies and shortcomings in the work of individual officials."

It seems to me that such an addition to the Party Statutes would greatly increase the responsibility of the Party committees for the ideological content of their press and raise still higher the role of the press in the struggle to build communism in our country.

MATERIALS FOR 19TH PARTY CONGRESS.—Reply to A. Poym's Individual Questions.—From Letters Received by the Editors (Pravda, Oct. 2, p. 4. 1800 words. Condensed text:) In letters to Pravda Communists unanimously and warmly approve the draft revised Party Statutes. The writers of a number of letters recommended supplementing Article 1 of the draft revised Party Statutes with a statement that the Communist Party of the

Soviet Union is guided in its work by the theory of Marxism-Leninism. ...

Some letters from Communists recommend additions and changes in Article 3 of the Statutes, dealing with the duties of Party members. Comrade Ye. Sharashkin (Volhynia Province) holds that a prime duty of a Party member is to fight for strictest observance of Party and state discipline and that Point (f) be supplemented by the following statement:

"It is the duty of a Party member to place the interests of socialist society above personal interests. The placing of personal interests first, to the detriment of social interests, is a major evil and incompatible with continued Party membership." ...

Many comrades recommend the addition of a point in Article 3 of the draft revised Statutes requiring Party members to fight constantly for the protection and development of public, socialist property. ...

Comrade D. Fayants (Kishinev) recommends that the following addition be made to Article 3 of the Statutes:

"It is the duty of a Party member to conduct an irreconcilable struggle against all manifestations of bourgeois ideology. Violation of the principles of Marxist-Leninist party allegiance in the sphere of ideology, the adulation of bourgeois culture, nationalism, cosmopolitanism, indifference to politics, bourgeois objectivism or a conciliatory attitude to such phenomena constitute a deviation from Marxism-Leninism and are incompatible with Party membership." ...

Comrade A. Kozyrev (Moldavian Republic) writes:

"While supporting in every way and widely developing Bolshevik self-criticism and criticism from below, it is necessary to bear in mind the attempts of individual dishonest persons to use this keen weapon for their own selfish aims, to the detriment of the Party. ...

"Therefore, in our opinion Point (i) of Section 3 should be slightly amended and formulated as follows: 'To be truthful and honest before the Party and never permit concealment or distortion of truth. Untruthfulness of a Communist toward the Party and slander are grave misdeeds incompatible with Party membership'." ...

MATERIALS FOR 19TH PARTY CONGRESS.—Concerning Duties of Party Organizations at Higher Educational Institutions. (By Party Member A. Kosichev. Pravda, Oct. 2, p. 4. 450 words. Condensed text:) Moscow—In view of the specific nature of the work of higher educational institutions, the recommendations made by certain comrades about granting the Party organizations of higher educational institutions the right to check on the work of the administration must be declared incorrect. ...

In our opinion there is no reason for granting the primary Party organizations of educational institutions the right to check on the work of the administration. The practical result of this may be that the students will interfere in the work of the administration, the professors and the lecturers, which will have the inevitable effect of weakening academic discipline. In the long run the crux of the matter is not whether or not the primary Party organization of an educational institution enjoys the right of checking up. What is important is that it should follow the life of the educational institution constantly and help the administration to raise standards of educational work. Lack of the right of check by no means reduces the responsibility of the primary organization for the work of the educational institution. It must raise the question of shortcomings in the work of the administration before higher Party and Soviet bodies. ...

It is desirable to define in the Party Statutes the forms and content of the check exercised by Party organizations over the work of enterprise administrations. It seems to us that control should be directed primarily toward checking on fulfillment of state assignments by enterprises, on their fulfillment of Party resolutions. Actually, however, some local Party organizations quite often embark on the path of narrow business control. In any case many Communists do not yet have a full, clear notion of this question.

MATERIALS FOR 19TH PARTY CONGRESS.—An Unacceptable Amendment. (By S. Tarasov, Secretary of the Kostroma City Party Committee. Pravda, Oct. 2, p. 4. 850 words. Con-

densed text:) Kostroma—Article 52 of the draft revised Party Statutes provides for convening plenary sessions of city and district [borough] Party committees not less than once a month. Certain Party officials, in particular Comrade Avezklychev, Secretary of the Ashkhabad City Party Committee, and earlier Comrade Lebedev, Secretary of the Dzerzhinsky District [Borough] Party Committee in the city of Moscow, voiced objection in Pravda to the periods set in the draft for convening plenary sessions.

The comrades motivated their objections by saying that such "frequent" convening of plenary sessions would overload the apparatus of the city and district committees with all sorts of preparatory measures, requiring a great deal of time of functionaries in the Party apparatus and preventing them from organizing local work. Comrade Avezklychev, for example, writes that "such frequent convening of plenary sessions would somewhat complicate the work of the Party committees."

Such considerations can hardly be taken seriously.

Comrade Avezklychev in essence upholds the faulty practice that has developed in certain organizations, where many extremely important matters of Party work are decided not by the full membership of the Party committee but by the bureau or the secretaries of the committees. The calling of plenary sessions once every two months does not make it possible for the members of the city committee and district committees to take an active part in the work of these committees, it restricts their rights, tends to weaken the link of the Party committees with the Party organizations and creates conditions for supplanting true Party work methods with bureaucratic methods.

Plenary sessions of district and city committees should be held not less than once a month and all major questions of Party work should be brought up for discussion at them. This will make it possible to make full use in Party work of the experience and knowledge of all members of the city and district committees and will increase their responsibility for the state of affairs in the Party organization. This also fits in with the tasks of further expanding criticism and self-criticism, of further implementing inner Party democracy, of the principle of teamwork in leadership. It will also improve Party organizational and political work.

It seems to me that Comrade Avezklychev's fear that the convening of plenary sessions not less than once a month would "complicate" the work of the Party apparatus is unfounded. ...

Comrade Avezklychev is not right in assuming that the convening of plenary sessions not less than once a month would complicate the work of the primary Party organizations because they would allegedly have to hold two meetings every month solely to discuss the results of the plenary sessions. It seems to us that it is necessary to scrap the stereotyped practice whereby all decisions reached by the plenary session of city and district committees are, without exception, specially discussed at meetings of the primary Party organizations. There are decisions which concern all primary Party organizations but there are also those which concern, let us say, only industrial or only school Party organizations, etc. Why should such decisions be discussed by all Party organizations? It is sufficient to inform the Communists about them so that they may be conversant with the work of the Party committee. ...

MATERIALS FOR 19TH PARTY CONGRESS.—For Strict Observance of Party Discipline. (By P. Shestakov, Secretary of the Frunze Borough Party Committee. Pravda, Oct. 2, p. 4. 850 words. Condensed text:) Kuibyshev—... We still have Communists who assume that there are two disciplines in the Party: one for rank-and-file members and another for officials. ... Individual Party organizations are not strict enough with such Communists, and in quite a few cases Party organizations have "excused" incorrect behavior or ignoring of Party resolutions by Communists who are the heads of enterprises, higher educational institutions and organizations. Sometimes not only the heads of primary Party organizations but also of district Party committees flatter the ego of individual officials, glossing over their mistakes and shielding them from criticism.

Several instances of abuse of office were disclosed recently in Frunze Borough, Kuibyshev. Certain Communist managerial officials began to build houses and summer homes for themselves with state assets and supplies. In the Kuibyshev Gas Trust, for example, Communist Iovovich, the chief engineer,

spent large state funds on the construction of apartments for himself and certain of his cronies. Instead of training executive personnel in the spirit of strict observance of discipline, the heads of the Kuibyshev Gas Trust Party organization adopted a tolerant attitude toward the Communist managerial officials who had violated discipline. The facts indicate that indecision and a tolerant attitude are manifested in certain other primary Party organizations when the incorrect behavior of administrative officials of organizations, institutions, etc., should be condemned. It is characteristic that cases of abuse of office by individual officials, of violation of Party and state discipline, are examined only at the bureaus of the province, city and district Party committees. The Kuibyshev city committee, for example, has more than once informed the secretaries of the primary Party organizations of Frunze Borough that all questions concerning responsible officials are to be examined by the city committee itself, without the participation of the primary Party organizations. It sometimes happens, therefore, that the primary Party organizations know about compromising actions by officials but do not take them up.

Why do certain local Party bodies deprive the primary Party organizations of the opportunity of discussing various members of the Party organization if they are administrative officials? There are no grounds for this at all. Therefore we consider it advisable to stress in the Statutes that the primary Party organization has the right to discuss the incorrect actions of Communist executives of economic, Soviet and other organizations. It is true that essentially this right is implied in the duties of Party members which are formulated in the draft Statutes. But specific emphasis of this right would make it possible to put a more rapid end to incorrect practices.

Another comment: Article 11 of the draft revised Statutes states that the primary Party organization cannot adopt resolutions to expel a Communist from the Party if he is a member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union or the Central Committee of the Communist Party of a Union republic, or a member of a territory, province, region, city or district Party committee. Although I consider this provision of the draft correct, I would recommend that a special reservation be made to the effect that the primary Party organization can and must discuss the question of misdemeanor by any of its members and bring this to the notice of higher Party bodies. This would further strengthen Party discipline, increase the authority of the primary Party organization and make Communists who are members of Party committees maintain closer contact with the masses and work actively in their Party organizations.

MATERIALS FOR 19TH PARTY CONGRESS.—Proposals on Individual Questions.—From Letters Received by the Editors. (Pravda, Oct 5, p. 4. 1800 words. Condensed text.) The authors of several of the letters received by Pravda object to some statements and recommendations made by Communists in previously published materials. ...

Comrade S. Shepelev (Moscow) objects to recommendations to include in the Statutes a point on the duty of a Party member to protect socialist property because, in his opinion, pro-

tection of public property is the duty not only of Party members but of all citizens of our country. ...

Comrade A. Petrov (Gorky) believes that it is necessary to state the following in the Statutes: "He who uses criticism for malicious, slanderous personal purposes commits a crime against the Party and cannot be a member of the Party." ...

Comrade V. Ustimenko (Poltava Province) wishes that every village should have one primary Party organization uniting all Communists working in that village (collective farmers, employees, etc.).

Comrade O. Petrov (Stavropol) holds that all primary Party organizations should exercise the right of check on the work of the enterprise management. ...

Comrade I. Litvinov expresses the opinion that the frequency of Party meetings should be laid down in the Party Statutes.

Comrade D. Nikolayev (Moscow) proposes "to dissolve the Party collegiums of the city Party committees as being intervening levels between the Party collegiums of the province committees. The existence of Party collegiums of the city Party committees causes delays in examining the files on Communists. Under the present system the files go through seven different levels: the bureau of the primary Party organization, the general meeting of Communists, the district committee, the Party collegium of the city Party committee, the bureau of the city committee, the Party collegium of the province Party committee and the bureau of the province Party committee." ...

Comrade P. Zemlyanoi (Zhdanov) recommends a supplement to Article 14 of the draft Statutes, stating that a Party member who has been reprimanded for an error, corrects the error and has the reprimand rescinded by the Party organization enjoys all rights of a Party member without exception. The author of the letter explains his recommendation by stating that it often happens that a Communist makes amends and has a reprimand rescinded but that the reprimand is inevitably mentioned during elections to Party bodies or when a report on the Communist is drawn up.

Comrade B. Avilov (Saratov) believes it necessary to add the following point to Article 14:

"Party meetings which handle the matter of behavior by Party members must be open meetings. Open Party meetings are convened in every instance by the permission of the district Party committee." ...

MATERIALS FOR 19TH PARTY CONGRESS.—On the Sponsors to the Party. (By P. Demidenko, Secretary of the Klimov District Party Committee. Pravda, Oct. 5, p. 4. 750 words. Excerpt.) Voroshilovgrad— ... In order to join the Party, a prospective member must have three recommendations from Communists who have known him not less than one year at their common place of work.

The draft provides that the sponsors bear responsibility for the quality of their recommendations, meaning that they must know the new member thoroughly and be profoundly convinced that he will bear the great title of member of the Communist Party with honor and dignity. In order to protect the Party from infiltration by unworthy persons, greater stress should be laid in the Statutes on the responsibility of Communists who recommend prospective members. ...

IV. CONGRESSES IN THE REPUBLICS,

I. The Ukraine

MELNIKOV'S REPORT

REPORT OF CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF COMMUNIST PARTY (OF BOLSHEVIKS) OF THE UKRAINE.—Speech by Comrade L. G. Melnikov, Secretary of Ukraine Communist Party Central Committee, at 17th Congress of Ukraine Communist Party, Sept. 24, 1952. (Pravda Ukrainy, Sept. 25, pp. 1-5. 23,000 words. Condensed text:) ... COMPLETION OF RECONSTRUCTION AND FURTHER DEVELOPMENT OF INDUSTRY.— ... Last year the productivity of labor increased 49% compared to 1948 [the year of the 16th Congress of the Ukraine Communist Party] and 26% compared to 1940. ...

In coal mining the attention of Party organizations has been concentrated on carrying out the government's resolutions on raising the productivity of labor, strengthening technical management in Donets Basin mines and reorganizing vein work on a cyclical basis.

More than a third of all Donets Basin veins have now been converted to work according to a cyclical schedule. The number of engineers in the mines has been increased 50% since 1948 and the number of technicians has doubled. The hauling of coal has been speeded up and the pace of excavation has increased more than 34% and has considerably surpassed the prewar speed.

The introduction of coal combines and coal-loading machines made it possible to mechanize the major labor-consuming processes. The mines are now equipped with powerful and perfected cutting machines, stope conveyers, heavy electric locomotives and other mining equipment that permits full mechanization of cutting and extracting the coal, hauling it out and loading it on railroad cars.

In the past three years the coal production plan has been fulfilled 100.4% and the plan for coking coal 101.5%. The Donets Basin now produces 15% more coal than before the war.

Steelworkers in the republic have secured increased productivity of equipment by perfecting technology and organization of work. In 1951, 1.02 tons of pig iron were smelted per cubic meter of blast furnace, compared with 0.94 tons

in 1948. Steel smelted per square meter of hearth in open-hearth furnaces increased from 4.96 to 5.72 tons. The production of high-quality metal and of new, complex types of rolled steel was mastered.

There has been a considerable development of the raw material base of ferrous metallurgy—the Krivoi Rog iron ore deposits and the Nikopol manganese deposits. The average daily production of iron ore has now surpassed the prewar rate by almost 50% and the production of manganese ore has increased 35%.

Ukraine iron and steel enterprises overcame their long lag and overfulfilled the six-month plan for 1952 in all categories. The coal tar and fireproof materials industry is being developed with success.

Machine builders have been able to fulfill the state plan and in recent years have put into production more than 740 new machine tools, machines, instruments and mechanisms. Construction of heavy-duty excavators with a scoop capacity of 15 cubic meters, of diesel and garden tractors, of powerful long-haul diesel locomotives, of heavy-duty and specialized machine tools, of tractor-drawn agricultural machinery, of high-precision instruments and of mining machines has been put in order.

The development of industrial production in the republic has been accompanied by a growth in power capacity and an improvement in the operation of power stations and networks. In three years the capacity of power stations has been increased 63.8% and the output of electricity 86.3%. The growth of power capacity, however, still lags behind the increased demands of the national economy. ...

One of the greatest shortcomings in the activity of ministries and departments and in many province and city Party committees is evaluation of the work of enterprises on the basis of over-all figures. In machine building, the industry-wide plan was fulfilled last year, but one-fifth of the plants did not carry out their tasks. The Voroshilovgrad Locomotive Plant, the Kharkov Turbogenerator Plant and the October Revolution Plant in Odessa particularly lagged in fulfillment of plans.

In 1951 a large number of Donets Basin mines failed to cope with their tasks.

Why is it that some enterprises overfulfill their plans month after month while others can never achieve smooth production? Everything depends on the management and on ability to use equipment and to organize people for plan ful-

fillment. We may take as an example mines No. 6—6a in the Kadiyevka Coal Trust, managed by Comrade Puchnov.

Within three and one-half years seven managers and eight chief engineers were removed and dozens of section foremen were transferred at this mine. This gave rise to irresponsibility and led to a collapse of labor discipline and production discipline. Output quotas were not fulfilled by 24% of the workers in the mine, the productivity of cutting machines scarcely reached 90% of the assigned level and the plan for preparatory work was fulfilled only 45% to 65%. The mine now produces only one-fourth of its planned capacity. ...

The capacity of enterprises in many branches of industry is still low and advantage is not taken of major potentialities. This can be illustrated by the work of two open-hearth shops in 1951, operating under comparable production conditions:

	Zaporozhye Steel	Shop No. 1, Kirov Steel Mill
Average tons of steel smelted per furnace	137,600	117,900
Monthly average tons of steel output per worker	132.6	84.9
Average length of smelting period (hours)	10.6	11.6
Kilograms of fuel used per ton of steel	191	219
Cost reduction per year (rubles saved or overexpended)	5,900,000 saved	24,000,000 over

... The workers in Zaporozhye Steel have undoubtedly achieved good results in smelting. But Plant Director Boborynkin and Party Committee Secretary Khromykh should know that in the use of blast furnace equipment they lag considerably behind the Dneprodzerzhinsk workers, who obtained 1.2 tons of pig iron per cubic meter of blast furnace space, while the Zaporozhye workers obtained only 1.03 tons.

Unsatisfactory utilization of opportunities for raising labor productivity is a serious defect in the work of industry.

In machine-building plants only 10% of the machine tools have been converted to rapid-cutting methods. A large amount of idle time occurs. ...

Many enterprises are not coping with tasks of lowering costs. A number of machine-building plants, including the Kramatorsk Machine Tool Plant, the Molotov Plant in Kharkov and others did not fulfill cost reduction plans in 1951.

We have not yet eliminated instances of antistate activity on the part of managers. Cases of fraud and deceit of the state were discovered last year at the Kharkov Hammer and Sickle Plant, the Kirovograd Red Star Plant and a number of other enterprises. But evidently these have not served as an example for certain managers. This year managers of the October Revolution Plant in Odessa raised production figures by 2,800,000 rubles in their report to the state for 1951. Antistate acts have also occurred in certain other enterprises.

We cannot pass over serious shortcomings in the work of construction organizations. Many of them, especially the Ministry of Heavy Industry Enterprise Construction and the Ministry of Machine-Building Enterprise Construction, still work very poorly and do not fulfill plans for completing important industrial and housing projects. Plans for raising labor productivity and lowering building costs at the building projects are not fulfilled. Poorly built projects with major defects are often put into operation.

Planning organizations still work poorly, often drawing up plans and estimates behind schedule and with defects. The Ukraine Council of Ministers' Administration on Architectural Affairs guides the republic's planning organizations unsatisfactorily and furnishes weak supervision over architecture and building. The Ukraine Republic Academy of Architecture has not yet become a center for the solution of scientific construction problems and poorly disseminates the experience of leading architects and builders.

The large amount of construction going on in the republic still suffers an acute shortage of building materials. The Ministry of the Building Materials Industry and building industry enterprises in the Ministry of Housing and Municipal

Construction are not fulfilling production plans for brick, shell rock, tile, gypsum, concrete blocks, asbestos-cement slabs, dry plaster and other items. Many building materials, especially brick, are of low quality.

The work of republic, local and cooperative industries exhibits major shortcomings. Many enterprises do not fulfill production plans, especially for variety of output. In 1951 the plan was fulfilled for only 217 of 465 important types of articles.

The struggle to raise the quality of consumers' goods is especially unsatisfactorily waged. In the shoe industry a large number of articles are produced of extremely low quality and meet no demand among the public.

Enterprises in the Ministries of Light, Local, Food, and Meat and Dairy Industries and the Ukraine Industrial Cooperative Council have especially large losses from defective goods, low-quality production and wasteful expenditure. ...

Bureaucracy and red tape, causing great harm, have not yet been eliminated everywhere. Last year the Ukraine Republic Council of Ministers adopted a resolution on shipping live fish to cities in the republic. After receiving the government's resolution, Minister of the Fishing Industry Lushnikov took 110 days to compose an order on this question. It took Comrade Lushnikov 129 days to bring to the attention of enterprise managers another resolution—on shortcomings in the financial and economic activity of the ministry! ...

COMPLETION OF RECONSTRUCTION AND FURTHER DEVELOPMENT OF SOCIALIST AGRICULTURE.— ... Total sown area in the republic in 1952 was 1,676,000 hectares above that in 1948. There was a 445,000-hectare increase in sowings of technical crops, primarily cotton and sugar beets, surpassing the prewar area. The area under fodder crops increased 2,600,000 hectares, that is, to double the prewar level.

The Ukraine Communist Party Central Committee directed the attention of Party organizations to the necessity of considerably expanding the sown area and raising the productivity of winter wheat, the most important food crop. The area sown to winter wheat was 2,300,000 hectares above 1948 and almost 2,000,000 above 1940. This raised the total wheat yield considerably. This autumn collective farms are expanding the area under this crop by another 1,000,000 hectares.

Raising the productivity of winter wheat to 20 or more centners per hectare and increasing its total yield are very important tasks of Party organizations and Soviet and agricultural agencies. ...

The sugar beet area in the republic has grown 84,000 hectares since 1940, or 10%, and yield has been raised considerably; 45,500,000 more pounds of sugar were obtained from the beet harvest of 1951 than that of 1940. ...

We still have not taken advantage of all possibilities of raising the sugar beet yield. In Kiev Province, for instance, the plan for sugar beet deliveries to the state has not been fulfilled a single year since the war because of lack of interest in growing this crop. Collective farms in a number of districts of Vinnitsa, Poltava and Kirovograd Provinces have also obtained poor beet harvests. In 1951, 2077 collective farms in the republic delivered to sugar refineries less than 150 centners of beets per hectare. The same year 1136 collective farms delivered more than 250 centners per hectare, that is, they reached the level established for the end of the present five-year plan. ...

The Ukraine occupies second place in the Soviet Union, next to Uzbekistan, in cotton area, and is the leading area in cotton growing on unwatered land. Although we have achieved a considerable expansion of the sown area of cotton and have increased deliveries of raw cotton, we nevertheless have not fulfilled the state plan for cotton deliveries for a number of years. Party organizations in Odessa and Nikolayev Provinces have done especially poor work on the development of cotton growing.

The new five-year plan provides for cotton yields of not less than five to seven centners per hectare on unwatered land, and for yields of not less than 11 to 13 centners on watered land. This requires better methods of cotton cultivation, especially an improvement of cultivation and widespread introduction of complex mechanization. A pressing task of scientific research institutions and agricultural specialists

is to introduce new strains of cotton that will ripen earlier and will have longer fibers and larger bolls, including strains for irrigated areas. ...

As a result of fulfillment of the three-year plan for development of communal productive animal husbandry, livestock on the republic's collective farms has increased considerably and has surpassed the prewar level. ...

In several provinces, however, the three-year plan was not fulfilled for cattle, swine and poultry. Nikolayev, Kherson and Zaporozhye Provinces showed the greatest lag.

The principal shortcoming in the development of communal animal husbandry is its extremely low meat and dairy yields. Milk yields were particularly low on Zhitomir, Kamenets-Podolsk, Volhynia and Ternopol Province collective farms. ...

Comrades, the Party and government devote particular attention to problems of mechanizing all branches of agriculture as the most important means of raising the productivity of labor and increasing the output of agricultural products. ...

At present 1386 Machine and Tractor Stations and specialized machine stations are operating in the republic. Machine and Tractor Stations have become strong state enterprises, doing about 80% of all field work. They are a decisive force in collective farm production, and the success of the functioning of collective farms and the well-being of collective farmers depend to a great extent upon their work.

One must point out, however, that certain Machine and Tractor Stations do not observe their contractual obligations to collective farms. They violate schedules, permit the most important agricultural work to be carried out poorly, and fail to fulfill plans for cultivation between the rows, for harvesting grain with combines and for turning fallow land. Machine and Tractor Stations are carrying out the mechanization of labor-consuming work at animal husbandry farm sections very poorly.

[An enumeration of tasks in the mechanization of agriculture follows.] ...

In three years 1211 rural power plants have been built and put in operation. We must intensify the construction of hydroelectric stations and of fuel-operated power plants using local fuel. ...

The construction of the Kakhovka Hydroelectric Station and the Southern Ukraine Canal opens broad perspectives for the further development of agriculture in the southern areas of the Ukraine.

The soil of the Ukraine steppe is among the richest in the country, but frequent droughts, dry winds and dust storms inflict great damage upon agriculture. Suffice it to state that of the past 60 years, 20 were dry. ...

This year the construction of the first section of the Kamenka Irrigation System has already been completed. Construction of the Upper Ingulets Irrigation System has begun and work on the Lower Ingulets System will begin in 1953. These should go into operation by the end of the five-year plan. In order to make use of the irrigated land in the area of the Kakhovka Hydroelectric Station and the Southern Ukraine Canal we must instruct tens of thousands of persons in the fundamentals of irrigation farming.

The development of agriculture in the Polessie area, almost one-fifth of the Ukraine's territory, is of great importance to the republic. Many collective farms in Polessie are still economically weak, gather poor harvests and have low meat and dairy yields. Poor farming technique is the reason for this. Managers in certain districts and collective farms of Polessie, enslaved by outmoded tradition and routine, try to attribute the agricultural lag to lack of soil fertility. Yes, the Polessie soil is not rich. But the science of agronomy and collective farm practice have worked out reliable means of raising the fertility of Polessie soil. This involves applying manure and peat, lupinizing, sowing grass, spreading lime and plowing deeper. Polessie collective farms have great possibilities of developing diversified agriculture.

Amelioration work is of particular importance in improving agriculture in Polessie. We must conduct marsh drainage work during this five-year plan, particularly in the Polessie lowlands. Putting this land to use will make possible a considerable increase in the area of fertile plowland and highly productive meadows and pastures.

The completion of collectivization of agriculture in the western provinces is a major victory of our Party organization. On the basis of solid collectivization of these provinces the kulak class was liquidated and a crushing blow was inflicted upon the remnants of Ukrainian bourgeois nationalists. ...

Comrades, the problems of the organizational and economic strengthening of collective farms have occupied a large place in the work of the Ukraine Communist Party Central Committee. The amalgamation of small collective farms represented an important stage in collective farm development during the period of the report. ...

In 1950, that is, before amalgamation, there were 33,653 collective farms in the Ukraine. Now there are 16,015.

The amalgamation of collective farms made it possible to improve their management, to strengthen the ranks of their trained personnel and to create conditions for more productive use of tractors, combines and other machines. Labor discipline was improved in the collective farms, the communal economy is growing and becoming stronger and workday payments to collective farmers are being increased.

Within the past three years the indivisible funds of collective farms have increased by 4,000,000,000 rubles, or 48% compared to 1940; collective farm income grew 4,200,000,000 rubles during these three years and surpassed the prewar level by 76%.

Many collective farms in the Ukraine, however, fail to make full use of their potentialities for development of the communal economy. This is evident from a comparison of the work results of two millionaire collective farms in 1951—the Lenin Collective Farm, Chemerovtsy District, Kamenets-Podolsk Province (Chairman, Comrade Bolko), and the Kirov Collective Farm, Gorodok District, the same province (Chairman, Comrade Khotenets). These have equal amounts of land under cultivation and are situated in identical soil and climate areas. The money income of the first was 3,159,000 rubles and of the second 1,113,000 rubles.

	Lenin Farm	Kirov Farm
Indivisible funds per hectare of plowland	1551 rubles	435
Money income per hectare of plowland	1237 rubles	355
Income per hectare of sugar beets	6411 rubles	3138
Income per hectare of orchard	8830 rubles	427
Income per hectare of market garden	7024 rubles	743
Milk yield per forage cow	2542 liters	813
Money income per cow	1931 rubles	210
Money income per sow	1054 rubles	58
Grain distributed per workday	2 kg.	1
Money distributed per workday	3.10 rubles	1.60

... The existence of great unused potentialities in the republic's agriculture is proved by the fact that almost 5000 collective farms have no orchards, berry patches or vineyards, 2130 collective farms do not have apiaries and more than half of the collective farms have no ponds or reservoirs and do not develop fish breeding. ...

The Collective Farm Statutes comprise the foundation of collective farm life and development. Violation of the Statutes seriously impairs the further advance of the collective farms' communal economy and runs counter to the interests of the conscientious collective farmers. Party organizations have conducted important work on elimination of Statute violations, but in various provinces and certain districts cases of squandering communal land and pilfering collective farm property still take place.

A particularly large number of violations of the Collective Farm Statutes have been tolerated in Ternopol Province, where the province Party committee secretary, Comrade Profatilov, has not only conducted a poor campaign against violators but has even grossly violated the Statutes himself. ...

Gross violations of the Collective Farm Statutes have been discovered also in a number of districts in Odessa, Poltava, Lvov and Stanislav Provinces. They have taken place also in various collective farms in other provinces.

It is necessary to eliminate completely all violations of the

Collective Farm Statutes, to discover all channels through which collective farm property could be embezzled and to guard collective farms against encroachments upon communal land and property, which constitute the vital basis of the collective farm system. ...

The future advance of agriculture requires the elimination of serious shortcomings in the work of agricultural agencies. The Ukraine Republic Ministry of Agriculture and Ministry of Cotton Growing and their local agencies do little work on the problems of strengthening the organization and economy of collective farms and on the prospects of developing agriculture. These ministries are not always familiar with the situation locally.

More than 64,000 agronomists, zootechnicians and other agricultural specialists work in the republic. This is a great force. But the Ministry of Agriculture and the Ministry of Cotton Growing still devote little attention to work with specialists and do not attempt to improve their qualifications. ...

GROWTH OF MATERIAL WELL-BEING OF THE WORKING PEOPLE.— ... [Since 1948] 8,800,000 square meters [floor space] of housing have been built or reconstructed in cities and workers' settlements in the Ukraine. The socialized housing facilities have now surpassed the prewar level. In villages, 270,000 houses for collective farmers and 10,000 buildings for cultural and everyday services were constructed. The reconstruction of many cities has been completed and entire settlements have been rebuilt. The length of streetcar and trolley lines has grown and the residents of 29 cities now use gas. ...

Medical services to the public are being improved. During the period of the report 385 hospitals were built and put into operation in cities and rural localities in the republic. The number of maternity homes on collective farms has doubled. There are now 464 sanatoriums and rest homes in the republic, which were visited by about 350,000 persons in 1951.

The younger generation is surrounded by special care and attention. There are now about 3000 kindergartens in the Ukraine, able to care for 152,000 children. Last year Young Pioneer camps and children's sanatoriums were attended by about 1,000,000 children. In 1952 children's vacations were organized on a still larger scale.

An increase in the birth rate is a significant indication of the growth in the material well-being of our people. In three years the population of the republic has increased by 2,600,000. ...

The growth of the well-being of the working people can be illustrated by the following example. At the Rummyantsev Mine in Gorlovka the following buildings were constructed in the past three years: 101 houses, seven stores, a hospital, kindergarten, secondary school, bath house and stadium. In addition many workers built their own houses. A working person's average monthly wages during a year increased from 1107 rubles to 1450 rubles. Miners' wages were 2570 rubles and mine combine operators made up to 7000 rubles a month. In 1951 working people at the mine were paid 986,000 rubles in group bonus awards and 4,345,000 rubles in bonuses for long service and faultless work; 427 miners visited rest homes, sanatoriums and health resorts. In recent years people at the mine have acquired 55 Pobeda and Moskvich automobiles, 507 motorcycles and 570 bicycles. [The number of persons employed at the mine is not mentioned by the speaker.—Trans.] ...

The Ministry of Housing Construction and Communal Economy, the Soviet executive committees of many provinces, cities and districts and also a number of Party organizations, however, are not conducting the proper campaign for fulfillment of housing construction plans and for good maintenance of housing. Despite a shortage of housing, 372,000,000 rubles assigned for housing construction in the republic during the past three years were not used. ...

PARTY ORGANIZATIONAL AND PARTY POLITICAL WORK.—In the period since the 16th Congress of the Ukraine Communist Party, the Ukraine Party organization grew and gained strength in the struggle for new achievements in building communism.

On Sept. 1, 1952, there were 777,832 Communists in the Communist Party of the Ukraine, including 676,190 Party

members (86.9%) and 101,642 candidates (13.1%). During the period of the report the number of Communists increased by 93,557, that is, 13.7%. The number of women in Party organizations increased. They now number 17.4% of the total membership.

Communists having higher, incomplete higher and secondary education make up 35.5% of the Party membership.

There are now 48,352 primary Party organizations in the republic, 587 more than there were at the time of the 16th Congress.

Placing of Party forces in the national economy has improved: 286,848 Party members and candidates, 36.9% of the Ukraine Communist Party's membership, work in industrial enterprises, transportation and construction; 138,054 Communists, or 17.7%, in agriculture; and 71,208, or 9.1% of the membership, in scientific and educational institutions and in the field of culture and the arts.

Party influence in rural areas in the republic's western provinces has been considerably strengthened. At the time of the 16th Congress there were 1128 primary Party units with 9037 Communists in villages of these provinces, but now there are 2581 units with 20,145 Communists, that is, more than twice as many. In Transcarpathia and Chernovtsy Province Party units have been set up in almost all collective farms. ...

During the period of the report 119,049 members were admitted to the Communist Party and 115,729 candidates. Party organizations have improved their work of selecting leading workers, collective farmers and representatives of the intelligentsia for Party membership.

It must be pointed out, nevertheless, that certain Party agencies poorly supervise admissions to the Party. A number of Party organizations have tolerated instances of seeking a large number of new members at the expense of qualitative strengthening of Party ranks. ...

One cannot count on success where the province, city or district Party committee continues to do everyone's work and to take upon itself the functions of Soviet and economic organizations. It is incorrect for province Party committees and Soviet executive committees to adopt joint resolutions on any economic question. But this is frequently done. The Sumy Province committee, for instance, adopted 386 resolutions jointly with the province Soviet executive committee in one year. It is true that the Ukraine Communist Party Central Committee has also adopted many joint resolutions. Experience shows that this is undesirable. In addition, in practice the adoption of joint resolutions is conducive to irresponsibility. ...

The Ukraine Communist Party Central Committee has taken steps to improve the work of city and district Party committees and to strengthen them with politically trained and experienced Party officials. In the past three years 2204 graduates of the Ukraine Republic Party School and province Party schools were sent to city and district committees for executive work. This includes 759 city and district Party committee secretaries. In addition, 2240 city and district Party committee officials took one-year and ten-month refresher courses. Republic-wide conferences are conducted annually for first secretaries of rural district committees. These help raise the level of guidance in district committees and to spread good Party work experience. ...

It must be said that some province, city and district Party committees give insufficient encouragement to the development of criticism and self-criticism in Party organizations. There are still cases of suppression of criticism and persecution for criticism. This took place in particular in the work of the Kirovograd Province Party Committee. The province committee bureau and its first secretary, Comrade Pozanenko, tolerated red tape and in a number of cases did not heed criticism from below.

The Kamenka District Party Committee, Kirovograd Province, exhibited an un-Bolshevik attitude to warning signals from Communists. The secretary of the primary Party organization on the October Collective Farm, Comrade Bondarenko, notified the district committee repeatedly that a group of swindlers led by the collective farm chairman were plundering communal property. But the district committee did not heed these warnings. What is more, it turned out to be under the

thumb of the violators of the Collective Farm Statutes, who slandered the Party organization secretary, attributing to him nonexistent offenses. The district committee expelled Comrade Bondarenko from the Party and he was arrested. Only after the intervention of the Ukraine Communist Party Central Committee was Comrade Bondarenko freed from arrest and reinstated in the Party. The Central Committee removed the district Party committee secretary from his post and administered a severe Party reprimand. ...

STEADILY RAISE LEVEL OF IDEOLOGICAL WORK.— ... The thirst of Communists and the masses of the working people for a mastery of Marxist-Leninist theory grows steadily. The number of persons studying in the Party education system has reached 1,400,000, 700,000 of whom are non-Party workers, collective farmers and members of the intelligentsia. The number of evening universities of Marxism-Leninism has increased. There are now 36, or twice as many as in 1949. ...

Thanks to the implementation of the Lenin-Stalin national policy, Ukrainian Soviet culture, an integral and inalienable part of the culture of all Soviet people, is developing successfully on the basis of steady growth of the national economy.

Here are some figures:

	1948	1952	% increase
Students in elementary, incomplete secondary and secondary schools	6,163,000	6,649,000	7%
—in secondary (ten-year) schools	1,617,000	2,556,000	58%
—in technical colleges	191,000	211,000	10%
—in higher educational institutions	132,000	165,000	25%
—in evening schools for young workers	223,000	290,000	30%
Public libraries	19,680	32,480	65%
Books in them	18,320,000	57,835,000	215%
Clubs and Palaces of Culture	—	27,760	(3500 more than in 1940)
Motion picture establishments	4975	7390	48%
—of these, in rural areas	3465	5735	61%
Newspapers	914	1176	28%
Total circulation	4,000,000	4,800,000	20%
Books published	48,000,000	68,000,000	42%
Radio receivers*	1,073,000	1,673,000	56%

There are almost 30,000 schools in the Ukraine, in which 300,000 teachers work. In three years more than 2000 school buildings were built to accommodate 300,000 students. More than 30,000,000 textbooks are published each year. Educational work has improved in the republic's schools. The major development of the school system has come in seven-year and ten-year schools, the number of which has grown to 5000, while the number of students in grades seven to ten has increased to 1,300,000. ...

Immense changes have taken place in the western provinces. Before the annexation of these provinces they contained five so-called higher educational institutions with perhaps 4000 students, but now there are 26, in which 28,000 students, the children of workers, collective farmers and members of the intelligentsia, study. ...

More than 40,000 specialists in various fields of the national economy graduate each year from Ukraine higher educational institutions—as many as graduate in France, Belgium and Norway put together. About 62,000 were admitted to first-year studies in the republic's higher educational institutions this year, including correspondence courses. This is the largest number of admissions for any year. ...

The Ukraine Communist Party Central Committee has taken steps to improve the qualifications of teaching staffs in higher educational institutions. In three years, 1885 scientific workers

and instructors defended their masters' and 106 their doctoral dissertations. Admission to graduate studies, including linguistics and Marxist-Leninist esthetics, has been expanded. Institutes to improve qualifications and one-year courses to train social science teachers have been organized in Kiev. A course of studies leading to the doctorate has been opened under the Ukraine Republic Academy of Sciences.

It is necessary that Party organizations completely eliminate shortcomings in the work of higher schools.

What are these shortcomings?

In the first place, a large number of higher educational institutions in the republic are still not furnished with trained personnel. Thirty-six directors, 339 department heads and many teachers do not have higher degrees. Facilities for training scientific and teaching personnel of higher qualifications—doctors of sciences—are especially poor. ...

There are now 490 scientific research institutions in the Ukraine with about 8000 scientific workers. Upon the initiative of Comrade Stalin a branch of the Ukraine Republic Academy of Sciences has been established in Lvov. ...

It must be recognized, nevertheless, that many scientific research institutions have been slow to reorganize their work in the light of the historic resolutions of the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party (of Bolsheviks) and in the light of the instructions by Comrade Stalin on ideological questions. They have not drawn the necessary conclusions from the discussions on the most important problems of science. Few works have been written to unmask manifestations of bourgeois ideology, principally Ukrainian bourgeois nationalism and homeless cosmopolitanism. ...

The Ukraine Communist Party Central Committee has discovered serious shortcomings in the work of the Ukraine Republic Academy of Sciences' Institute of Literature. The institute has poorly developed the most important questions of literary theory and history, especially of modern literature, and has not produced scholarly works disclosing the profoundly beneficial and decisive influence of advanced Russian culture on the development of Ukrainian culture.

The institute has committed serious mistakes and ideological distortions in the publication of classics of Ukrainian literature. Bourgeois objectivism is apparent in introductory articles and commentaries on these works. The institute avoids a treatment of the publicist and scholarly heritage of the Ukrainian literary classics, that is, of those materials in which these writers led a direct attack upon Ukrainian bourgeois nationalism and fought to strengthen the fraternal union of the Ukrainian and Russian peoples.

We cannot tolerate the slightest manifestation of alien ideology and must completely uproot elements of a nonideological and apolitical orientation in scholarship. ...

Seventy-five theaters, 26 philharmonic societies and a number of music ensembles with more than 6000 participants are in operation in the Ukraine. The repertoire of theaters and music ensembles has been improved. Our theaters have produced a number of good plays. Talented young performers are developing. New workers in the arts are being trained by four conservatories, two theater and three art institutes and a number of special secondary educational institutions. ...

The gains that were made in the Ukraine in the field of literature and art produced a complacent and smug attitude. The Ukraine Communist Party Central Committee and Ukraine Party organizations did not discover in time serious ideological distortions and mistakes in the work of various writers and workers in the arts. ...

As is known, V. Sosyura's nationalistic poem "Love the Ukraine" was included in books, anthologies and magazines for a long time and was even set to music. This poem grossly distorts the image, dear to Soviet man, of our socialist native land—the Soviet Union and its integral part, the Soviet Ukraine. Any enemy of the Ukrainian people from the nationalist camp—for instance, Petlyura, Bander and the like—backs such a work, as was correctly pointed out. And so it happened. This poem was actually taken up and used as a weapon by the Ukrainian nationalists.

Ukrainian bourgeois nationalists have always been evil enemies of the Ukrainian people. All their hostile activity is directed against the thing dearest to the working people, Leninist-

* ["Radio-tochki"—"radio points"—presumably including both receiving sets and plug-in loudspeaker networks which exist in apartment houses and on the collective farms.—Trans.]

Stalinist friendship and brotherhood of Soviet peoples, against Russian culture and its highest attainment, Leninism. The serpent's sting of Ukrainian bourgeois nationalist ideology is directed against the vital foundation of the Soviet regime, the policy of the Communist Party, to which the Ukrainian people are obligated for the flowering of their republic's economy and culture and for the realization of the dream of the restoration of all Ukrainian lands in a united Ukrainian Soviet state.

Ukrainian bourgeois nationalists have always and everywhere pursued the goal of tearing the Ukrainian people away from the fraternal Russian people and delivering them to the colonial bondage of foreign imperialists. Ukrainian bourgeois nationalists have always betrayed the Ukrainian people and have always been spies, saboteurs and agents of imperialist espionage. Now they have sold themselves to new masters, the Anglo-American imperialists.

Bourgeois nationalism is the most lively and politically dangerous survival of capitalism in the people's minds. We must unmask any manifestation of bourgeois nationalism, wherever it may be expressed. We also must struggle implacably against manifestations of the hostile, reactionary ideology of homeless cosmopolitanism.

Serious shortcomings and mistakes have been tolerated in the field of music. Composer B. Zhukovsky wrote a faulty opera which distorts Soviet reality. Comrades A. Korneichuk and W. Wasilewska also, as is known, committed major ideological errors in the libretto of the opera "Bogdan Khmelnytsky." ...

Writers Sosyura, Rytsky and Pervomaisky have not written new works to prove their reorientation since they were sharply criticized for mistakes they committed.

Various writers have not produced new works for a long period of time. The people do not see their books and do not know what they are doing.

Certain writers have turned out to be prisoners of the so-called no-conflict theory, and avoid living truth in their works, refrain from depicting the contradictions and negative types of life, and picture reality in sugary tones. Everything is not ideal with us. There is much that is wrong in our life and there are many fraudulent people. Sharp, biting satire is needed to expose them to us. The Party has pointed out that we need Gogols and Shchedrins.

It must be stated that the Presidium of the Ukraine Union of Writers is still slow to eliminate shortcomings in its work and still gives only superficial guidance to the creative activity of writers. Criticism and self-criticism in the Union of Writers is not yet sufficiently keen and basic.

Leaders of the Union of Writers have somewhat overestimated the work done to correct mistakes and shortcomings, evidently considering all mistakes criticized and everything done. This is the very reason that books containing serious ideological distortions appear even now.

This year there was published a collection of short stories by L. Smelyansky, "The Garden," in which is included the short story "Golden Gates," containing mistakes of a nationalist character. In this story Smelyansky contrasts the city with the country and asserts that only the country provides a healthy population and that only the country is the source and preserver of the national traditions of the Ukrainian people. The author sees these traditions in the biological characteristics of people and not in their socialist thinking. He does not see the new Soviet Kiev and its people but turns all of his attention to the distant past. This ideologically faulty short story was not only not criticized, but it travels from anthology to anthology and is praised by certain writers as a model of socialist romantic writing. ...

The Ukraine Communist Party Central Committee, province committees, city committees and district committees must improve Party guidance of literature and art and constantly care for the ideological and political training of creative workers, correct people at the right time, and criticize in a Bolshevik manner. They must not pass over mistakes but must help people and aid their creative development.

Comrades, in three years publishing houses in the Ukraine have published 6778 titles of political, scientific and scholarly literature and belles-lettres in 210,000,000 copies. Steps have been taken to improve translating and publishing in Ukrainian the outstanding works of classical and contemporary Russian literature and the literatures of the other fraternal republics.

But up to now gross, intolerable distortions have been permitted in certain translations. ...

Comrades, the Leninist-Stalinist Young Communist League is a reliable reserve of the Communist Party and its true helper. At present Communist youth organizations in the Ukraine unite 2,300,000 young men and women—that is, twice as many as at the time of the 16th Ukraine Party Congress. ...

Six million workers and employees belong to trade unions in the republic. Trade unions improved their work somewhat during the period of the report.

Many trade unions, however, still have not eliminated major shortcomings in the guidance of socialist competition, have not given the proper attention to safety measures and devices, have poorly supervised the fulfillment of collective [labor-management] contracts and have given insufficient aid to local trade union organizations in the development of criticism and self-criticism.

The Ukraine Republic Council of Trade Unions has weak ties with republic, province and local committees, exerts little influence on their work and poorly helps local trade union organizations to develop criticism and self-criticism.

The great tasks advanced by the new five-year plan require radical improvement of trade union work for the future development of socialist competition, for the dissemination of experience of production innovators and for the education of working people in a socialist attitude to labor. ...

THE DISCUSSION AT THE CONGRESS

17TH CONGRESS OF UKRAINE COMMUNIST PARTY. (By Special Correspondents Yu. Zhukov, A. Chernichenko and A. Ryaboklyach. Pravda, Sept. 29, p. 2. 2800 words. Condensed text.) Kiev—The 17th Congress of the Ukraine Communist Party ended Sept. 27. The Congress was an important event in the life of the republic Party organization and the whole Ukrainian people. The local report-and-election meetings [preceding the Congress] were held on a substantially higher level of criticism and self-criticism [than in the past]. About 440,000 spoke [at these local sessions] on keynote reports of secretaries of primary organizations, district, city and province Party committees. The Communists boldly and trenchantly criticized defects in the work of Party, Soviet and economic agencies and outlined means to eliminate these defects.

Delegates to the Congress attentively and widely discussed the historic documents of the All-Union Communist Party Central Committee for the 19th Party Congress and keynote reports of the Ukraine Communist Party Central Committee and Inspection Commission. The Congress proved the unshakable unity and cohesion of the Ukraine Party organization around the All-Union Communist Party Central Committee and the great leader of the Party and Soviet people, Comrade Stalin.

The Congress opened with discussion of the documents of the All-Union Communist Party Central Committee for the 19th Party Congress. Comrade Korotchenko, Chairman of the Republic Council of Ministers, delivered the report on the draft directives of the 19th Party Congress on the Fifth Five-Year Plan for the development of the U.S.S.R. ...

With great activeness delegates discussed the draft Party Statutes, the report on which was made by Comrade Kirichenko, Secretary of the Ukraine Communist Party Central Committee. Unanimously approving the draft, the delegates proposed certain amendments. ...

Many delegates proposed that an injunction be introduced into the Statutes to the effect that Communists must abide strictly by the standards of communist morality and that nonobservance of this requirement should be considered incompatible with Party membership.

The Congress unanimously approved the draft directives of the 19th Party Congress on the Fifth Five-Year Plan for the development of the U.S.S.R., and the draft Party Statutes.

The keynote report by Comrade Melnikov, Secretary of the Ukraine Communist Party Central Committee, and the speeches of delegates on the report gave a vivid picture of the tremendous successes in the struggle for communism with which the Ukrainian people greet the 19th Party Congress. ...

Noting the successes achieved, the Congress concentrated on

unsolved problems. Speakers in the discussion disclosed defects and errors in activities of Party, Soviet and economic agencies. They pointed out in particular that many province and city Party committees, republic ministries and departments adopt a "whole sale" approach toward evaluating the work of industrial enterprises, judge their activities by average indices and do not study or analyze their work deeply.

Defects in Ukraine agriculture were also noted at the Congress. Comrade Kalebchenko, Vice-Chairman of the Ukraine Republic Council of Ministers, called attention to defects in the selection and training of collective farm chairmen. Only 3000 out of 16,000 collective farms are headed by agricultural specialists, although there are more than 60,000 agronomists, zootechnicians and other agricultural specialists in the Ukraine. ...

In their speeches delegates noted that there would be fewer defects in economic activity if executive Soviet and economic agencies gave more concrete guidance to sectors entrusted to them and completely eliminated bureaucratic methods of work.

In this connection the work of the republic Council of Ministers, ministries and departments was justly criticized at the Congress. Comrade Grishko, Secretary of the Kiev Province Party Committee, stated that the republic Council of Ministers has a large apparatus. Suffice it to say that it has 40 different sectors.

"However, all these sectors are primarily concerned with writing decrees and issuing all kinds of orders," said Comrade Grishko. "In 1951 alone 4000 decrees and 1698 orders—21 decrees and orders per day—were issued by the republic Council of Ministers. Province executive committees, following the example of the Council of Ministers, are also carried away with issuing thousands of decrees and orders to localities."

Delegate Rudenko cited instances proving that an atmosphere of intolerance of violations of state discipline has not yet been created in Party and Soviet agencies. Loss of vigilance, conciliatory attitude toward pilferers of communal property and even direct concealment of them have not yet been rooted out.

Comrade Grechukha, Chairman of the Presidium of the Ukraine Republic Supreme Soviet, Comrade Korotchenko, Chairman of the Ukraine Republic Council of Ministers, and his assistants, Comrades Korniyets and Senin, dealt in their speeches with current economic and governmental problems. ...

Speakers in the discussion referred to substantial defects in Party organizational work. Many executives of Party organizations violate schedules fixed by the Statutes for convening plenary sessions and do not hold meetings of the Party *aktiv* for a long time. Thus, in the second quarter of this year, 382 district Party committees held only one plenary session each, while 39 district committees did not meet at all.

Comrade Sheherbak, Secretary of the Stanislav Province Party Committee; Comrade Roginyets, Secretary of the Chernigov Province Party Committee; Comrade Chernukha, Secretary of the Khorol District Party Committee, and others criticized the Ukraine Communist Party Central Committee and particularly the Department of Party, Trade Union, and Young Communist League Agencies for not aiding the lower Party *aktiv*, not generalizing experience and not concerning itself with organizing political study by Party officials.

Much was stated at the Congress about the fact that checkup on fulfillment of decisions is poorly organized in Party organizations. The Ukraine Communist Party Central Committee also suffers from this defect. Comrade Melnikov recalled that the Ukraine Communist Party Central Committee once discussed the report of the Drogobych Province Party Committee, disclosed substantial defects and outlined measures to eliminate them, but did not check up on how this decision was executed. The province committee has functioned badly for a long time.

Comrade Fedorov, secretary of the Zhitomir Province committee, criticized the Ukraine Communist Party Central Committee for not checking on the fulfillment of the important

decision in December, 1950, to aid districts in the Polesie area, which constitutes a fifth of the Ukraine. As a result, this decision has largely remained on paper.

It should be noted that Party organizational and political work was not discussed as widely and diversely at the Congress as economic construction.

Discussing ideological work, delegates recalled that last year the central press disclosed serious errors and distortions of a bourgeois nationalist character in ideological work in the Ukraine. Republic Party organizations drew the necessary conclusions from this criticism and concerned themselves more profoundly and properly with ideology, intensified the struggle against distortions, and improved the work of the communist education of the intelligentsia and all the working people.

But all this, it was correctly noted at the Congress, is only the beginning of a great task. The lag in ideological work is far from being surmounted. Comrade Melnikov noted in his report that propagandizing of Marxism-Leninism in the Ukraine is still unsatisfactorily organized. Many Party committees direct propagandizing of Marxism-Leninism superficially and show little care in the selection and training of propagandists. Delegates criticized the Propaganda and Agitation Department of the Ukraine Communist Party Central Committee and also Comrade Nazarenko, Secretary of the Central Committee, for poorly supervising ideological work. ...

Soviet literature and art have a prominent place in the communist education of working people. Ukrainian writers and artists have created a number of important works.

It was noted at the Congress, however, that the serious ideological distortions in literature and art disclosed a year ago have not yet been thoroughly extirpated. Speaker Comrade Melnikov, delegates to the Congress and writers Kornelchuk and Bazhan stated that writers Sosyura, Rytsky and Pervomaisky have not created new works to prove their re-orientation since the sharp criticism of their errors.

It was stressed that the Presidium of the Ukraine Union of Soviet Writers is slow to eliminate defects in its work and directs the creative activity of writers superficially. Literary criticism in the Ukraine continues to be unsatisfactory.

The intensification of Party supervision in literature and art was raised at the Congress. Delegates noted that until recently the Literature and Arts Department of the Ukraine Communist Party Central Committee and its head, Comrade Belogurov, still delved little into the life of creative organizations and did not check up on fulfillment of Party decisions on literature and the arts. ...

Comrade Nazarenko, Secretary of the Ukraine Communist Party Central Committee, admitted the serious lag in ideological work in the republic, especially in propagandizing Marxism-Leninism, mass political work and development of Ukrainian literature. Delegates to the Congress, however, noted that Comrade Nazarenko did not properly assess the work of departments of the Ukraine Communist Party Central Committee directed by him.

Discussion of the keynote report of the Ukraine Communist Party Central Committee showed that republic Party organizations have the opportunity to eliminate defects and to raise all Party work to a higher level.

The Congress adopted a comprehensive decision aimed at fulfillment of the responsible tasks of communist construction.

The new membership of the Ukraine Communist Party Central Committee and Inspection Commission was elected.

With tremendous enthusiasm and thunderous ovations, the Congress adopted a letter of greetings to the great leader and teacher of the Soviet people, J. V. Stalin.

A plenary session of the newly-elected Ukraine Communist Party Central Committee was held. The plenary session elected Comrade L. G. Melnikov First Secretary of the Ukraine Communist Party Central Committee, Comrade A. I. Kirichenko Second Secretary and Comrade I. D. Nazarenko Secretary.

II. Georgia

MGELADZE'S REPORT

15th Congress of Georgian Communist Party (of Bolsheviks): REPORT OF GEORGIAN COMMUNIST PARTY CENTRAL COMMITTEE.—Speech by Comrade A. I. Mgeladze, Secretary of the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee, Sept. 15, 1952. (Zarya Vostoka, Sept. 16, pp. 2-6; Sept. 17, pp. 2-4, and Sept. 18, pp. 2-4. 18,000 words. Condensed text:) Comrades! We are on the eve of the 19th Congress of our party. This Congress will sum up achievements in building communism in our great land of Soviets. ...

The Soviet people are indebted for all their victories to the wise leadership of the greatest man of modern times, to the genius of the epoch of the building of communism, to our leader and teacher, our own beloved Stalin. (Applause.) ...

I.—Two Worlds, Two Results.—Comrades! Before reporting to the 15th Congress of the Georgian Communist Party on the work of the Central Committee, permit me to dwell upon some of the more important events which have taken place since the 14th Congress of the Georgian Communist Party, both in the life of our country and in the international sphere. Our country's mighty and consistent advance toward communism gives striking confirmation of the diametric opposition of two worlds: the world of decaying capitalism...and the world of socialism...

The United States of America plays the role of main champion of the principles of capitalism. Everywhere American imperialism supports and relies upon the obsolete and most reactionary social forces. Its policy is a policy of enslaving peoples and countries. ...

In their pretensions to world domination the American and British monopolies seek stubbornly to find a way out of economic difficulties by preparing for a third world war. ... The imperialists of the U.S.A., Britain and France have been rearming feverishly since the second world war. ...

But will the imperialist powers be able to hold "their" home front in check? ... The second world war gave a great impetus to development of the political awareness of the masses, which found expression in the growth of the Communist Parties. ... The second world war undermined imperialism's colonial front as well. ... Under such circumstances can imperialism depend upon "its" workers and "its" colonies in the event of war? Of course not. This is clearly confirmed, in particular, by the failure of intervention by the imperialist aggressors in Korea.

Comrades! No matter how great our successes, we must always remember the warning of our leader and teacher, Comrade Stalin, about capitalist encirclement. ... It is true that capitalism shrank greatly because of the victory of the Soviet people in the great patriotic war. Our immediate neighbors in Europe are now the friendly people's democracies and in the Far East the millions-strong Chinese People's Republic. However, the Soviet state still borders directly on capitalist states in the south, and it is quite understandable that the forces of world reaction—first and foremost the imperialists of the U.S.A.—should devote special attention to these southern neighbors of the Soviet Union. They regard these neighbors of ours—especially Turkey—as their outposts, right on the Soviet borders. ...

Turkey, which was admitted to the Atlantic bloc in February of this year, has been fully converted into a country actively participating in joint war preparations with the United States. American military representatives, businessmen and various international adventurers are swarming over Turkish territory, inspecting her borders—above all her borders with the U.S.S.R.—and rearming Turkey.

About a week ago "plague-General" Ridgway, supreme commander of the armed forces of the North Atlantic Treaty alliance, came to Turkey and visited Sarikamis and

Kars, which are very near our southern borders. (*Stir in the hall.*)

In Erzurum Ridgway met and conferred with his Turkish underlings, who have shamelessly sold Turkey to the American imperialists. We do not know the details of their "conversations," but the provocation intent of the "plague-general's" Turkish tour is entirely obvious.

There is an Eastern saying which has bearing on the strategy of Gen. Ridgway and his Turkish followers and on their adventurist plans:

"Before entering a room think how you will leave it."
(Laughter.)

It would have been well for both Gen. Ridgway and Gen. Shukry Kanadly, commander of Turkish land forces, to remember history during their Sarikamis meeting, to remember the shameful defeat at this same Sarikamis of an adventurist attack on the Caucasus by Enver Bey in 1914.

Turkish intelligence has become a branch of American intelligence. This must not be forgotten, above all by us Georgian Communists, because of the geographical situation of our republic.

The policies of the international adventurist warmongers are in contrast to the wise Stalinist foreign policy of the Soviet government, a policy of peace and friendship among peoples. ...

II.—The Georgian Communist Party in the Struggle to Correct Mistakes Made by Former Heads of the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee.—The Georgian Communist Party Central Committee discussed the situation in the Georgian Communist Party and the work of the Central Committee at two of its plenary sessions (November, 1951, and April, 1952). These plenary sessions adopted resolutions based upon the decisions of the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party and upon Comrade Stalin's personal instructions.

What was the reason for these discussions?

The reason was that the former heads of the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee made major mistakes in their work, which led them to political failure.

What were the mistakes made by the former heads of the Central Committee?

First of all, an atmosphere of complacency and a preoccupation with outward appearances of success were established. This led in turn to intoxication with economic successes, to forgetfulness that economic successes also have their dark sides and give rise to an uncritical attitude toward shortcomings in work and to the complacency of bystanders, and cause political blindness and a blunting of political vigilance among officials. This political blindness of the former heads of the Central Committee enabled persons hostile to us to worm their way into confidence and to harm the Party and state.

Republic officials had little local contact, little contact with the masses. They seldom visited local organizations, enterprises or collective farms, and when they did they showed little interest. They were oblivious of the important statements by Lenin and Stalin that organized Bolshevik leadership is based upon correct selection of personnel and checkup on the implementation of decisions.

Comrade Charkviani, former Secretary of the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee, committed a major error when he entrusted all the organizational work, the selection of personnel and checkup on fulfillment, to persons alien to us, to people who had penetrated into the apparatus of the Central Committee and pursued aims hostile to the Party.

The state of inner Party democracy was also unsatisfactory. Self-criticism in the Georgian Party organization and criticism from below, from rank-and-file members of the Party, were as a rule not practiced or duly respected. What is more, those who revealed shortcomings in the work of the Central Committee suffered from retaliatory measures. The heads of the Central Committee rarely convened plenary sessions and did not conduct bureau meetings of the Central Committee in an efficient manner. Minutes of bureau meetings were not distributed to members of the Central Committee, and consequently the members were not informed even about the Party decisions on major questions of Party and economic work.

The result of complacency and preoccupation with outward appearances was that the struggle against lawbreakers, pilferers of socialist property, bribe-takers and embezzlers, and against their disgraceful antistate and antipopular acts, was waged unsatisfactorily.

The old officials overlooked the incorrect, criminal attitude of a number of district leaders toward collective farm property, extortions from the collective farms and inroads upon collective farm possessions; they overlooked violations of the Collective Farm Statutes. The former heads of the Central Committee did not realize or did not choose to realize that such an attitude toward collective farm property harmed the peasantry and undermined the authority of the Party and of the Soviet regime in Georgia.

Good average figures concealed an obviously unsatisfactory state of affairs in a number of districts, particularly mountain and upland districts. Some of the collective farms in these districts had very low incomes, and the number of collective farmers who did not complete the established minimum number of workday units, far from decreasing, actually increased; from 17.6% of the total in 1948 to 23.6% on Jan. 1, 1952. From 30% to 53% of the collective farmers failed to complete the minimum number of workday units in some districts, and from 5% to 11% did not complete a single workday unit.

The former heads of the Central Committee also showed little concern for the grain problem, solution of which should make Georgia self-sufficient in grain; nor did they show much concern about the growing of grapes, fruit or citrus crops.

Serious errors were committed in amalgamating the collective farms. Certain unique conditions obtaining in Georgia were not taken into account: mountainous terrain, the degree of mechanization of labor-consuming work, or the system of settlement in some parts of the mountainous and upland districts.

Major mistakes and shortcomings also characterized the guidance given to industry. Inferior output and misrepresentation were widely practiced at enterprises. Plant managers were not held responsible for plan fulfillment or for the padded records which "helped" fulfill or even overfulfill plans—on paper.

Misrepresentation and cheating of the state also occurred in agriculture, especially in Zugdidi, Tsolendzhikha, Khobi, Abasha, Tskhakaya, Lagodekhi, Makharadze and Gurdzhaani Districts. Some district committee secretaries resorted to "emergency" padding if the plan for gathering choice green tea leaves was not fulfilled. Not only was this means of "fulfilling" plans resorted to in Zugdidi District but false documents were also drawn up. The report padders did not even stop short of criminal acts in order to conceal their antistate practices.

Speculation, short-weighting and shortchanging of customers were widely practiced in the trade network.

In speaking about the mistakes of the old Central Committee heads, mention should be made of their failure in ideological and Party political work in a number of Party organizations and of their failure to work with the trade union, Young Communist League and other public political organizations.

Poorly organized work with the intelligentsia has resulted in a lag in Georgian Soviet literature, sculpture, painting, music and cinematography, and a decline in the theater.

The former heads of the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee also lost sight of the fact that international reaction makes every effort to find hostile nationalist elements in our republic in order to engage in subversion and espionage with their help. These committee heads instilled a feeling of indifference in the Party organizations instead of developing militant political vigilance.

Finally, a word must also be said about the liberal attitude taken toward various kinds of collusion, nepotism, "localism" and "patronage" in various districts by officials. If this anti-Party principle of "localism" and "patronage" had not been duly opposed by the Party, "patrons" would have appeared who would have liked to take "their" special areas "under their wing" and to shield persons who had gotten into trouble there, seeking in this manner to increase their authority as "patrons" among the "masses." If this had happened Georgia would have broken up into a number of "provincial duchies," which would have exercised the "real" power, and nothing would have been left

of the Georgian Communist Party and the government of the Georgian Republic.

This was the danger which arose in the Georgian Communist Party because of the mistakes, political blindness and major political failure of the work of the old heads of the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee and of its former First Secretary Charkviani in particular.

Comrades! We, the new heads of the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee, have inherited a difficult situation.

What have we done in the five and one-half months since the April plenary session of the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee to correct the mistakes committed by the old heads of the Central Committee?

First of all, by eliminating complacency and political short-sightedness, the Central Committee is seeing that elements hostile to us are exposed and brought to book and is eradicating the consequences of their subversive efforts.

Further, it was necessary to assign cadres in a Bolshevik manner to those sectors where especially serious political mistakes had been made, to strengthen these sectors with proven cadres able to act with determination in correcting the mistakes.

"No policy can be carried out," V. I. Lenin said, "unless it expresses itself in appointments and reassignments."

The overwhelming majority of the newly appointed officials have a correct understanding of the tasks confronting the Georgian Communist Party and are waging a Bolshevik struggle to carry out the resolutions of the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party and the personal instructions of Comrade Stalin.

We have attached great importance to work in the countryside. This April the bureau of the Central Committee sent to the collective farms commissions headed by members of the bureau and charged with helping the province [Party] committees and province [Soviet] executive committees to eliminate violations of the Collective Farm Statutes, robbery of the collective farms and embezzlement and removal of collective farm property. These commissions were given the task of putting an immediate stop to local violations of the Collective Farm Statutes and various illegal acts committed against the collective farms and collective farmers.

This May the plenary session of the Central Committee discussed means of eliminating violations of the Collective Farm Statutes and robbery of the collective farms. The session also drew up and adopted resolutions intended to stop these violations as soon as possible and to see that the embezzled and removed collective farm property—land, livestock and farm products—is returned to its owners. As a result of these measures by the Central Committee the following had been returned to the collective farms as of Sept. 1, 1952: 7779 hectares of land, including 462 hectares planted to perennial crops; 36,587 centners of grain products, 1661 centners of animal husbandry products, 3392 centners of other products, 6926 head of cattle, 27,977 sheep and goats, 1926 pigs, 478 horses, 61,826 head of poultry and 92,915,817 rubles in cash. (*Stir in the hall; shouts of approval.*)

The Central Committee has taken the steps necessary for seeing that all embezzled and removed communal property which has not yet been returned is returned in full to the collective farms.

An analysis of the situation in the countryside shows that the percentage of collective farmers appearing for work was very low where violation of the Statutes and robbery of the collective farms were widespread. In Gurdzhaani District, for example, 5675 persons, or 43.5% of all able-bodied collective farmers, failed to complete the established minimum number of workday units in 1951, and 11.1% of this number failed to complete a single workday unit. Similarly, in Sagaredzho District 2880 persons, or 40.9%, failed to complete a single workday unit. Approximately the same situation obtained in Kaspi, Gareubani, Terzhola, Chiatura and a number of other districts.

As a result of decisive measures to ensure elimination of violations of the Collective Farm Statutes and of robbery of the collective farms, the situation has now changed radically: the number of collective farmers appearing for work has increased considerably.

A word must be said in connection with the situation in the

countryside, concerning one more abuse of the Collective Farm Statutes, that is, the fact that in many districts of Georgia years have passed without accounts being settled for the number of workday units completed. Collective farmers of Zugdidi District, for example, had not received as of July 1, 1952, 460 centners of grain and 4,035,864 rubles in cash for workday units they had completed in 1951 and earlier, while collective farmers in Abasha District failed to receive 513 centners of grain and 1,053,054 rubles, in Telavi District 1059 centners of grain and 1,079,371 rubles, in Lagodekhi District 541 centners of grain and 1,244,059 rubles and in Marneuli District 1375 centners of grain and 701,841 rubles.

The Georgian Communist Party Central Committee has made those specifically guilty of violating the Collective Farm Statutes, those who have embezzled and those who have robbed the collective farms and have undermined labor discipline strictly responsible to the Party and has informed the legal authorities of the crimes committed by the embezzlers of collective farm property. The Central Committee warns those who still seek to deal high-handedly with communal property that it will continue to show no mercy for anyone who dares violate the Collective Farm Statutes and who makes inroads on collective farm holdings.

The Party organizations must keep well in mind that the fight against violations of the Collective Farm Statutes is not a matter of passing importance. Such problems must be dealt with day in and day out, and attempts to siphon off collective farm wealth must be nipped in the bud.

All the measures taken by the Central Committee on this question are intended to make impossible further violations of the Collective Farm Statutes, embezzlement and expropriation of collective farm property. The Central Committee will always devote particular attention to this question.

The mistakes made in the course of amalgamating the collective farms have already been corrected in a number of districts and are being corrected in others. Steps have been taken to see that the amalgamated collective farms are stronger organizationally and economically and to bolster the corps of chairmen and other administrative personnel. Special measures are being taken to help lagging districts and collective farms—especially in the mountain and upland areas—to strengthen and improve their economic position.

The Central Committee has outlined and is carrying out a number of measures to intensify efforts to solve the grain problem and make Georgia self-sufficient in grain. We are devoting much attention to grape, fruit and citrus crops.

The functioning of Georgia's industry has also improved considerably as the result of steps taken by the Central Committee to correct past mistakes. Industry overfulfilled the over-all plan during the second quarter of 1952 and improved the quality of output.

As I have stated above, the heads of certain enterprises and economic organizations cheated the state by padding and misrepresentation and tolerated faulty output. The Central Committee has taken severe action against such persons, even to the point of expelling them from the Party and referring their cases to the public prosecutor's office. This has produced results: padding and misrepresentation have now virtually ceased.

It must be pointed out that some Party and Soviet bodies

(Minister Comrade Gordeziani) and the Ministry of Agriculture (former Minister Comrade Marianashvili)—as well as the Resettlement Administration of the Georgian Republic Council of Ministers (Director Comrade Narsia) failed to see to completion of the tasks arising in connection with the resolutions of the plenary sessions of the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee. We found it necessary to dismiss Comrade Marianashvili from his post, to administer a Party reprimand to him and to bolster the ministry with competent personnel. The above Ministers should be warned of the need for a decisive change in all of their work. ...

A major blow has been dealt to speculation. The number of speculators is constantly decreasing, and we are endeavoring to get rid of them entirely in the near future. ...

The Georgian Communist Party Central Committee is ensuring eradication both of the subversive activity of elements hostile to the Party and of its consequences.

The practice of "localism" and the "patronage" of officials over individual districts has been ended. As a result of the resolute struggle against this anti-Party practice even those who persisted in trying to extend "patronage" to "their" "provinces" are now resolutely being kept from this habit inherited from the past. Nevertheless, vigilance cannot be slackened in this matter: we still cannot be certain that new "patrons" will not seek to establish themselves. There are conditions in Georgia which give rise to this.

As is known, the division and partition of Georgia has always been encouraged by the enemies of the Georgian people from time immemorial. Attempts at this have even been made during Soviet rule. Do you remember those enemies of the people, the adventurers Zhvany in Mingrelia and Lakob in Abkhazia?

If the anti-Party, antistate principle of "patronage" had not been duly combated by the Party it would ultimately have led to the breakup of Georgia into separate "duchies."

It has cost the Georgian people tremendous effort and sacrifices and considerable blood has been shed in the fight against foreign and internal enemies to end Georgia's existence as a number of separate areas and to unite her in a single national state, in the Georgian Soviet Socialist Republic.

No attempts to divide her into provinces or separate "duchies" can be tolerated in Georgia. Georgia has been united by the Soviet regime into a socialist republic, an integral part of that single, mighty, fraternal family of republics, the U.S.S.R. All who seek to break up Georgia into separate "provinces" must be exposed as elements hostile to the Party and people, as elements associated with foreign imperialism. ...

III.—Industry, Transport and Communications.—The growth of Georgia's industry during the report period was marked by the development of heavy industry. Production of major types of industrial output during 1951 and the first months of 1952 is indicated by the following table:

of 1952, underfulfillment of plans for capital construction, an 81.7% increase in output by the food industry between 1940 and 1951, a 12.5% increase in light industry output in 1951, underfulfillment of the plan for output by local industry and the producers' cooperatives during even months of 1952, 57% more traffic handled on Georgia's railroads in 1951 than before the war, increased communication facilities, and the construction of 1856 kilometers of republic and local roads in 1949, 1950 and 1951.]

IV.—Agriculture. Grain Crops: ... The area planted to grain crops on the collective and state farms must be increased to a total of 1,070,000 hectares in 1957 as compared to 627,000 in 1950, of which 770,000 must be planted to wheat as compared to 264,000 in 1950, with wheat harvest to average between 22 and 25 centners per hectare.

Despite extensive help by the government and despite the fact that there is every opportunity for radically increasing the yield of grain crops, particularly wheat, our collective farms still fail to fulfill the yield plan year after year. This failure is due to the fact that the Georgian Republic Ministry of Agriculture and the Party, Soviet and local agricultural agencies do not realize the importance of agrotechnical measures. ... Many districts have not yet properly publicized the importance of mineral fertilizers in increasing the yield. Work has not yet developed to bring new land under cultivation. The collective farms fulfilled the plan for such cultivation 95.2% for 1950 and 1951, while in Thrift Province results were even lower: 91.1%. Collective farms of Telavi, Gori, Gardabani and Marneuli Districts are particularly lagging.

The grain problem is now the most important of all problems of agriculture in our republic. We Georgian Communists must remember that the plan for developing the grain economy is drawn up so that the main work in solving the grain problem will be faced between 1953 and 1957. This means that what has been done so far is only an insignificant part of what still has to be done to make Georgia self-sufficient in grain. ...

It should be pointed out that the Georgian Selection Station and the Institute of Field Husbandry are not yet doing enough work on problems of better cultivation, of developing new strains, and of increasing the yield of grain crops. ...

Tea: The Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party, the U.S.S.R. government and Comrade Stalin personally have set Georgia the task of meeting the Soviet Union's requirements for U.S.S.R.-grown tea. A tremendous amount of work has been done in carrying out this task. A total of 56,841 hectares had been planted to tea in Georgia as of June 1, 1952, i.e., 47,875 hectares on the collective farm and peasant sector and 8966 on the state farms. The tea yield and gross tea crop are constantly increasing. A total of 93,575 tons of choice green tea leaves was delivered to the state in 1951, and the yield averaged 2322 kilograms per hectare. This year 101,400 tons will be harvested and the yield will amount to more than 2500 kilograms per hectare, even though unfavorable weather conditions prolonged the harvest.

The Kutaisi, Abkhazia and Adzharia Province Party organizations must take every step in the near future to ensure that the tea-leaf harvesting plan is fulfilled.

The yield of choice tea leaves cannot be considered satisfactory: there are leading districts which obtain high yields, but there are also several districts producing an average of only 1000 to 1700 kilograms of tea leaves per hectare. ... We must see that an average of at least 3000 to 3500 kilograms of tea leaves are produced per hectare from fully harvested tea plantings during the next two or three years and that methods of growing tea are decidedly improved.

A total of 14,401 hectares were newly planted to tea in the republic from 1949 to July 1, 1952, but most of this planting was poorly done. Care for the young plants was unsatisfactorily organized, and the drainage network was not completed on all areas planted. ...

The plan for developing tea growing provides for bringing the area planted to tea in Georgia to 80,300 hectares in 1957 and for bringing the gross tea-leaf yield to 211,000 tons, of which 193,000 tons are to be choice tea leaves and 18,000 to be coarse tea for making green brick tea. ...

Animal Husbandry: Animal husbandry is one of the most important branches of Georgia's agriculture. The state plan for increasing the number of livestock in the republic as a

whole and for all categories was not fulfilled in 1951, with the exception of the plan for increasing the number of hogs. The plan for the development of communal animal husbandry is not being carried out in 1952 either. Many collective farms have not taken the steps necessary for increasing the number of livestock born or for caring for the stock, having supplanted this difficult and "troublesome" work with an easier method of fulfilling the plan: by above-plan purchases of livestock.

On the average, only 60 calves per 100 cows and heifers, 76 lambs and kids per 100 ewes and she-goats, and 640 pigs per 100 sows were obtained in 1951. The plan for milk production and wool clip is unfulfilled year after year. Forage cows averaged 513 kilograms of milk in 1951 instead of the 900 planned, and the wool clip per sheep averaged 2.1 kilograms instead of the 2.65 planned. The situation is no better as regards feed procurement or work to improve meadows and pastures.

Although much breeding stock has been brought to the collective farms over a number of years, little progress is being made on improving livestock strains. Veterinary work also has serious shortcomings, and unsatisfactory work is being done on the construction of livestock shelters.

Records of livestock have been neglected by many collective farms. Frequently livestock owned by collective farmers and other individuals is kept with the communal livestock, so that conditions are created for pilfering livestock and animal products.

The district Party and Soviet bodies devote little attention to problems of improving the work of the livestock farm sections and to selecting and training workers in animal husbandry. ...

Sericulture: A decision of the U.S.S.R. government three years ago approved a ten-year plan for the development of sericulture, under which Georgia was to deliver 40,000 centners of cocoons in 1955 and 70,000 in 1960. Weather conditions were very unfavorable for normal development of mulberries this spring and caused an acute shortage of leaves in a number of districts. This and the shortage of silkworm-rearing equipment prevented fulfillment of the plan for the current year.

Not enough attention was given to the feeding of silkworms on many collective farms, and proper agrotechnical care was not given to the larvae, which led to their loss.

Further development of sericulture depends on the feed base, but many districts and collective farms pay very little attention to the growing of mulberry trees. Only 600,000 or 64.4% of the 928,000 mulberry cuttings planted in the spring of 1951 have survived, and trees are still being cut down or illegally used.

Candidate of Agricultural Sciences Comrade Dzhabaridze, a staff member of the Sericulture Institute, has developed a highly productive mulberry which yields two to three times as many leaves as present strains. This important work has not yet been pushed, however. ...

Mechanization of Agricultural Work: Under present conditions the further development of our agriculture is inconceivable without extensive mechanization of agricultural work. Twenty-six new Machine and Tractor Stations and one Animal Husbandry Machinery Station have been organized in Georgia during the past two years, in line with the decree of the U.S.S.R. government. The republic has 95 M.T.S. and three Animal Husbandry Machinery Stations. ... The degree of mechanization of agricultural work in 1951 is shown by the following figures:

Plowing, all types	68.9%
Sowing	48.6%
Harvesting of Grain Crops by	
Combines	52.1%
Cultivation of Field Crops	10.4%

Work to mechanize labor-consuming tasks in animal husbandry is progressing even more slowly. Complex mechanization in grain, sugar beet and potato growing and on the collective farm threshing floors is entirely inadequate, and there have been numerous instances of poor maintenance of farm machinery. The average annual output per 15-horsepower tractor was 322.2 hectares in 1951, despite the fact that the quota under the plan had already been reduced to 329.4 hectares. ... Work in the tea and citrus fields is the least mechanized of any of the branches of our agriculture. ...

Rural Electrification: As of Jan. 1, 1952, Georgia had 226

rural power plants with a capacity of 25,500 kilowatts. These figures show that our electrification work falls far behind the requirements of the collective farms. Only 87 power plants, with a capacity of 10,023 kilowatts, went into action during the past three years instead of 121 with a capacity of 19,550 kilowatts. Only 325 collective farms were electrified instead of 505. ...

Work to Exploit Water Resources: A total of 291,400 hectares is under irrigation in the republic, of which 157,000 hectares are irrigated by means of specially engineered systems. Since the war the Georgian Republic Ministry of Water Resources has built or rebuilt irrigation systems serving areas totaling 75,600 hectares and drainage systems serving 7800 hectares. ...

An ambitious program has been outlined for the construction of irrigation systems in Georgia between 1951 and 1957. By carrying out this program we will increase the amount of irrigated land by 282,000 hectares. What is more, irrigation systems now serving 118,000 hectares will be rebuilt.

The decree of the U.S.S.R. government provides for the construction of the Upper Alazan Canal, which will be the largest irrigation installation in Georgia. It will ensure the irrigation of 100,000 hectares and the provision of water for 50,000 hectares of land in Tbilisi Province and will ensure high and dependable harvests in such arid districts as Shiraki and Taribana.

The total area under irrigation will be more than doubled in 1957 and will exceed 635,000 hectares.

The Colchis lowland, 220,000 hectares in area, is an especially swampy part of Georgia. The Georgian people have dreamed of draining the Colchis swamps since time immemorial, but it became possible to solve this major problem only under the Soviet regime. Work to drain the Colchis lowland was stopped during the patriotic war but was renewed in 1944. The problem is to drain and make available for use at least 12,000 to 15,000 hectares of land in the Colchis each year in order to carry out the government's assignment of completing all primary and secondary drainage work by 1957.

The unsatisfactory work of Georgia's Ministry of Water Resources and of its local agencies prevents adequate development of work to exploit water resources in the republic. The plan for capital construction to exploit water resources was fulfilled 92% in 1951, and work continues to lag in 1952. The main reason is that the Ministry of Water Resources and its construction organizations are not ensuring proper use of machinery and trucking facilities.

The province and district Party organizations are not taking effective action to fulfill the plan for exploiting water resources, show no concern about a permanent labor force for the construction offices and are not seeing that the right amount of voluntary work is done by the population.

The importance of water resources under conditions in Georgia is demonstrated by the fact that not a single branch of our agriculture, including grain, tea and citrus growing, will be able to develop further unless the irrigation and drainage program outlined is carried out. This is why we must devote far more attention to problems of developing water resources and see that the plans approved are carried out.

V.—Problems of Increasing the Material Welfare of the Working People and Problems of Cultural Work.—The reduction of prices for consumers' goods, which has been consistently carried out in our country, considerably increased the material welfare and purchasing power of the population. Retail trade volume in the Georgian Republic increased 633,000,000 rubles between 1949 and 1951, and 345,000,000 rubles between 1950 and 1951. Thirty per cent more industrial goods and food products were sold to the public in comparable prices in 1950 than in 1949 and 15% more in 1951 than in 1950.

The material and technical facilities of the trade organizations expanded and improved. The number of stores and communal catering enterprises increased by 843 during the past three and one-half years, and large sums were spent to provide the trade organizations with refrigeration and other equipment.

Our trade work is lagging, however. The sales plan was not met in 1949 and 1950, and although it was fulfilled as a whole 101.6% in 1951, this over-all favorable figure concealed non-

are not well for the first half of 1952, either. The lag in trade volume totaled 187,000,000 rubles for this period, including 127,000,000 rubles in the system of the Caucasus Central Consumers' Cooperative Alliance alone.

It is obvious that the heads of a number of our trade organizations accepted the constant failure to fulfill state sales volume plans and tolerated numerous instances of pilfering and embezzlement of state funds, cheating of customers and flouting of their interests.

Planning and study of consumer demand are overlooked in the trade organizations and ministries. This is why 415,000,000 rubles' worth of surplus stocks had accumulated in the republic's trade network as of July 1, 1952, including 260,000,000 rubles' worth in the Caucasus Central Consumers' Cooperative Alliance alone. The industrial ministries and industrial marketing bases share responsibility with the trade organizations for this: they often produce and supply low-quality goods and do not take seasonal demand into account. ...

Trade is very poorly organized in the cities of Kutaisi, Gori, Rustavi, Tkibuli, Tkvarcheli, Chiatura and even in Tbilisi, the capital of our republic. The trade organizations also function poorly at the health resorts and evoke the just criticisms of vacationers and people taking cures.

Comrade Khantadze, Georgian Republic Minister of Trade, must eliminate the shortcomings in trade in the near future and watch carefully to see that pilfering, embezzlement, speculation, bribetaking, short-weighting and shortchanging do not spread again in the trade organizations in the future. ...

Comrade Narsia, former Georgian Republic Minister of Trade, has not waged a determined struggle against pilfering, embezzlement, speculation and bribetaking. Only recently have we managed to effect a major reduction in them. They are much more widespread in the cooperatives. It is high time that Comrade Rukhadze, Chairman of the Board of the Caucasus Central Consumers' Cooperative Alliance, showed a real interest in the operations of the trade network and took every possible step for improving them.

There would be fewer of these shortcomings in our trade network if the agencies of the public prosecutor's office and the courts were more resolute in combating pilfering and embezzlements and did not allow investigations to drag out, if they took effective steps for making good the damage done to the state by embezzlers of goods and by pilferers. So far the public prosecutor's office and the courts are very ineffective in this sphere. (*Voices from the floor: "Right!"*)

Why is it that the trade apparatus has functioned so poorly? Because dishonest people, speculators, people previously sentenced for crimes in the sphere of trade but again allowed access to trade enterprises and valuable commodities, penetrated the trade network. This occurred because the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee failed to take decisive steps to bring order in trade and because a number of city and district [Party] committees remained aloof from selecting trade personnel and did not struggle with determination to rid the trade enterprises of persons alien to Soviet trade.

When it uncovered the serious shortcomings in the work of the trade organizations the [new] Georgian Communist Party Central Committee severely punished the offenders and outlined concrete measures for radically improving the republic's trade. ...

Public Health: Considerable progress has been made in the sphere of public health and development of the health resorts during the report period. The republic's hospitals now have 18,666 beds, or 7.9% more than in 1948. The merging of hospitals and polyclinics has resulted in improved medical services for the public and has created the requisites for improving the qualifications of doctors. The supply of medical equipment sent to the medical institutions continues to improve.

Allocations for public health increase every year. Whereas, in accordance with the republic's budget, 400,000,000 rubles were spent for this purpose in 1948, allocations for 1952 are planned at approximately 505,000,000. The Georgian Republic ranks among the first in the Soviet Union in number of doctors per capita: one doctor serves an average of 366 persons in our republic. Incidentally, among neighboring capitalist countries, in Turkey one doctor serves 8941 persons,

while in Iran a single doctor serves 11,333 persons. These figures need no elaboration.

In pointing out our gains in public health we must not forget shortcomings. The Ministry of Public Health and its agencies are especially behind in the matter of selecting, placing and training young doctors. As a result there is a shortage of medical personnel in many districts of the republic at the same time that a large number of nonpracticing doctors are "sitting it out" in Tbilisi and an even greater number are working half time. Comrade Khelidze, Georgia's Minister of Public Health, should find out more about these doctors who are "afflicted" with the disease of ruralophobia and should soon pick out enough of them to be sent out to work in the districts [outside Tbilisi].

One of the principal tasks of the Ministry of Public Health is further to improve medical services to the public, to improve the qualifications of doctors and to make broad application in the work of the medical institutions of the discoveries of the great Russian physiologist I. P. Pavlov.

Georgia's Health Resorts: Georgia is a land of first-class health resorts. They have gained general recognition and enjoy well-earned popularity among the working people of the Soviet Union. Suffice it to say that one-third of all medicinal springs in the Soviet Union are in Georgia, and that the number of our explored springs is colossal. Almost 30% of them are hot springs, and the presence of important deposits of medicinal mud—volcanic and lake—adds still more to the republic's health resort resources.

Extensive construction is in progress at our health resorts. The number of beds in sanatoriums has increased considerably during this period and the capacity of the health resorts has grown. More than 315,000 patients and vacationers came to our sanatoriums between 1949 and 1951, and in 1952 the sanatoriums will receive more than 120,000 persons.

In addition, Georgia's health resorts are supplemented by a network of sanatoriums of various ministries and agencies. A sanatorium built by the Ministries of the Coal Industry, Railroads, Ferrous Metallurgy and Navy will open in Tskhaltubo in the near future.

However, Georgia's health resort facilities are by no means being fully exploited. The general state of the republic's health resorts system does not measure up to the increased demands made on it. Most of our health resorts lack adequate water supply, sewer and power systems, bath and laundry facilities, well-developed parks, roads and housing for resort personnel. ...

...

The Party and Soviet government devote tremendous attention to social security. More than 1,300,000,000 rubles were paid out in Georgia in pensions and state grants to invalids of the patriotic war and to recipients of pensions from 1949 through the first six months of 1952. However, the social security agencies are performing their duties poorly. Major pilfering and embezzlement of state funds have occurred in some district departments of social security.

The bureau of the Central Committee of the Georgian Communist Party discussed the work of Georgia's Ministry of Social Security in July, 1952, and adopted a resolution dismissing Comrade Chkhetiani, the Minister, for failing to provide proper direction of the ministry. A number of officials in the social security agencies who had committed illegal acts and had pilfered state property were relieved of their positions and brought into court.

The new heads of the Ministry of Social Security and the local Party bodies must hasten to eliminate the shortcomings and serious mistakes made in placing and selecting personnel in social security institutions and must bolster these institutions with proved personnel capable of bringing about a radical improvement in work.

Communal Economy: The Party and government manifest exceptional concern for the communal economy of the cities and district centers. Almost 185,000,000 rubles were allocated during the report period for the development of the communal economy and for rebuilding and improving the cities of the Georgian Republic. This large sum is being poorly utilized, however—especially in Tbilisi, Kutaisi, Batumi and Chiatura.

Much more could have been done with the funds, materials

and building equipment which were made available for rebuilding and improving the city of Tbilisi. The Soviet government did not deny Tbilisi a thing, but the old heads of the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee and Tbilisi Party committee and of the Tbilisi City Soviet Executive Committee, in the persons of Comrades Charkviani, Zambakhidze and Lelashvili, made very poor use of the opportunities provided. Reconstruction and improvement of the city proceeded at an intolerably slow pace and, in comparison with modern industrial methods of building, in a primitive manner. It is particularly unfortunate that most of the building construction is poor...

At one time Tbilisi's construction trusts and administrations led the country but now they are at least ten to 15 years behind. (*Stir in the hall*). We must radically change the situation which has come about. First of all, Tbilisi's construction trusts and administrations have to be strengthened and a base provided for using industrial methods in construction work. The Georgian Communist Party Central Committee has sent a group of specialists in construction work to Moscow and other cities of the country with this in mind...

What practical steps have been taken with regard to municipal construction and improvement of Tbilisi in recent months?

The Georgian Communist Party Central Committee has taken steps to complete work on the Government House and on rebuilding the Elbakidze Bridge by the end of 1952.

Major repairs have been made on Beria Square and on a number of streets.

The Georgian Communist Party Central Committee has taken up problems of building cultural and service facilities and housing and has brought about some improvement in this matter.

The first section of the Bulachauri Water System has been opened and the city's water supply has been considerably improved.

Construction work has greatly speeded up on the Ortachal Hydroelectric Station, intended to supply the city with electric power.

This is a short, incomplete list of what has already been done recently. It must be stated, however, that a number of projects are still moving slowly.

Construction of the second section of the Embankment is proceeding unsatisfactorily, and the funds allocated for this project this year have hardly been touched.

Construction of a number of office buildings and apartment houses is far behind schedule.

It has now become obvious to everyone that the boastful speeches by former Secretary of the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee Charkviani and the numerous boastful press and radio reports about unprecedented gains in the development of Tbilisi were false and intended to deceive our public. (*Stir in the hall*) ...

A few words now on two matters of importance to Georgia's capital.

We plan to submit to the U.S.S.R. government the matter of supplying the city of Tbilisi with gas produced by refining Tkibuli oil shale and carbonaceous shale. This necessitates the construction of a shale refining plant in Rustavi. At the same time that it supplies Tbilisi with gas it will make it possible to meet the shortage in gas fuel suffered by the Transcaucasus Iron and Steel Mills. ...

Extremely little has been done in comparison with existing opportunities to rebuild and improve the city of Kutaisi during the past 15 years. After all, Kutaisi is second only to Tbilisi as the industrial and cultural center of Georgia. Presumably it merits proper attention, but has not received it. It has lagged behind other large cities—and this must be viewed as entirely inadmissible—in improvements and rebuilding work.

In addition to the fact that the Central Committee and the Council of Ministers of Georgia have failed to pay sufficient attention to Kutaisi in the past, even those meager funds which were provided for rebuilding and developing it were unsatisfactorily utilized because of poor work by the Kutaisi Party committee and City Soviet. Matters got so out of hand that the building for the Kutaisi Drama Theater has been under

construction for 15 years and still is unfinished. Only 4,000,-000 rubles' worth of work has been completed, although another 8,000,000 rubles are earmarked for the building! ...

Comrade Stalin has visited Kutaisi several times. We Georgian Communists must work so that when he visits Kutaisi again and looks at the city Comrade Stalin will be satisfied with our work to rebuild and improve Kutaisi and will give it a rating of "good." (Applause.) ...

The importance of the town of Gori [Stalin's birthplace] as a city of historical fame is generally known. This is why problems of rebuilding and improving it should occupy a special place in the work of the Georgian Communist Party. Nothing is denied the city of Gori. It is well supplied with funds, building materials and machinery. The problem now is for the Gori city Party organization and the city Soviet to pay proper attention to rebuilding and improving. ...

Public Education: ... Georgia has 4275 elementary, eight-year and secondary schools, with an enrollment of 700,000 children. There were 44,537 teachers in the schools in the 1951-1952 academic year, or almost 6000 more than in the 1948-1949 academic year. The qualifications of the teaching corps are considerably improved, the number of teachers with higher education reaching 14,200, as compared with 8078 in the 1948-1949 academic year. Eighteen school buildings have been built during the past three years, and 13 more will be completed this year.

However, neither the progress nor quality of school construction can be considered satisfactory. The funds allocated for this work are being utilized slowly, and I would say that the Georgian Republic Ministry of Education shows little interest in problems of erecting school buildings. The local Party and Soviet bodies often act the same way. The result has been that about 254,000 children still have to be taught in second shifts and 5505 even in third shifts because of the shortage of school buildings. ...

We know that with the permission of the U.S.S.R. government 1-year schooling was introduced in Georgia's general schools during the 1946-1947 academic year. This brought about a radical improvement in education and training and raised the level of knowledge and the general standards of pupils. The reason for this was that in addition to general subjects the schools of the national republics also teach the native language and literature and the history and geography of the republic. These subjects had been studied in Georgia by shortening the number of hours devoted to general subjects, with the result that schools in the Georgian Republic devoted less time than schools in the Russian Republic to such basic subjects as the Russian language, mathematics, physics, natural science, history and foreign languages. This seriously hampered normal mastery of the foundations of knowledge envisaged in the uniform program.

Introduction of 11-year instruction made it possible to increase the number of study hours almost to the level envisaged in the program adopted for schools in the Russian Republic. This measure made it possible to increase the annual number of hours devoted to Russian language and literature to 700 and thereby to solve one of the main problems of the schools in the national republics: the problem of improving instruction in the Russian language, of seeing that young boys and girls possess a good mastery of it by the time they are graduated from the secondary schools. A greater number of hours were set aside for the teaching of foreign languages...

A number of steps were taken to improve the methods of teaching both Georgian language and literature and Russian language and literature following the appearance of J. V. Stalin's works of genius on linguistics. The programs and textbooks on these subjects have been revised, and instruction in the native language and literature in our schools has notably improved. The oral and written language facility of the pupils has improved, as has the general level of their training.

However, serious shortcomings still exist in the work of the instructors. Formalism has not yet been overcome in this work. Grammar is taught without relation to reading material, and we still lack a textbook of Georgian Soviet literature for the 11th grade. Special attention must be given to teaching Russian in rural schools. The general literacy of our pupils is

still poor. Their vocabulary is weak and they learn rules of grammar mechanically, without ability to apply them correctly. Because they have a poor knowledge of the Russian language some pupils are unable to use it to increase their knowledge of the wealth of Russian literature.

There is much room for improvement in natural science teaching as well. In most cases the natural sciences are taught without the use of visual aids and without demonstrations and laboratory work.

The fact that many pupils fail of promotion is a major shortcoming in the work of the schools. Spring examinations in the 1951-1952 academic year showed that 11.7% of all pupils would have to repeat their studies.

Discipline is still underemphasized in many schools. There have been more violations of discipline and of the rules for conduct by pupils, and more cases of amoral acts. This attitude toward the behavior standards for pupils must be stopped. School discipline must be strictly observed. The Young Communist League and Young Pioneer organizations must aid the schools as effectively as they can in this matter. ...

The Party organizations must constantly help the schools and must check on the quality of instruction and upbringing. The local Party organizations must approach school issues not as a passing campaign and not as occasion arises but on a continuous basis: they must view this matter as an integral part of their work for the communist upbringing of the Soviet people.

Science and the Higher Schools: The Georgian Republic Academy of Sciences, the center of research work in our republic, comprises 42 institutes at which 945 scientists, including two Academicians and five Corresponding Members of the U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences, 56 Members and Corresponding Members of the Georgian Republic Academy of Sciences, 102 Doctors and 472 Candidates of Sciences, are engaged in research in various fields. J. V. Stalin's inspired works on linguistics have played an outstanding role in the development not only of linguistics but of all branches of science.

Recently the Georgian Republic Academy of Sciences issued a linguistics symposium compiled on the basis of Comrade Stalin's inspired works. A number of the works in the symposium constitute a valuable contribution to the development of Soviet linguistics. Two volumes of an explanatory dictionary of the Georgian language have also been published and are of great importance to the development of our culture.

Work in the other humanities has also improved considerably... and the work of representatives of the technical science is making good progress... However, the successes scored by Georgia's scientists cannot by any means satisfy our public. These scientists can and must produce far more. ... It cannot be overlooked that a widespread practice among our scientists is causing considerable harm to their scientific work. People are often divided in their attention, many scientists holding three, four and even more positions at the same time. This "diversity" of activity does not help at all to increase our scientific progress.

But this is not all. The danger of this widespread practice of holding several jobs lies in the fact that it does not permit young scientists to develop and advance. How can a young scientist find a position under such conditions if all jobs are literally behind the "seven seals" of multiple job-holding? Bold action must be taken to overcome this evil. It is time to end the lack of confidence shown in young scientists, the harmful notion that they are incapable of heading large and important scientific institutions. Pointless talk on this subject must stop and young scientists must receive real help in growing and advancing. We must see that our old scientists work with young scientists in the right combinations. This also means that our young scientists must not look down on the older scientists but must conscientiously learn what they have to offer. ...

It is now obvious that the former heads of the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee failed to give due assistance to the republic's research institutions and did not direct their work toward solution of vital problems of the nation's economy. Some research institutes of the Academy of Sciences still lack proper technical facilities and quarters, while prompt publication of scientific works has yet to be assured.

quality of this output is best determined by the fact that not one of the films ever reached the nationwide screen. ...

Motion picture services to rural areas also suffer from serious shortcomings. Due to the absence of permanent service routes and definite program schedules, many of our villages have not seen motion pictures for years on end. Our film workers say a great deal about film services and about "covering" the public, but here 93 villages in Akhmeta and 139 in Dusheti District have not seen a single film in five years. (*Stir in the hall.*) And these are districts which are literally right under the noses of our film service officials! ...

Music: The situation in music is better, but this does not mean that shortcomings can be overlooked. Here too they are quite serious. Our composers have not yet managed to create significant opera works on contemporary themes. The Z. Paliashvili Opera and Ballet Theater has produced only one new opera in the past four years: the composer A. Bukia's "Uninvited Guests," which is for young children at that. ...

A number of examples could be cited to show that some of our composers make a pretext of adapting Georgian folk songs but introduce false elements into them and thereby distort the very folk nature of them. It must be pointed out in this connection that our song and dance ensembles have departed considerably from genuine Georgian folk art and have forgotten many of the fine old songs and dances. ...

The State Folk Dance Ensemble, under the direction of Stalin Prize Winner I. Sukhishvili and N. Ramishvili, is justly popular. It is perhaps the only ensemble which has managed to retain the folk quality of dances more than most, and by so doing to create an interesting and striking repertoire. The Georgian State Quartet, under the direction of B. Chiaureli, the members of which received a Stalin Prize and an international prize, has been very successful in recent years. ...

Progress in Georgian Soviet opera depends to a considerable degree on the development of vocal art. The Tbilisi Conservatory must improve its work and make a real effort in training young singers and musicians.

Sculpture and Pictorial Arts: Despite notable successes scored by some Georgian artists, there has been a considerable lag in the development of sculpture and the pictorial arts in Georgia in recent years. ...

VI. Problems of Party Work.—Growth and Composition of the Party Organization: As of Sept. 1, 1952, Georgia's Party organization had 160,045 members and 13,253 candidates. During the report period 19,251 persons were admitted to Party membership and 15,511 were accepted as candidates. Of the total number of candidates accepted 10,043 or 64.7% were members of the Young Communist League and 4086, or 26.3%, were women. Where 17.2% of all Communists had a higher or incomplete higher education as of Jan. 1, 1949, 20.3% have at the present time, while 47.7% of the Communists have a secondary or incomplete secondary education.

As of Sept. 1, 1952, there were 9458 primary Party organizations [units] in the republic, compared with 9535 in 1949. The decrease in the number of primary Party organizations occurred through the amalgamation of the collective farms.

Many city and district committees failed to establish real control over the growth of Party membership, which resulted in a poorer proportioning of persons accepted. Thus, of the 15,511 candidates accepted, only 2267 or 14.6% were workers, 4102 or 26.5% were collective farmers and 9142 or 58.9% were employees.

It should be pointed out in analyzing the results of admissions to the Party during the report period that a considerable number of city and district committees made serious mistakes in supervising this work and violated the Bolshevik principle of considering admissions to Party membership on a strictly individual basis. Despite repeated warnings by the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party against the erroneous and harmful practice of aiming for quantity at the expense of quality in building up the Party, wholesale membership admission was indulged in and not enough attention was given to the Marxist-Leninist training of Communists. In some instances dishonest persons, people unworthy of political trust, penetrated the Party.

In November, 1950, for example, the primary Party unit of the Tsiteli Oktomberi Collective Farm at the village of

Kvakhchiri in Kutaisi District accepted as a candidate for Party membership G. Apridonidze, a person previously convicted of theft. In January, 1951, the Adigeni District committee accepted I. Balakhishvili, who was expelled from the Party a few months later for performing a religious ceremony. In December, 1950, the Batumi City Party Committee admitted a man named Tskvitiria, who had previously been sentenced to prison for fraud. Many more such instances could be cited.

Sometimes the Statutes of the All-Union Communist Party were violated in admissions to the Party. The Zugdidi District committee, for example, admitted A. Gvakharia to full membership three months before his period of candidacy expired.

Many city and district Party committees and primary Party organizations are not paying due attention to the Bolshevik training of candidates, do not do enough to have them participate in Party and public life and do not check on how they carry out Party assignments. This is why many candidates have exceeded their periods of candidacy in a number of Party organizations. ...

Party Propaganda and Political Agitation: Our Communist Party has always ascribed and does ascribe exceptional importance to Party propaganda, to Party education. A checkup has revealed that Party education is obviously unsatisfactorily presented in the Georgian Communist Party. The Central Committee lacked even precise figures on the number of study circles and schools in the Party education network and on the number of Communists engaged in independent ideological-theoretical studies. Generally speaking, there was much confusion on this matter. Many of the study circles and schools in the Party education network existed only on paper, and attendance at them was extremely low because many propagandists had been carelessly selected and did an uninteresting and boring job of conducting propaganda work.

The Georgian Communist Party has had to renew and build up the propaganda and agitation department and to carry out a number of measures aimed at bolstering Party education and ideological work in general. Despite the measures carried out, there are still indications of great shortcomings. More than 330 out of 6581 political schools and circles, evening Party schools and seminars for the *aktiv* failed to complete the study program during the past study year, and 13,287 Communists failed to master the materials covered. In addition, 8115 Communists failed to complete their individual plans for independent political studies.

The Georgian Communist Party is now taking steps to have everything in the Party education network ready for the beginning of the study year and to have the studies begin on time. ...

The Press: The press plays a tremendous role in the communist education of Soviet citizens, in mobilizing them for the ambitious tasks of building communism. Nine republic, nine province and 76 city and district newspapers [periodicity not indicated] are published in our province.

The faulty work, preoccupation with outward appearances and the complacency which reigned among the former heads of the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee also left their imprint on the work of the press. Instead of encouraging thorough development of Bolshevik criticism and self-criticism, exposing shortcomings in economic and cultural work and printing truthful reports, the newspapers *Komunisti* and *Zarya Vostoka*—and, following their example, the province, city and district newspapers—embellished the true state of affairs and played up individual gains out of all proportion, thereby fostering preoccupation with outward appearances, a bystander's complacency and an uncritical attitude to work.

With few exceptions, criticism in the newspapers was diffident and ineffective, and the former heads of the Central Committee not only failed to encourage what good criticism there was but suppressed it. The papers failed to expose flagrant violations of inner Party democracy...and overlooked unprecedented violations of Soviet laws...

Results of Reports and Elections to Party Bodies: ... Noting the gains scored in recent months, the Communists have approved the measures carried out by the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee to correct the mistakes made by the

work to oblivion. Our economic and cultural gains would have been considerably greater if we had had correct political leadership.

The Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party, the U.S.S.R. government and Comrade Stalin rendered Georgia tremendous assistance in the formation of Tbilisi and Kutaisi Provinces,* which made it possible to provide even closer guidance to the local areas and to make it more concrete. Our problem now is to eliminate the lag in economic and cultural work and to advance this work with all our might. ...

Our party grew considerably during and after the war. The new members are in need of ideological tempering. This is why our task at the present stage is not to push an increase in Party ranks but to stress the political training, the Marxist education of Communists, bearing in mind that in the final analysis quality is more important than quantity.

Unfortunately, we still encounter "Communists" who joined the Party to get good positions, so-called "career Communists." Such people must be exposed and thrown out of the Party, because career seeking constitutes a danger to the Party. ...

Incompetents have also cropped up in Georgia in recent years, people guilty of frequent mistakes and serious negligence in their work—mistakes and negligence bordering on the criminal—but who later acknowledge them and give assurances that they will correct them. Actually, however, these people not only fail to correct their mistakes but a little later repent of new errors and again promise to correct them! ... The good of the cause requires that such constant "stumblers" not be allowed to remain in administrative positions. ...

We must always remember Comrade Stalin's admonition that the strength of our party lies in its indestructible bond with the masses. It is our vital cause to strengthen the bond with the masses in every way, to respond promptly to the needs and requirements of the working people and to explain to them the essence of Communist Party policy and resolutions.

Consistently observing inner party democracy and developing bold and open criticism of shortcomings, Georgia's Party organizations will improve party organizational and political work still more and will attain new successes in the struggle for communism.

It is necessary constantly to increase the revolutionary vigilance of Communists and of all Soviet citizens and to make this a militant vigilance. To be vigilant means to be able to tell friend from foe even under the most involved circumstances. Officials must by all means be trusted; but they must also by all means be checked. Trust and checkup: this is how our Bolshevik work must be organized. ...

Armed with the resolutions of the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party and with the instructions of Comrade Stalin, the Communist Party of Georgia is resolutely reorienting all of its work and beginning to operate in a new manner. It is working toward more and more new successes, in the Stalinist way, recognizing no barriers or obstacles to fulfillment of the decisions and will of the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party and of the will of the great Stalin. ...

Long live that very great man of modern times, the wise leader and teacher of the Communists and working people of the whole world, the genius of the epoch of the building of communism, our own beloved Stalin! (*Stormy, prolonged applause, turning into an ovation. All rise.*)

THE DISCUSSION AT THE CONGRESS

15TH CONGRESS OF GEORGIAN COMMUNIST PARTY. (By Special Correspondents N. Kharlamov and G. Khutsishvili. Pravda, Sept. 20, p. 2. Complete text:) Tbilisi—The 15th Congress of the Georgian Communist Party was held in Tbilisi Sept. 15 to 18. The republic's Party organization met for its Congress rallied closely around the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party and around the great leader and teacher Comrade Stalin.

The Congress took place amid unprecedented political and production effort on the part of the working people of Soviet

Georgia in honor of the preparations for the 19th Congress of the All-Union Communist Party.

The pre-Congress report-and-election meetings in the primary Party organizations and the district, city and province Party conferences were keynoted by extensive criticism and self-criticism, by a struggle for a decisive improvement in Party work. The growing demands made by Communists on the work habits and methods of the Party committees and their guidance of economic and cultural work were especially evident in the fact that the work of the Adyge, Gurdzhaani, Kaspi, Klukhori, Khulo and a number of other district committees, of the Batumi and Chiatura city committees and of the Adzharian Province committee was pronounced unsatisfactory at the Party conferences. Many new people were advanced to leadership of the Party organizations.

The report of the Central Committee of the Georgian Communist Party was delivered by Comrade A. Mgeladze, Secretary of the Central Committee. The speaker and the delegates who took part in the discussions cited examples demonstrating that the working people of Soviet Georgia are successfully developing the republic's economy and culture in the fraternal family of peoples of the Soviet Union and are making a major contribution to the cause of building communism.

The Soviet system, consistent implementation of the Leninist-Stalinist national policy and the fraternal aid of the Russian people have made it possible to transform Georgia into one of the flourishing republics of the Soviet Union. Under Soviet rule Georgia has become a republic with well-developed industry and diversified agriculture.

Units of the Stalin Transcaucasus Iron and Steel Mills have been erected in the ancient Georgian town of Rustavi, which was restored by Soviet citizens. The mills produce steel, rolled metal, seamless pipe, well casings and compressor pipe. An automobile plant has gone into operation in Kutaisi, trucks from which are working at the construction projects of communism. Georgia produced 50% more coal in 1951 than in 1948, while manganese ore output increased 77% and the output of metal-cutting machine tools increased 111%. Production is continuing to increase during 1952.

The republic's agriculture has changed beyond recognition and the amount of modern mechanical equipment employed continually increases. The collective farm peasantry is fighting energetically to increase further the yield of citrus fruits, tea, grapes, tobacco and other valuable technical crops. Georgia's collective farms are now successfully tackling the problem of making the republic self-sufficient in grain. Far more grain was delivered to the state this year than in prewar 1940.

The constant development of the republic's economy is accompanied by improvement in the material welfare of the working people in the cities and villages. The volume of retail trade in the Georgian Republic was 633,000,000 rubles higher in 1951 than in 1949. More cultural gains are registered with each passing year, and state allocations for public education continue to grow. The republic has 4275 schools with an enrollment of approximately 700,000. The Georgian Republic Academy of Sciences, which coordinates the work of dozens of research institutes, was established in Soviet times and has become a center of research. The republic has 20 higher educational institutions which graduate thousands of specialists each year.

Thanks to the Leninist-Stalinist national policy and the Leninist-Stalinist friendship of the peoples of the Soviet Union, thanks to the aid of the great Russian people, Comrade Mgeladze stated, the Georgian people have achieved sovereignty and their own statehood, socialist statehood. They have achieved an unprecedented economic advance and the flowering of a culture which is national in form and socialist in content.

In the course of the sharp and businesslike criticism and self-criticism which developed at the Congress the delegates pointed out that it is not the habit of Soviet citizens to preen themselves on their successes or to be satisfied with what they have achieved. The participants in the Congress rightly pointed out that the republic's gains would have been incomparably greater if it had not been for the serious errors committed by the former leadership of the Central Committee of the Georgian Communist Party in Party, economic and cultural work. Gross flouting of the principles of inner Party democracy, the ignoring

* Current Digest of the Soviet Press, Vol. IV, No. 10, p. 25.

criticisms leveled by the Congress at the heads of the republic Writers' Union.

The Georgian Republic Council of Ministers' Administration on Affairs of the Arts was criticized at the Congress for easing up on its demands upon dramatists and for approving the production at Georgian theaters of such ideologically and artistically weak plays as V. Karshanidze's "Evergreen Hills," K. Kaladze's "Pleasant Rural Evenings," O. Andronikashvili's and T. Sergiyenko's "His Fault," and others.

Delegates severely criticized the Georgian Republic Ministry of Cinematography. The work of the Georgian Film Studios has deteriorated and poor films have been produced in recent years. There are serious shortcomings in motion picture service to the public, particularly in rural areas. The Congress charged the new heads of the Ministry of Cinematography with seeing that new feature films meet present-day requirements, expanding the network of film facilities in the republic and seeing that motion pictures reach the inhabitants of all cities and villages.

Comrade Egadze, one of the delegates to the Congress, criticized the work of the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee's Department of Literature and the Arts, pointing out that the department sought to supplant the Georgian Republic Ministry of Cinematography and that its concern with petty details thwarted rather than abetted the development of Georgian Soviet cinematography. He also called the attention of the Congress to the need for publication of more translations into Georgian of the classics of Russian literature.

It is worth noting that although they were severely criticized the heads of the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee's Propaganda and Agitation Department and Department of Literature and the Arts and of the province Party committees did not speak at the Congress.

The Congress adopted a resolution defining the tasks of the republic's Party organization in the struggle to carry out the instructions of the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party for further developing Party organizational and political work and for a new advance in Georgia's economy and culture.

The 15th Congress of the Georgian Communist Party discussed the documents of the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party for the 19th Party Congress.

The Fifth Five-Year Plan opens up before Soviet Georgia, as before the whole country, broad new prospects for development of the economy and culture, for improving the welfare of the working people.

While warmly and unanimously supporting the draft directives of the 19th Party Congress for the Fifth Five-Year Plan, delegates to the Congress of the Georgian Communist Party suggested several additions to and revisions of the draft.

Congress Delegates Comrades Kudzhishvili, Sikharulidze, Kulukhov, Tsimakuridze and others taking part in the discussion of the draft directives of the 19th Party Congress for the Fifth Five-Year Plan spoke of the need to provide in the draft for the development of power engineering, for increasing the capacity of the railroads, for broader introduction of new equipment and progressive work methods and much else.

The Congress vigorously discussed the draft revised Party Statutes. Approving the draft, the delegates remarked that it suits the tasks now confronting the Communist Party and increases the effectiveness of all Party organizations and of the Party as a whole. At the same time the delegates suggested some amendments to certain items in the draft revised Party Statutes.

The Congress of the Georgian Communist Party took place in an atmosphere of complete unanimity. The speeches of the delegates expressed profound understanding of the tasks confronting the Georgian Party organization and boundless love for and gratitude to the Soviet government, the Central Committee of the Communist Party and the great leader and teacher of peoples, Comrade Stalin, for their constant concern for the development and prosperity of the mighty Soviet motherland.

The Congress showed that Georgia's Party organization is struggling resolutely to improve its work and is approaching the 19th Congress of the party of Lenin and Stalin as one of its loyal, militant detachments.

The Congress elected the administrative bodies of the republic's Communist Party—the Central Committee and Inspection Commission—and delegates to the 19th Congress of the All-Union Communist Party.

Greetings to Comrade Stalin were adopted amid tremendous enthusiasm and prolonged applause by all delegates and guests of the Congress.

The Congress closed with the singing of the Party hymn, the "Internationale."

The plenary session of the newly elected Central Committee of the Georgian Communist Party elected the bureau and secretaries of the Central Committee. Comrade A. I. Mgeladze was elected First Secretary, V. G. Tskhovrebashvili Second Secretary, and V. D. Budzhiashvili Secretary.

TO COMRADE LAVRENTY PAVLOVICH BERIA, U.S.S.R. COUNCIL OF MINISTERS, MOSCOW. (Zarya Vostoka, Sept. 18, p. 1. 800 words. Condensed text:) Dear Lavrenty Pavlovich! The 15th Congress of the Georgian Communist Party sends you, an outstanding figure in the Communist Party and Soviet state, true disciple of Lenin and comrade-in-arms of Comrade Stalin, ardent Bolshevik greetings! ...

In the united, fraternal family of Soviet peoples the Georgian people are making a worthy contribution to the cause of building communism, striving to bring about a new and mighty advance in industry, a diversified agriculture and a culture national in form and socialist in content.

We could have achieved even greater successes, however, if serious mistakes had not been made in Party, economic and cultural work by the former heads of the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee.

Armed with the historic resolutions of the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party and with the personal instructions of Comrade Stalin, the Communist Party of Georgia is engaged in extensive work to eliminate errors and shortcomings and to consolidate its ranks. All ideological-political work has been raised to a new level, and self-criticism and criticism from below have been widely developed. Strict observance of Party discipline has been ensured.

Georgia's Party organizations have taken decisive action to put a stop to violations of the Collective Farm Statutes. They stand vigilantly on guard over the interests of the state and have intensified protection of socialist property and the struggle to uphold Soviet law.

Dear Lavrenty Pavlovich! In guiding the Party organizations of Georgia and the Transcaucasus for many years and in tempering them in the great Stalinist traditions you have made a tremendous contribution to economic and cultural work in Georgia and have ensured a flowering of her productive forces.

In carrying out the wise instructions of the great Stalin and executing the will of the Party Central Committee you have helped us to bring to light the full shortcomings and failings in the work of the Georgian Party organization. In taking personal part in the April plenary session of the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee you pointed clearly to the tasks confronting us and outlined practical measures for ensuring a reorientation in our work and success in the struggle to eradicate errors and shortcomings in it.

Georgia's Communists, trained by you in the glorious traditions of Lenin and Stalin, are profoundly grateful to you for this help. They promise to achieve new successes in the building of communism and to increase their contribution to the common cause of the struggle of the Soviet Union's fraternal peoples for the triumph of communism.

We pledge to strive for a new and mighty advance in the economy and culture of Soviet Georgia and to devote all our strength to carrying out the inspired Stalin plan for achieving communism in our country.

Long live the great party of Lenin and Stalin, the guiding and directing force of the Soviet state!

Long live the faithful disciple of the great Lenin, the glorious comrade-in-arms of the great Stalin, Lavrenty Pavlovich Beria!

Long live our wise leader, inspirer and organizer of all victories of the Soviet people, standard-bearer of world peace and inspired architect of communism, our own Stalin!

work of corresponding departments of the Kazakhstan Communist Party Central Committee; and department heads Comrades Zakharov and Kaishibayev are responsible for shortcomings. ...

Transport and Communications.—During the time which has passed since the Fifth Congress of the Kazakhstan Communist Party, some work has been done for the further development of the republic's transport and communications.

The Turkestan-Siberian and Karaganda Railroads have somewhat improved technical and economic indices. However, the managerial and Party officials of the roads have not succeeded in removing serious shortcomings in railroad transport.

The tasks set by the Fifth Congress of the Kazakhstan Communist Party in the field of developing telegraphic communications and improving the quality of existing communications with province and district centers, radio installations in populated centers and the development of radio relay lines for plug-in loudspeaker networks have not been satisfactorily carried out by the communications agencies.

In keeping with the draft directives of the 19th Party Congress for the Fifth Five-Year Plan for development of the U.S.S.R., 1951-1955, we must solve the following basic tasks in transport and communications:

(1) In Railroad Transport: (a) Improve qualitative indices of utilization of capacity of existing means of transportation; eliminate frequency of accidents and violations of good technological practice in the work of enterprises and economic units; (b) Complete construction of the Mointy-Chu and Akmolinsk-Pavlodar railroad lines and ensure their being put in regular operation in 1953; (c) Begin construction of the Kungrad-Makat and Guryev-Astrakhan railroad lines; speed double-tracking on the Akmolinsk-Kartaly sector. ...

COMMUNAL ECONOMY, TRADE, FINANCE AND PUBLIC HEALTH.—The resolutions of the Fifth Congress of the Kazakhstan Communist Party devoted much attention to housing and communal construction and improvement of cities, workers' settlements and district centers of the republic.

However, this work, notwithstanding a certain improvement in it, is still unsatisfactory. In many cases construction deadlines are not met; projects are completed with defects. Improvement of cities, district centers and workers' settlements is still poorly done.

The resolutions of the Fifth Congress of the Kazakhstan Communist Party on further improving and developing trade have also been carried out unsatisfactorily.

Minister of Trade Comrade Sapargaliyev and Chairman of the Board of the Kazakhstan Consumers' Cooperative Alliance Comrade Tsarev have poorly directed the development of state and cooperative trade and have not taken the necessary measures for filling in and strengthening the trade organizations with reliable personnel or for developing trade turnover.

In the field of finance and budget, the republic's Party, state and financial agencies have not reorganized their work in keeping with the resolutions of the Fifth Congress of the Kazakhstan Communist Party nor have they taken adequate measures for bringing to light unutilized reserves in all branches of the national economy through lower production costs, increased profitability of enterprises and economic organizations, speeding up the turnover of operating capital and eliminating losses due to mismanagement.

In the field of public health we have increased the number of hospitals and beds, have increased the number of medical personnel and made some improvement in preventative and curative work in the period since the Fifth Congress of the Kazakhstan Communist Party. ...

STATE OF AGRICULTURE. Crops.—There is no question that considerable work has been done to develop agriculture since the Fifth Congress of the Kazakhstan Communist Party. But the state of agriculture in the republic makes it necessary to report to the Congress serious shortcomings which exist and the causes for these shortcomings and to present certain concrete tasks.

Thirty-five crops are sown in the republic. In 1952 the area sown to grain was 73% of the total sown area.

Although the area sown to grain increases every year, the harvest still remains extremely low and very unstable.

The harvest is unstable in almost all the decisive north-eastern and southern provinces of the republic, where a considerable part of the grain is grown on irrigated land.

As a result of a direct underevaluation of fodder crops, the plans for sowing these crops have been unfulfilled year after year. In 1952 the area sown to fodder crops was reduced in comparison with 1940. The yield was extremely low. ...

As a result of the poor utilization of irrigated land and the unsatisfactory reclamation of new land, the collective and state farms of South Kazakhstan Province can in no way overcome the chronic lag in the development of cotton growing which does tremendous harm to the state and the collective farms.

The sugar beet yield remains low on collective farms of Dzhambul, Taldy-Kurgan and Alma-Ata Provinces, and there is no change in the sown area.

In recent years such a valuable and profitable branch of the economy as tobacco growing has substantially deteriorated.

The production of oil-bearing crops is extremely neglected.

In 1952 the area under oil-bearing crops was quite large, but the state of the sunflower harvest is beneath criticism.

In 1952 a harvest totaling only one centner per hectare was obtained in East Kazakhstan Province.

An extremely disturbing situation has arisen in the republic in regard to the raising of vegetables and potatoes. This has reached the point where we cannot meet the demand for potatoes and are compelled to import potatoes from outside the republic.

The yield of vegetables and potatoes is extremely low.

The cultivation of kenaf and hemp needs major improvement.

As you see, the situation is extremely unfavorable with regard to a number of very important crops. This situation leads to a low figure for marketed agricultural products, to regular nonfulfillment of the plan for deliveries of agricultural products to the state, to a reduction in the magnitude of communal funds of collective farms and low earnings per workday for the collective farmers.

What are the reasons for this situation?

The chief reasons are the following:

(1) Poor utilization of machines and unsatisfactory work of the Machine and Tractor Stations and Animal Husbandry Machinery Stations. ...

In 1951, while the plan for tractor work was fulfilled 100.3% as a whole throughout the republic, work was fulfilled only 86.4% within the time allotted. Not one province completely fulfilled the work set forth in the contracts.

There are no such mass stoppages of machines in any other branch of the national economy as there are in the M.T.S. In 1951 machines and tractors were out of use for 1,100,000 tractor shifts because of technical and organizational defects. Besides this, many tractor drivers did not fulfill output quotas. As a result of all this, the M.T.S. lost about 6,000,000 to 6,500,000 hectares of tractor work in 1951. ...

(2) Unfavorable situation in seed production. Seed production is in an extremely neglected state on collective farms; as a result, many collective farms year after year regularly fail to meet the plan for laying in a supply of seeds. Furthermore it must be said that while directors of collective farms and of Party, state and agricultural agencies manifest some anxiety or put up an appearance of manifesting anxiety over ensuring seed for grain crops, they manifest no concern whatsoever over seed for oil-bearing crops, grasses, vegetables and potatoes.

(3) Regular underfulfillment of plans for tilling plowland by collective farms and M.T.S. ...

(4) Poor work in introducing and mastering grass-field crop rotation. A quite intolerable situation has arisen in regard to introduction and mastery of grass-field crop rotation. In a number of instances, as a result of an incorrect and antistate attitude toward crop rotation and incorrectly worked out diagrams and rotation charts, "crop rotation" holds back the development of agriculture.

Although 2573 of the republic's 3145 collective farms have introduced crop rotation, it has been mastered on only 481 collective farms. ...

(5) Unsatisfactory work in selection, placement and training of farm personnel. Of the 399 M.T.S. directors in the re-

at times are not at all carefully thought out, the officials of these organizations have directed their efforts primarily toward getting all kinds of funds and privileges, etc., from the state.

This attitude toward the development of agriculture has resulted in the fact that insufficient agricultural products are delivered to the state and the amount of the deliveries does not correspond to the sown area and the number of communal cattle; at the same time, an extremely harmful attitude of dependence [upon the state] has arisen among the managers. The province and district officials overlook this disturbing situation and at times indulge in this practice themselves. An error of the bureau of the Kazakhstan Communist Party Central Committee and of myself personally, as first secretary of the Central Committee, is that we have not promptly exposed this harmful practice of the managers of agricultural agencies, have not taken decisive measures against attitudes of dependence [on the state], have not been able to raise our guidance of agriculture to meet the demands made by the All-Union Party Central Committee.

The All-Union Communist Party Central Committee has set the Kazakhstan Party organizations and all agricultural workers of the republic a fighting task: to double or triple the gross output of agricultural products in the next few years and consequently to increase their deliveries to the state severalfold, to create communal collective farm funds in appropriate amounts and to raise the earning capacity of collective farmers. ...

ORGANIZATIONAL PARTY WORK.—In keeping with the directives of the All-Union Communist Party Central Committee and the resolutions of the Fifth Congress of the Kazakhstan Communist Party, the Party organs' attention was concentrated on raising the level of all Party organizational work, on strengthening Party organizations, on intensifying their directing role and influence on all aspects of political, economic and cultural work of the republic.

After the Fifth Congress, the Kazakhstan Communist Party Central Committee checked and discussed reports of the Guryev and East Kazakhstan Province Party Committees, Keles District Party Committee and five primary Party units. During this period the Kazakhstan Communist Party Central Committee also reviewed a number of other important problems of Party work, such as, for example, the selection, placement and training of cadres, the organization of socialist competition, putting in order Party facilities, etc.

However, one should not overestimate the improvement achieved in the substance of Party organizational work. The resolutions of the Kazakhstan Communist Party Fifth Congress have by no means been fulfilled as yet on this sector.

A definite share of the responsibility in this matter belongs to Comrade Rodionov, director of the Department of Party, Trade Union and Young Communist League Agencies. ...

One of the most serious shortcomings in all our work is the low level of criticism and self-criticism. Many Party agencies' style and methods of guidance have not encouraged broad development of criticism and self-criticism in Party ranks. Let us take the holding of plenary sessions of Party committees, which is very important in the work of Party agencies. The majority of Party committees call plenary sessions irregularly.

Some officials of Party organizations who listen to criticism at a plenary session or Party meeting and even acknowledge it do not in fact take any measures based on the critical comments and proposals of Communists. This lowers the initiative and activities of Communists and actually is one of the forms of repressing criticism.

officials, while the Kzyl-Orda Province Party Committee and its secretaries defended persons who had lost all respect before Party officials and Communists.

The Kazakhstan Communist Party Central Committee dismissed Comrade Bekteleyev as First Secretary of the Kzyl-Orda Province Party Committee and severely punished the protectors of enemies of the collective farm system and suppressors of criticism.

Officials in Kaskelen District and Alma-Ata Province indulged in gross highhandedness. Numerous warnings were sent to the district Party committee and the district executive committee by Comrade Comrade Nurmambetov, a member of Dzambul Collective Farm, about systematic gross violations of the Collective Farm Statutes on the farm and about irresponsibility and abuse by collective farm officials—Chairman Ariv, his assistant Sharipbayev and Secretary Kulrariyev of the primary Party unit. The officials of the collective farm learned about these complaints and, first with the silent approval and then with the encouragement of Secretary Kuanshaliyev of the district Party committee and Chairman Mazhitov of the district executive committee, they set about the persecution of Comrade Nurmambetov. He was dismissed from his post as director of the horse-breeding section and then was expelled from the collective farm and even beaten up. Kuanshaliyev and Mazhitov went so far as to order the district public prosecutor, Baltogov, to institute criminal action against Comrade Nurmambetov; and this was done.

These facts were known to the Alma-Ata Province committee, but the enemies of collective farming and their accomplices were severely punished only after the Party Central Committee intervened.

These and other facts clearly testify to the unhappy situation regarding criticism in certain Party organizations of the republic. ...

The fact that new cadres from the districts are never or almost never promoted to leading work in the province and republic must be considered a serious shortcoming and error in the work of the bureau of the Kazakhstan Communist Party Central Committee. It must be said that in this matter we secretaries of the Central Committee ourselves have not been able to overcome the hesitation in promoting district officials to leading work. In a number of instances this has led to the fact that certain officials stick in one job and no longer see their own shortcomings.

In some instances the Kazakhstan Communist Party Central Committee has engaged in incorrect and thoughtless promotion of personnel. This occurred in the case of former Minister of Justice Nurbayev, whom the Party Central Committee expelled from the Party for moral corruption, and that of former representative of the Minister of Communications Yelibayev, whom the Party Central Committee expelled from the Party for deception of Party agencies and for unworthy conduct. ...

On Sept. 1, 1952, the Kazakhstan Communist Party (of Bolsheviks) numbered 231,610 Communists, including 231,617 Party members and 24,923 candidates.

The Party requires its organizations to meet heightened standards in training its candidates and members. Yet in this work too we have failed to eliminate serious defects. The Party units have not yet devoted the necessary attention to preparing candidates for full membership in the Party ranks, as a consequence of which the candidate status is often drawn out for a number of years and even becomes endless.

State agencies play a tremendous role in carrying out the tasks assigned in the draft directives for the Fifth Five-Year plan for the development of the Kazakh SSR. These are still

an important task for Kazakhstan Communists. Nationalism and approval of it greatly harm the cause of the Party, the strengthening of friendship of peoples and the training of the working people in the spirit of internationalism. However, even in the machinery of the Kazakhstan Communist Party Central Committee there have been persons who covered up the nationalist mistakes of some officials. Zharylgapov, assistant director of the art and literature department [sic] of the Kazakhstan Communist Party Central Committee, in every way hindered the exposure of bourgeois nationalist mistakes committed by Seitov, director of the republic's State Literature Publishing House and Dzhammagambetov, editor of the magazine *Adebiyet zhane iskusstvo*. ...

Unfortunately, in his lengthy speech at the Congress Comrade Suzhikov, Secretary of the Central Committee, did not really answer the critical comments of delegates on defects in ideological work, but contented himself with admitting the criticism to be correct. ...

Comrade Kunayev, President of the Kazakh Republic Academy of Sciences, pointed out that, along with the development of ferrous metallurgy in the South, the Urals, Siberia, the Center, the Northwest and the Transcaucasus, the five-year plan directives should outline a further development of metallurgy in Kazakhstan.

Delegate Comrade Kuzembayev said that in the eighth point of the second section in the draft directives it would be expedient to indicate the need for wide construction of irrigation canals, dams and reservoirs in Kazakhstan in order to establish a firm fodder base for communal livestock breeding. ...

Twenty-five delegates spoke on the draft directives for the Fifth Five-Year Plan and the draft Party Statutes. The Congress unanimously approved these historic documents.

The Congress adopted a detailed resolution on the Central Committee's report.

A new Central Committee of the Kazakhstan Communist Party, an Inspection Commission and delegates to the 19th Party Congress were elected. ...

The plenary session of the newly-elected Central Committee of the Kazakhstan Communist Party elected Zh. Shayakhmetov First Secretary of the Central Committee, I. I. Afonov Second Secretary and M. A. Suzhikov Secretary.

IV. Azerbaidzhan

BAGIROV'S REPORT

19th Congress of Azerbaidzhan Communist Party (of Bolsheviks): **REPORT OF AZERBAIDZHAN COMMUNIST PARTY CENTRAL COMMITTEE.**—Speech by Comrade M. D. Bagirov, Secretary of Azerbaidzhan Communist Party Central Committee. (Bakinsky rabochy, Sept. 24, pp. 2-4. 15,000 words. Condensed text:) Comrades, the 18th Congress of the Azerbaidzhan Communist Party was held in May, 1951. Consequently, the current report covers the work of the Azerbaidzhan Communist Party Central Committee for one year and four months. ...

Comrades, as a result of Comrade Stalin's constant concern for the Azerbaidzhan people and the constant assistance of the Party and government, the economy of Soviet Azerbaidzhan is advancing year by year at a growing pace.

The increase in capital investments is a clear expression of this. The sum of capital investments in the national economy of the republic for 1951 alone was approximately as great as for the entire Second Five-Year Plan, and capital investments in the national economy of the Azerbaidzhan Republic for 1952 are almost as great as for the Third Five-Year Plan. ...

In 1951 the annual production plan for gross industrial output in the republic was fulfilled 102.3%; the volume of gross industrial output in 1951 increased 11.9% over 1950.

The enterprises of the Ministry of the Oil Industry in the republic fulfilled the production plan for gross output by 101.5% in 1951, including oil extraction by 100.1%.

But it must be said that the increase in oil extraction in these past years has occurred mainly on the basis of offshore deposits.

We have not yet reached the necessary turning point or created the conditions for an annual increase in oil extraction on land.

The weak points limiting an increase in oil extraction continue to be drilling, particularly test drilling, geological prospecting and geological exploration. Our managerial personnel do not show proper concern for these very important sectors of the oil industry.

This is why the plan for drilling in 1951 was not fulfilled.

The drilling plan was fulfilled 94.3% by the Azerbaidzhan Oil Trust, including test drilling by only 70.9%.

The Azerbaidzhan Offshore Oil Trust fulfilled the plan for drilling 76.8%, including exploratory drilling by only 65.8%.

The Azerbaidzhan Oil Prospecting Trust, which is called upon to resolve great tasks—to find new, rich oil deposits and thereby prepare reliable reserves for the republic's oil industry—fulfilled the 1951 drilling plan by only 93.2%.

This indicates not only a lack of understanding of the importance of drilling, particularly test drilling, on the part of the management of companies, oil-extracting trusts, oilfields, oil-drilling trusts and drilling offices, but also that among our glorious oil workers, among our drillers, geologists and producers, irresponsible people have penetrated somewhere, people who arouse doubts by un-Soviet behavior, such as Safarov, Stepanyan and Abaimov, who have now been exposed and dismissed, and Akhad Yakubov and Vram Melik-Pashayev, who shielded them.

It is these and other similar unscrupulous people who are guilty not only of impeding fulfillment of the plan for drilling and prospecting, but also of nonfulfillment of the 1952 eight-month plan for extracting oil.

The eight-month plan for extraction was fulfilled 98.2% in all, including 99.4% by the Azerbaidzhan Oil Trust but only 92.4% by the Azerbaidzhan Offshore Oil Trust.

We would not have had this shameful situation if even the one organization, the Azerbaidzhan Offshore Oil Trust, had fulfilled the drilling plan. What is more, we could have delivered tens of thousands of tons of oil above plan to the country in the past eight months.

This is the kind of damage, the kind of harm, inflicted by the criminal elements which have penetrated the ranks of offshore oil workers.

Only in recent weeks, after we began to strengthen very important offshore sections with new, fresh personnel, did the situation in drilling and extracting in the Azerbaidzhan Offshore Oil Trust begin to improve.

Everything mentioned above indicates that, with correct organization of work in construction, prospecting, drilling, exploitation and in operating these sectors of the oil industry's subsidiary enterprises, we will not only ensure unconditional fulfillment and overfulfillment of 1952 plans for oil extraction, but we will also create the conditions necessary for a sharp increase in oil extraction in subsequent years.

The Baku Party organizations, particularly Party organizations in oil regions, must now focus attention on this task. All the efforts and means, all the inner resources and reserves in our oil workers' possession, must be mobilized for this. This is their urgent task. ...

Suffice it to say that despite disruption of fulfillment of the drilling plan, oil extraction from offshore deposits in 1951 was 34.1% greater than in 1950; in eight months of 1952 it was 23.8% greater than in the corresponding period of 1951.

In order more quickly to cope with and successfully organize exploitation of these very rich oil deposits, it is necessary, above all, to fortify this part of our work with the best, tested personnel.

In the struggle for a stable condition in oil extraction, factors of decisive importance are an increase in the number of wells in operation and operating wells on schedule; and this is inconceivable without a sharp increase in discipline and without bringing Bolshevik order to the oilfields in the organization of well operation and both overhauling and current repairs.

Secondary recovery methods, particularly immediate organization of this work at offshore deposits alone, by now would have ensured hundreds of tons of oil per day more than we are now supplying.

There are serious shortcomings and errors, of one degree or another, in oil drilling and the work of our oil-refining and machine-building plants.

The elimination of these shortcomings and strengthening of our oilfields, drilling offices, geological prospecting parties, plants and other enterprises with tested personnel is an urgent task of the Azerbaidzhan Party organization. ...

[In the next ten paragraphs the speaker reports on the construction of various new enterprises in heavy industry and adds that because of poor management, poor labor and production discipline, etc., "many ministries and enterprises are doing poorer work in 1952 than in 1951."]

The republic's transport organizations are functioning poorly. The Azerbaidzhan Railroad does not keep to a single quantitative index in its work.

Labor and production discipline is in a poor state not only among the ordinary personnel, but also among the managerial personnel of the railroad.

Year after year the plan for construction on the railroad is disrupted.

Although the managerial personnel of the road has all the possibilities and conditions for making the Azerbaidzhan Railroad a model one in every respect, for providing cultured service to passengers, building comfortable stations, putting the trains in order and keeping them clean and for doing a great deal of tree and shrubbery planting, it manifests a rather incomprehensible, peculiar attitude to these questions.

The serious shortcomings in the work of the Azerbaidzhan Railroad are, above all, due to the weakness of Party political work on the railroad.

During this time we have renewed the leadership of the railroad's political department, but the turning point, improvement in work, is not in sight. Comrade Akhmedov, chief of the railroad's political department, has embarked on a path of suppressing criticism instead of placing himself at the head of developing strict criticism of shortcomings from below, instead of mobilizing Communists and non-Party comrades to reveal and expose shortcomings immediately.

We have discussed the problems of the railroad and the political department several times, we have warned the comrades and have given them the necessary assistance, but they are very slow in changing their ways.

The work indices of the Caspian tanker and cargo fleets have deteriorated considerably. Our sailors must work with trebled energy and intensity to correct the situation and to fulfill the transportation plan unconditionally by the end of the year, keeping to all quantitative indices.

Up to the present the use of motor transport in the republic has not been put in Bolshevik order. The Ministry of Automobile Transport is the only ministry in the republic which over a long period of time, year in and year out, does not fulfill its plans. No one knows what Comrade Kurmakayev is thinking of or why the Council of Ministers tolerates such a situation.

One of the reasons for the poor use of automobile transport in the republic is the unsatisfactory state of our roads. The Highway and Roads Administration of the Ministry of the Interior, the Chief Road Administration and the Azerbaidzhan Oil Trust's Road Administration not only do not fulfill the construction plan, but also do not show the proper concern for repair and maintenance of existing roads and highways.

The conduct of the directors of the Baku Construction and Assembly Trust arouses strong doubt, for the majority of roads which it has built do not bear criticism from the standpoint of quality. ...

The power resources of the republic are growing. During the current period there was a further increase in the capacity of stations in the Azerbaidzhan power system, and a number of small power stations under central agency jurisdiction were built and put into operation. But, despite this, the growth of the power base still lags behind the pace of development of the republic's national economy. Existing capacity no longer meets the requirements of all the growing industry in the republic.

Work is under way to increase electric power generation, both by constructing new fuel-operated stations in the Azerbaidzhan power system and by expanding existing ones. ...

Exceptionally bad conditions for farming arose at the beginning of the year. ...

A considerable part of the area sown to cotton had to be re-sown, as many as three times in some places. Replanting of cotton was not completed until June 20. ...

The mulberry plants and fruit trees suffered from rain and frost...

There is no doubt that the cotton yield per hectare set by the government for 1952 will be attained. ...

As to grain, the preliminary data indicates that the republic's grain yield, as set for 1952 by the Union government and including wheat, will be exceeded. ...

The tea plan was overfulfilled by Sept. 20. The amount of tea delivered was more than twice that of 1950.

By carrying out the instructions of the Party and government on problems of animal husbandry, we secured some improvement in the state of communal animal husbandry during the current period. ...

Comrades, our work in agriculture would proceed better if there were not serious shortcomings in the work of the Ministries of Agriculture, Cotton-Growing, State Farms and Water Resources, in the work of district Party, Soviet and agricultural agencies, and in the functioning of our collective and state farms.

The basic evil continues to be violation of the Collective Farm Statutes in the collective farms. The work of training collective farm personnel on a large scale is unsatisfactorily organized and the qualifications of equipment operators are low. As a result of this, the powerful equipment which the government has provided to serve our collective farms is not being used at full capacity. The administrative personnel in many collective farms is cluttered with dubious people who do not inspire confidence.

The merchandising and purchasing organizations function wretchedly.

Medical services to collective farmers are completely unsatisfactory.

It seems that we are still not sincerely concerning ourselves with life in the collective farms, with very important problems of our collective farms, with strengthening them organizationally and economically, with liquidating the cultural and political backwardness of a certain part of the collective farmers, and with the communist training of our collective farmers.

After amalgamating the collective farms, essentially we left them to their own devices instead of sharpening the attention and strengthening the leadership of collective farm primary Party units. As a result, Party work today in many collective farms is at a very low level.

An end must be put to this intolerable situation. The work of a district Party committee must be judged primarily by the level of Party political work of its collective farm Party units.

During the current period the level of material well-being of the working people in the republic rose on the basis of an advance in the national economy. ...

But the working people of the republic would have received far more goods, both industrial goods and foodstuffs, if the 1951 plan for sales volume had been fulfilled. The failure to fulfill the plan in 1951 brought deficiency in supply of goods to the population [in comparison with plan figures] of more than 103,000,000 rubles.

Sixty-three out of 72 cooperative organizations did not fulfill the established plan for commodity turnover in 1951.

The merchandising organizations are not supplying the demands of the working people in the republic, particularly our collective farmers' demands for goods for productive, economic and cultural purposes, for building materials and other goods.

This is, apart from everything else, the result of our unsatisfactory guidance and supervision of the work of the Ministry of Trade, the Azerbaidzhan Consumers' Cooperative Alliance, the Workers' Supply Administration, the Workers' Supply Department and other merchandising organizations.

This also indicates a superficial, frivolous attitude to the selection, education and training of trade personnel on our part.

For a long period of time criminal elements have held sway on a number of decisive trade sectors, stealing and organizing mass pilfering and embezzlement.

One could cite many examples.

One instance. One Shaburov

self to

ment of the Azerbaidzhan Consumers' Cooperative Alliance for supplying goods to cotton growers, i.e., one of the decisive sectors of cooperative trade. He was receiving a salary of 950 rubles per month. Recently he arranged his son's wedding, at which there were 200 persons. Among them were both subordinates and superiors of Shaburov, including Communists.

The character of this wedding and of those attending is indicated by the fact that one of the guests, taking advantage of the opportunity, filched a watch from the person seated next to him at the table. When the owner of the watch discovered its disappearance, it was suggested that those present be searched. The watch was found in the pocket of the thieving guest. The people at the wedding formed a kangaroo court, beat him mercilessly and sent him packing.

No one at the wedding, including the Communists, wondered how a person receiving a salary of 950 rubles per month could afford such a rich, splendid wedding.

Shaburov, it seems, is a Party member, yet he has not paid his Party membership dues since March, 1952.

The business of selecting personnel is no better in the system of the Ministry of Public Health. ...

Despite the growth of the network of medical institutions in the republic, medical services to the working people continue to remain completely unsatisfactory. ...

Recently we learned that Comrade Aliyev, the Azerbaidzhan Republic Minister of Public Health, is handing out jobs in establishments, institutions and institutes under his jurisdiction and creating privileged conditions for individuals who were exposed and expelled from other Soviet institutions and organizations. ...

During this period 194,401 square meters [floor space] of housing have been built and put into use in the republic, including 89,145 square meters in the city of Baku.

But the plan for housing construction, both in 1951 and in the 1952 eight-month period, was not fulfilled. The working people in our cities, district capitals and workers' settlements received as much as 200,000 square meters of housing less than was scheduled by the 1951 and 1952 plans, including more than 100,000 square meters less for Baku than the plans provided.

The builders and officials of the ministries, economic organizations and Soviet executive committees bear the responsibility for this. But, along with them, special responsibility for disruption of housing construction falls on the corresponding trade unions...

Reorganization of the school system is under way to carry out the general task of seven-year education in the republic. One hundred fifty-eight primary schools have been made into seven-year schools and 116 seven-year schools into secondary schools.

The republic has 3122 schools, in which 651,540 are studying.

In 1952 alone 3260 teachers were graduated from the university, pedagogical training institutions and the 11th grade of secondary schools [i.e., the regular ten-year course with an additional year of training provided in national republics; for an explanation of this, see the report on Georgia.—Trans.].

In order to provide non-Russian schools with highly qualified instructors in the Russian language, the college for teachers of the Russian language has since the beginning of the 1952-1953 school year been reorganized into a pedagogical institute with a four-year course.

Today the Azerbaidzhan schools have 26,433 teachers, of whom 4965 have higher education. ...

The teaching of the native and Russian languages has been improved, and the level of instruction and upbringing has been raised in many of the republic's schools. Nevertheless, it must be said that we have many shortcomings in public education. In the 1951-1952 school year more than 20,000 children were not enrolled in school, and during the course of the school year 30,108 children dropped out.

During this school year 12.9% of all the pupils failed of promotion.

The unsatisfactory situation in a number of schools is aggravated by the existence of three study shifts because of the shortage of school facilities. Not only have many school buildings occupied by outside organizations not been cleared yet for school use, but also the construction of new school buildings is

proceeding in a wretched manner. Of the 15 school buildings to be constructed under the economic plan for 1951, 11 were completed; in 1952 only two of the eight buildings planned were finished.

The responsibility for this falls on the Ministry of Education and its local agencies. ...

Not only the organization of instruction and upbringing in many schools, but also the discipline is poor. Discipline is poor both among the pupils and among the instructors.

We shall not succeed in eliminating this evil in our schools by administrative rules and orders. Intensification of ethical training in our schools and particularly among teachers is an urgent task of the Ministry of Education and Party, trade union and Young Communist League organizations. ...

There are enormous shortcomings in our higher educational establishments, not only in teaching the social sciences, but also in other spheres, particularly in training legal, economic and medical personnel. ...

Our writers have not carried out the decisions of the Seventh and Eighth Azerbaidzhan Communist Party Congresses, which established urgent and concrete tasks for them. During this period a few good books and essays have been written, mainly by young authors. But the leading writers and poets have not created any works which are valuable, meaningful and helpful to our cause. ...

It is unbelievable that among our writers and poets are comrades who have still a poor understanding of the events of 1917 to 1920 in Baku and Azerbaidzhan.

The Young Guard Publishing House has issued P. Blyakhin's "At Dawn" and L. Vaisenberg's "The Younger Sister." These books deal with the history of the revolutionary movement in Baku and Azerbaidzhan, the history of the Azerbaidzhan people's struggle with the Anglo-American and Turkish usurpers. They deal with the history of the struggle of the Baku proletariat and of all Azerbaidzhan working people for a Soviet regime. ...

The narrowmindedness of some of our critics and writers and consequently their incomprehension of the contents and significance of these books by Blyakhin and Vaisenberg resulted in their suggesting, after discussion of the books, that distribution of these works be prohibited.

The backwardness and narrowness of the leadership of the Azerbaidzhan Union of Writers are due to its superficial, frivolous attitude to young Azerbaidzhan writers and poets. ...

Our theaters also lag behind life. ... As for Comrade Iskenderov, director of the [Azerbaidzhan Drama] theater, himself a backward person, he has surrounded himself with incompetent, backward officials and has firmly shut the theater doors in the face of new, fresh, young creative forces.

The work of our opera theater has still not been reorganized and improved. ...

The people charged with running the philharmonic society have not justified the hopes placed in them or the great confidence vested in them. By their gross, unmannered conduct, Seid Rustamov, Niazi, Badalbeli and others alienate our young people who have the desire, the ability and the disposition to work in this noble sphere of the arts. ...

For a long time the Baku Motion Picture Studios have not made or released a single full-length picture. ...

The ranks of the Azerbaidzhan Party organization have increased by 3034 and the number of primary Party units by 233, reaching 6363 by Sept. 1, 1952.

By Sept. 1, 1952, the Azerbaidzhan Party organization had 111,697 Communists, of whom 103,517 were members and 8180 candidates for Party membership.

During this period 5215 persons have been accepted as candidates for membership. ...

There are still many defects in admission to Party membership, the main one of which is violation of the Party Statutes' requirement of an individual approach in admission to the Party. ...

As a result of violation of Bolshevik principles in selecting and placing personnel and as a consequence of poor training of cadres, many dubious and unscrupulous persons have turned up among executives in district, ministry and republic organizations, persons who use their positions for mercenary, shady ends. ...

For poor training, selection and placing of personnel and for failure in work, the following district Party committee secretaries were not re-elected to Party bodies: Popov, Kirov District; Rza-zade, Dzhapardze District; Pisman, Ordzhonikidze District; Gordeyev, Kirovabad City Party Committee; Nabyev, Kedabek District; Aliyev, Zangelan District; Antonova, Voroshilov District; Nalbandyan, Nizami District, and others.

Until recently there were people in the apparatus of the Party Central Committee and Baku City Party Committee who concealed their part and their ties from the Party for a long time. This was because there is an insufficient and superficial knowledge of people and because there is not a proper degree of strictness in promoting personnel.

We must draw serious conclusions from this. ...

At the beginning of this spring there was a conference of officials of Machine and Tractor Stations and the district departments of agriculture in this hall where we are meeting. The comrades complained at the conference that the work of the tractor park in a number of districts is disrupted because of a lack of critical spare parts. Comrade Gasanov, director of the Zangelan District M.T.S., stated that these parts are available in sufficient number in the Azerbaidzhan division of the Chief Automobile and Tractor Supply Administration, headed by Imanov, who does not release them on order. Comrade Gasanov stated further that one can obtain spare parts from the Chief Supply Administration of the Automobile and Tractor Industry only by bribery. To support his statement he cited an actual case of how a staff member of the Zangelan M.T.S. succeeded in obtaining spare parts from this Chief Administration of the Automobile and Tractor Industry by bribery.

The presidium of the conference charged the republic prosecutor's office with investigating this matter at once. The outcome of the investigation fully confirmed Comrade Gasanov's statement. The staff member of the Chief Administration of the Automobile and Tractor Industry who had taken the bribe was arrested.

We were certain that this case would be sufficient to make the comrades who sat in the presidium of the above-mentioned conference as representatives of the Council of Ministers, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet, the Prosecutor's Office, the Ministry of State Control, the Ministry of Finance and the agricultural department of the Azerbaidzhan Party Central Committee concern themselves immediately with a thorough check-up on all the work of the Azerbaidzhan division of the Chief Supply Administration of the Automobile and Tractor Industry, unmask expose and dismiss all the swindlers and put this institution in order.

But they did not do this.

Not so long ago, at the end of August, it was ascertained that the work of the tractor park of the republic's oil industry is being disrupted through the fault of this same Azerbaidzhan division of this Chief Supply Administration of the Automobile and Tractor Industry. We had to intervene in this matter quickly. And what do you think? It turned out that Imanov and his gang continue to operate in the Chief Administration with impunity.

One may hope that the Council of Ministers will at last take up the matter of this Chief Administration of the Automobile and Tractor Industry and follow things through to a conclusion.

One could cite a number of scandalous examples of the neglected business of checking upon fulfillment, but this one instance is sufficient for our comrades to draw the appropriate conclusions. ...

The Azerbaidzhan Young Communist League is not fulfilling its role of a starter, initiator and vigorous organizer in such areas as physical culture and sports, in the work of public organizations dealing with defense matters, in spreading military knowledge and in intensifying cultural-enlightenment work, particularly antireligious propaganda.

General education for working youth is poorly organized. In the past school year about 17,000 Young Communists and a considerable number of youth who are not members of the Y.C.L. were not enrolled in classes in the Y.C.L. education network.

Instances of criminal behavior, embezzlement and delinquency among youth are due to the unsatisfactory organization of ethical training. ...

During this period the number and total circulation of the newspapers and magazines published rose. We are publishing

97 newspapers and 12 magazines. The circulation of republic, province, city, district, industrial and agricultural newspapers is 592,400 copies. Many district newspapers which were published once a week are now published twice a week, and six—the Nukha, Agdam, Kuba, Kazakh, Lenkoran and Geokchai papers—have begun to come out three times a week in four pages half the size of Pravda [i.e., tabloid format]. ...

As you see, we cannot complain about the number of newspapers and magazines, but in regard to their quality and content, in regard to their cultural and ideological level, the Congress has a right to demand a great deal from newspaper personnel. ...

Successful resolution of the tasks of communist construction requires, above all, raising the level of inner Party work, increasing the effectiveness of Party organizations; it requires that every Communist be a vigorous fighter for fulfillment of Party and government decisions, observe Party and government discipline, raise his vigilance, develop self-criticism and criticism from below and be in the front ranks of fighters for communism.

This requires a fundamental reorganization, a radical change, in the work of primary Party units, in the work of district, city, and province Party committees, in the work of the Azerbaidzhan Party Central Committee and its apparatus.

To improve the work of the Azerbaidzhan Party Central Committee, the work of its apparatus and its departments, it is essential to disclose every single shortcoming and mistake of each member of the Azerbaidzhan Party Central Committee, of every official in the Azerbaidzhan Central Committee apparatus.

It is essential to reveal every last shortcoming and mistake in the work of each high-ranking republic official and every shortcoming in the work of republic organizations. ...

THE DISCUSSION AT THE CONGRESS

19TH CONGRESS OF AZERBAIDZHAN COMMUNIST PARTY. (By Special Correspondents M. Morozov and A. Navozov. Pravda, Sept. 28, p. 2. 2100 words. Excerpts:) Baku—The 19th Congress of the Azerbaidzhan Communist Party has completed its work. The Congress was held in an atmosphere of great vigor on the part of the delegates, of extensive criticism and self-criticism of shortcomings. ...

The report of the Azerbaidzhan Communist Party Central Committee was made by Comrade M. D. Bagirov, Secretary of the Central Committee. ...

The report revealed great defects in the work of certain republic ministries and departments. ...

Great shortcomings are tolerated in ideological work. In particular, the work of scientific institutions lags behind the demands made upon them. ...

The speaker emphasized that the serious shortcomings in the work of enterprises and collective farms and in the work of Soviet, economic and cultural organizations are primarily due to shortcomings in Party work. ...

It was pointed out that the weakest and most unsatisfactory point in the Azerbaidzhan Party organization's work continues to be the training and strengthening of cadres and their selection and placement. ...

Comrade Grigoryan, secretary of the Nagorno-Karabakh Province committee, brought serious criticism to bear against the Azerbaidzhan Party Central Committee's Department of Propaganda and Agitation. Speaking of the shortcomings in ideological work and in training the intelligentsia, he declared that the Department of Propaganda and Agitation does not give the proper assistance to Party committees and rarely sends them competent lecturers. ...

A big bill was presented to the writers of the republic. Comrade Gadzhiev, Secretary of the Azerbaidzhan Young Communist League Central Committee, reproached the writers for failing to write good books for young people and children. Comrade Aslanova, Director of the Azerbaidzhan Communist Party Central Committee's Department for Work Among Women, pointed out that the heroic work of Azerbaidzhan women is not vividly reflected in the writings of local authors. ...

The draft directives on the Fifth Five-Year Plan and the draft of the revised Party Statutes were discussed at the Congress. ...

Delegate Comrade Akhmendov wished to supplement the Statutes with a point that Party members and candidates who observe religious rites cannot remain in the ranks of our party. Comrade Arutyunov, Secretary of the Khanlar District Party Committee, stated that some Communists have not been working anywhere for years and are not enrolled in Party units. He proposed to penalize such Party members and candidates. Comrade Ivanov, Secretary of the Nagorno-Karabakh Province Party Committee, proposed to add a ruling to the Statutes that a person who uses criticism for his personal ends cannot remain in the ranks of our party.

The Congress unanimously approved the draft directives on the new five-year plan and the draft of the Party Statutes.

A new Azerbaidzhan Communist Party Central Committee, Inspection Commission and delegates to the 19th Party Congress were elected at the Congress. ...

A plenary session of the Azerbaidzhan Party Central Committee was held, at which the secretaries and bureau of the Central Committee were elected. M. D. Bagirov was elected First Secretary of the Central Committee, V. Yu. Samedov Second Secretary, and Yu. M. Abdullayev Secretary of the Central Committee.

V. Other Republics

ESTONIA

SEVENTH CONGRESS OF THE ESTONIAN COMMUNIST PARTY. (By Special Correspondents S. Petrov and K. Nikolayev. Pravda, Sept. 21, p. 2. 1900 words. Condensed text:) Tallinn— ... The report of the Estonian Party Central Committee by its Secretary, Comrade I. Kebin, and the delegates' speeches emphasized the tremendous significance of the new five-year plan for the Estonian people and pointed out the enormous work yet to be done for further industrialization of the Soviet Baltic region and development of its entire economy and culture. ...

The Congress noted that, thanks to constant supervision by the Communist Party Central Committee, the Estonian Republic's Party organization during the period reviewed had achieved substantial successes in economic and cultural work. The republic's industry fulfilled the 1951 plan ahead of schedule, with an increase of 24% over 1950. The eight-month plan for 1952 has been overfulfilled. Advanced Soviet techniques have been successfully introduced in enterprises and mines; production processes are being mechanized and new products developed for the national economy.

The collective farms of the Estonian countryside have been strengthened. Collective farms, Machine and Tractor Stations and state farms have been equipped with powerful machinery. Estonia now has almost double the number of tractors it had in 1950. More than 300 power-driven combines are working on its fields. Collective farms and state farms have extended the sown acreage, chiefly through developing virgin soil and drained lands; animal husbandry has expanded. The amalgamated farms have rapidly developed their communal sectors and are increasing their revenues and indivisible funds.

The material well-being and cultural standards of the working people in Soviet Estonia have risen steadily. Under the new five-year plan, the inhabitants of Tallinn will receive inexpensive household gas from Kohtla-Järve. The construction of homes, schools, children's institutions, clubs and hospitals has been expanded. Thirty per cent of the republic's budget has been spent on public education; universal seven-year education has been successfully advanced. More than half the graduates from seven-year courses have continued their studies in secondary [ten-year] schools. Two new higher educational establishments have been opened: the Agricultural

Academy in Tartu and the Pedagogical Institute in Tallinn. ...

The delegates demanded in their speeches an improvement in the supervision of all branches of the national economy and a complete mobilization of unutilized internal economic reserves for a new and mighty growth of socialist industry. A substantial number of the republic's enterprises failed to fulfill the 1951 plan. Major losses in industry occurred because of rejects and wasteful expenditure. The development of shale production capacity has been slow and the municipal development of mining settlements and villages has lagged behind plan. Delegates Ristmegi, Belyayev and Illison pointed out the U.S.S.R. Ministry of the Coal Industry's inattention to the needs of Estonia's shale-producing industry. Many delegates mentioned the unsatisfactory work of the republic's Ministry of the Fishing Industry. ...

The discussion showed that Party agencies have not always effectively supervised the strengthening and development of communal sectors in collective farms and improvements on M.T.S. and state farms. Comrade Ajo, Tartu Province Party Committee Secretary, said: "At the end of May the Estonian Party Central Committee bureau, in adopting a decree on development of animal husbandry, required province committees to investigate conditions in every district, and district committees in every collective farm, by June 15. The decree was late in arriving at the province committees and very little time was left to put it into effect. Conferences and meetings were initiated in province and district committees; decisions were prepared in a hurry. Party officials held sessions for half a month and the results, as might have been expected, were insignificant."

Comrades Adams, Palm and Dyakin criticized the Ministry of Agriculture and the Estonian Republic Council of Ministers' Chief Administration for Agricultural Amelioration for their formal, bureaucratic attitude to collective farm needs and their poor technical supervision of M.T.S. Powerful caterpillar tractors in M.T.S. quite often accomplish less than wheel tractors. The machine-amelioration stations have not fulfilled even half the plan for draining marshy areas. ...

The increasing trend among the intelligentsia toward mastery of Marxist-Leninist theory was noted at the Congress. In the city of Tartu, for example, 150 scientists of the university have attended the evening university of Marxism-Leninism. ...

Comrade Jakobson, a writer, spoke of the need for ideological training of creative personnel for active study of life. Writers, composers and dramatists still produce few works on contemporary themes. Such themes are blocked by a facile attitude toward writing and other creative work when the new way of life and new moral qualities of the Soviet people are not genuinely studied. Songs written by Estonian composers show a tiresome repetition of motifs and techniques. "One would like to hear," Comrade Jakobson said, "songs with a deeper ring, like the many which the fraternal Russian people have. Estonian artists should learn more from such great Russian painters as Repin, Surikov and Levitan." ...

Comrade Kebin admitted in the report that cases of suppression of criticism existed in the Party organization, but he cited only cases which were well known from the central press. The delegates filled in this omission. Comrade Shklyayev said that Central Committee Secretary Comrade Kuzmin had answered proper criticism of the Estonian Party Central Committee at the Narva city conference with a rebuke which resembled a threat.

Disregard of criticism from below was also expressed in the reappointment of officials who had failed in their work. Comrade Komarov recalled the case of A. Welmer, a former chairman of the republic's Council of Ministers. This man, who had encouraged bourgeois nationalists and damaged the cause through his errors, was nevertheless entrusted with an important post connected with the solution of Estonia's economic problems. Another example was given in the discussion: the Central Committee this spring had nominated as secretaries of the Parnu Province committee Comrades Makarov and Promet, who had committed violations of the Collective Farm Statutes, and was forced to dismiss them from their posts three months before the province Party conference.

Thirty-two delegates spoke in the discussion of the report.

The work of the Estonian Party Central Committee was declared satisfactory. ...

The Congress elected a new Estonian Party Central Committee and Inspection Commission. Delegates to the 19th Party Congress were elected. A plenary session of the newly elected Estonian Party Central Committee elected I. G. Kabin First Secretary, V. V. Kosov Second Secretary and L. N. Lentman Secretary.

MOLDAVIA

FOURTH CONGRESS OF MOLDAVIAN COMMUNIST PARTY. (By Special Correspondents F. Orekhov and V. Subbotin. Pravda, Sept. 23, p. 2. 2100 words. Condensed text:) Kishinev — ... Comrade Brezhnev, Secretary of the Central Committee, delivered the report of the Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee at the Congress. He and the delegates who spoke in the discussion noted the rapid cultural and economic development of the reunited Soviet Moldavia. The young Union republic has received and continues to receive tremendous fraternal assistance from the peoples of the other Union republics, particularly the great Russian people. An unending stream of equipment, raw materials and goods is flowing into Moldavia. Cities which formerly had only primitive workshops now possess metal-working, light and food industries. ...

The Congress gave much attention to Party organizational work. Some time ago, regional (okrug) divisions were set up in the republic and regional Party organizations established to improve the direction of economic and cultural construction.

"However," said Comrade Kryzhanovsky, Secretary of the Beltsy District Party Committee, "the regional Party committees failed to take supervision of the districts immediately into their hands. As for the departments of the Moldavian Party Central Committee, they pinned their faith on the regional committees and relaxed their attention to the districts. The regional Party committees and the Department of Party, Trade Union and Young Communist League Organizations of the Moldavian Party Central Committee concern themselves little these days with generalizing and disseminating Party experience. When the regional organizations were set up, many ministries also relaxed their supervision of the districts. And this has occurred at a time when regional organizations are still inadequately staffed with executive personnel and sometimes cannot solve certain problems. ..."

The delegates pointed out the serious errors committed by Comrade Lazarev, Secretary of the Moldavian Party Central Committee, in selection and placement of executive personnel on important sectors of ideological work.

Delegate Kozyrev noted that Comrade Brezhnev, Central Committee Secretary, in referring to errors in the selection and training of scientific personnel, failed to say anything about the people who have direct responsibility for these errors, in particular Comrade Lazarev, Secretary of the Central Committee.

It should be added that such a statement in Comrade Brezhnev's report as: "We members of the bureau have tried to conduct plenary sessions trenchantly, not sparing our leaders' feelings and holding them to a high-principled level" caused bewilderment. The speeches of those delegates who criticized some members of the Central Committee and some members of the bureau of the Moldavian Party Central Committee indicated that the assertions in the report did not reflect the true state of affairs. ...

"Such errors on the part of the Moldavian Party Central Committee," said Comrade Forsh, Secretary of the Kagul Region Party Committee, "are due to the Party Central Committee departments' inadequate knowledge of local personnel. Since the Kagul Region was organized, Comrades P. Volkov, V. Volkov, K. Ilyashenko and V. Klimanov, the departments' directors, have not visited it even once and have failed to give us active, practical assistance. These comrades evaluate the work of the region's executive personnel only from paper reports."

Many delegates pointed out that few regional, district or city committees have properly combined Party political work

with supervision of the economy. The Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee has not provided a good example in this respect either. Comrade Kvasov, Secretary of the Beltsy Regional Party Committee, said that the Moldavian Party Central Committee and the republic's Council of Ministers have jointly adopted too many resolutions on strictly economic questions. The Central Committee's departments do not devote enough attention to Party work.

A number of Party committees were criticized for their poor supervision of the press. It was pointed out that the republic's newspapers, Moldova sotsialiste in particular, have published no deeply critical articles on the republic's ministries and other organizations. In the past year not one noteworthy article has appeared in the pages of Moldova sotsialiste about deficiencies in ideological work. The newspapers have given poor coverage to questions of Party life.

The delegates noted some improvement in ideological work in the republic. Nevertheless, it was pointed out at the Congress that Moldavian writers and artists still did not observe many new phenomena in our real life and had failed to show vividly enough the growth and shaping of man in socialist society.

Moldavian composers have created few good works; they continue to confine themselves to so-called "adapting" of national works. Moreover, they quite frequently emasculate the harmonies and lyric qualities of popular music. The republic's Administration on Affairs of the Arts has given only superficial direction to professional organizations and is slow in furthering the development of theater and music in the republic.

The Congress devoted great attention to prospects for Moldavia's economic development. Comrade Volnyansky, Secretary of the Chadyr-Lunga District Party Committee, pointed out that the republic's Council of Ministers and the Moldavian Party Central Committee have not given proper attention to problems of economic development in southern Moldavia. ...

A plenary session of the newly elected Moldavian Party Central Committee has been held. The session elected the bureau and the secretaries of the Central Committee. Comrade L. I. Brezhnev was elected First Secretary, Comrade D. S. Gladky was elected Second Secretary and Comrade A. M. Lazarev Secretary.

LATVIA

12TH CONGRESS OF LATVIAN COMMUNIST PARTY. (By Special Correspondents N. Loginov and D. Akulshin. Pravda, Sept. 24, p. 2. 2300 words. Condensed text:) Riga—The 12th Congress of the Latvian Communist Party was held Sept. 20 to Sept. 22. The Party organization of Soviet Latvia came to its Congress organizationally strengthened and ideologically matured and rallied around the Leninist-Stalinist Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party. ...

The delegates to the Congress unanimously approved the draft directives on the new five-year plan. Delegate Gailis stated in his speech:

"We know that the rulers of bourgeois Latvia, who were obedient servants of the American monopolies, turned Latvia into an appendage of foreign capital, making it a pitiful backwater of Europe. The Communist Party and the Soviet government helped the Latvian people to create a powerful industry, to improve agriculture and develop the national culture. The draft directives on the Fifth Five-Year Plan envisage a new and mighty advance in Latvian industry and agriculture based on advanced technology. For all this we express great gratitude to the Party and Comrade Stalin." ...

Last year the republic's industry overfulfilled the state plan and produced many goods over and above the plan. The gross output volume in eight months of this year has increased 15% over that of the same period in 1951. The state plan for eight months has been overfulfilled. ...

The formation of provinces (oblasts) in the Latvian Republic has had great significance. It has made it possible for administrative agencies to come into closer contact with the collective farms, industrial enterprises and the broad masses of working people; it has provided for more effective and concrete supervision of local Party, Soviet and economic organizations. ...

Comrade Apins, Riga City Party Committee Secretary, stated at the conference: "Certain economic departments of the Latvian Party Central Committee concern themselves more with economic affairs than with Party work. They have not properly instructed the lower-echelon Party personnel how to combine political and economic activities."

The delegates criticized with particular sharpness the bureaucratic red tape of the Central Committee's agricultural department and its director, Comrade Stroganov.

"The director of this department never leaves his office; he does not visit the localities and takes no interest in district life," said Comrade Vorslov, Jelgava District Party Committee Secretary. ...

Delegates Comrades Desmitnieks, Ivanovsky, Lurins and others in their speeches criticized the Latvian Party Central Committee for serious defects in the selection, training and placement of executive personnel.

The Congress noted that Latvian literature has been enriched with new and valuable works. V. Lacis' novel "To the New Shore" has been awarded a Stalin Prize. A. Upits has written a socio-historical novel called "Light Through the Clouds." Certain other works are also worthy of attention. The activities of the professional unions of writers, painters, composers and architects have improved somewhat. At the same time, it was noted that criticism and self-criticism are still poorly developed among them. Poor-quality, even politically immature works appear in the republic's magazines. Among these are Vilip's "The Great Flight," Elsa Vecinna's poem "Beethoven's Ninth Symphony" and J. Niedre's articles "Latvian Literature Today." The Latvian State Publishing House sometimes has issued nonpolitical, low-grade books, textbooks lacking in ideas, and poor translations both from Latvian into Russian and from Russian into Latvian. ...

The Latvian Academy of Sciences was sharply criticized. Only 22.5% of the Academy's scientific staff are Doctors or Masters of Science. ...

Comrade Lacis, Chairman of the republic's Council of Ministers, who spoke in the discussion, stated: "The party of Lenin and Stalin shows great solicitude for the needs of Soviet Latvia. Fulfillment of the tasks confronting the republic requires better work on all levels of Party, Soviet and economic administration, as well as a high degree of conscientious activity from all Soviet people. We must examine all our work critically and self-critically evaluate the results achieved. ..."

A plenary session of the newly elected Latvian Party Central Committee has been held. Comrade J. E. Kalnberzins was elected First Secretary of the Latvian Party Central Committee, Comrade V. N. Yershov its Second Secretary and Comrade A. J. Pelse Secretary.

TURKMENIA

11TH CONGRESS OF TURKMENIAN COMMUNIST PARTY. (By Special Correspondents V. Polyakov and V. Kornilov. Pravda, Sept. 24, p. 2. 1700 words. Condensed text:) Ashkabad —Delegates to the 11th Congress of the Turkmenian Communist Party cited numerous examples attesting to the creative efforts of the Turkmenian people and their profound devotion to the cause of the party of Lenin and Stalin.

Comrade S. Babayev, Secretary of the Turkmenian Communist Party Central Committee, who delivered the report, and the Congress delegates spoke of the steady progress of industry, agriculture and culture. New factories have been built in the republic and the old ones have been rebuilt; the construction of new cities has begun. The oil industry is developing rapidly and agriculture also has grown. ...

Serious shortcomings in the development of agriculture were noted at the Congress. Last year the republic as a whole fulfilled the plan for delivery of cotton to the state; however, 53% of the collective farms failed to meet this assignment. This resulted from the failure of the Turkmenian Communist Party Central Committee and province and district Party committees to supervise collective farms on an individual basis, neither analyzing the causes for their lagging nor taking steps to eliminate it.

The delegates devoted special attention to irrigation construc-

tion and the change to the new system of irrigation. The water resources agencies of the republic have adopted an irresponsible attitude to the duties entrusted to them; year after year they have failed to fulfill the state assignments for irrigation system construction. ...

"Our province," said Comrade Babayeva, member of the Ashkabad Province Party Committee bureau, "has not fulfilled the plan for animal husbandry for several consecutive years. The Turkmenian Communist Party Central Committee and the republic's Council of Ministers have adopted dozens of resolutions, but the situation has not changed. Obviously, we do not know how to find the key to this matter. But in that event why not give the province committee practical assistance?" ...

The standard of direction of ideological work, the delegates emphasized, still does not meet the requirements set by the Party. This is shown in the serious deficiencies which occur in the work of the republic's Academy of Sciences and its institutes and in the work of publishing houses, the Writers' Union and the Composers' Union.

Books published by local publishing houses are very seldom subjected to critical analysis. This has resulted in bourgeois nationalist interpretations of Turkmenian history appearing in certain books. It was with the connivance of the Turkmenian Communist Party Central Committee that G. Nepesov's "Victory of the Soviet Order in Northern Turkmenistan (1917-1936)," which is thoroughly permeated with bourgeois nationalism, was published. Reports from Party members on this book's defects were received by the Turkmenian Party Central Committee, but Comrade Shikh-Muradov, Central Committee Secretary, attached no importance to them. What is more, none other than Comrade Shikh-Muradov himself tried to maintain that Nepesov's book was allegedly a comprehensive "history."

This is not the only manifestation of bourgeois nationalism in scholarly literary works published in Turkmenia. The reactionary epic "Korkut Ata" and errors in certain textbooks and scholarly works on language and literature should be remembered. As the delegates pointed out, the Turkmenian Republic Academy of Sciences' Institutes of Language and Literature, Archeology and Ethnography, and History have not reorganized their work in the light of Comrade Stalin's historic works on problems of linguistics. ...

"The selection of administrative personnel in many scientific institutions," Comrade Berdiyev said, "has proceeded not according to principles of professional and political qualifications but on the basis of friendship. As a result, through the fault of the Turkmenian Communist Party Central Committee officials, scientific institutes have become cluttered with alien elements. Were there really no reports on the unsuitability of G. Nepesov, B. Karreyev and others for scientific work? There were such reports, but when this question was brought up at the Central Committee bureau, the Central Committee secretaries, including Comrade Babayev, disregarded the criticism."

Quite a few so-called "irreplaceables" have appeared in the republic. If someone fails at one job or compromises himself by unworthy behavior he is dismissed from his post but immediately transferred to another responsible job. Comrade Ilbayev, secretary of the Andreyev District committee, was removed from his job for improper conduct. What happened then? The Turkmenian Party Central Committee bureau recommended him for the job of manager of the republic's wine trust. Attempting to explain to the Congress delegates, Central Committee Secretary Comrade Sennikov said, to their great surprise, "Ilbayev was dismissed for improper conduct, not for failure in his work."

The large turnover of executive personnel has been pointed out at the recent district, city and province Party conferences as well. In one year, for example, the Tashauz Province Party Committee replaced almost one-third of all administrative officials in the province and district organizations. The selection and training of women officials is poorly organized.

Congress delegates were not satisfied with the speech of Comrade Atayev, Merv Province Party Committee Secretary, who failed to assess properly the many instances of suppression of criticism by province committee officials.

Suppression of criticism was shown by an occurrence at the

Congress itself. Comrade Karamov, a Party member, made a statement to the Congress presidium in which he criticized the Turkmenian Communist Party Central Committee and its First Secretary, Comrade Babayev, for shortcomings in work. Comrade Sennikov, who reported on the matter on behalf of the presidium, presented his statement in such a way that comments critical of Comrade Babayev were concealed from the Congress delegates. ...

The Turkmenian Communist Party Central Committee elected by the 11th Congress of the Turkmenian Communist Party has held a plenary session. The session elected the Central Committee bureau and secretaries. Comrade S. Babayev was elected First Secretary, Comrade A. Sennikov was elected Second Secretary and Comrade O. Shikh-Muradov Secretary.

ARMENIA

16TH CONGRESS OF ARMENIAN COMMUNIST PARTY. (By Staff Correspondent G. Atryan, Pravda, Sept. 27, p. 2. 1300 words. Condensed text.) Yerevan— ... The report of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee, which was made by Secretary Comrade G. Aryutinyov, assessed the results of the republic Party organization's work in industry, agriculture, science and culture. The republic's industry has successfully fulfilled the 1951 plan and the six-month plan for the current year. The qualitative work indices in enterprises have greatly improved and production costs have decreased. ...

Delegates Comrades Kochinyan, Alekhan and others pointed out grave defects in agriculture and properly criticized the Ministry of Agriculture, which has permitted these major errors. ...

Problems of ideological work made up an important part of the delegates' speeches. The Congress disclosed defects in many ideological institutions. In particular, it noted that the Armenian Republic Academy of Sciences' Literature Institute has not fulfilled its allotted task of working out problems of Soviet Armenian literature and creating literary works based on Marxist-Leninist scholarship. Certain institute members in appraising questions on Armenian literary history have upheld the bourgeois nationalist theory of the so-called single stream.

It was remarked at the Congress that the influence of the "single stream" theory was also apparent in the works of some historians in estimates of socio-political trends, certain public figures and political parties. For example, Kh. Badalyan's brochure "The Aggressive Policy of Anglo-American Predatory Imperialism in Armenia in 1919-1920," published by Yerevan State University, instead of thorough exposure of the Dashnaks, agents of Anglo-American imperialism and the bitterest enemies of the Armenian people, contains diffuse, arbitrary judgments based on an objectivist, uncritical interpretation of certain documents. ...

Many delegates criticized the work of the republic's higher educational establishments. Delegate Comrade Agayan criticized Yerevan State University for failing to issue a single monograph in 18 months. Showy display of successes and exaggeration of alleged achievements can be observed in the leadership of the university.

The university's Party organization has condoned defects in the academic council's work. ...

It was noted that Party organizations have made some improvement in the Marxist-Leninist training of personnel. A major event in the republic Party organization's ideological life was the completion of the Armenian translation and publication of 35 volumes of Lenin's "Works" and 13 volumes of J. V. Stalin's "Works." ...

The Congress noted that the Party has recently increased exactingness toward personnel. Certain officials, including former Second Secretary of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee A. Pogosov and Ministers of Light Industry and Trade G. Darbinyan and R. Kalantar, have been severely punished for violations of Party and state discipline. ...

A plenary session of the newly elected Armenian Communist Party Central Committee has been held. G. A. Aryutinyov was

elected First Secretary of the Armenian Party Central Committee, Z. T. Grigoryan was elected Second Secretary and B. A. Grigoryan Secretary.

KIRGIZIA

SIXTH CONGRESS OF KIRGIZ COMMUNIST PARTY. (By Staff Correspondent I. Lukin, Pravda, Sept. 27, p. 2. 1300 words. Condensed text.) Frunze— ... The Kirgiz Communist Party Central Committee report was given by Secretary Comrade I. Razzakov. The speaker and delegates who took part in the discussion declared that the working people of Kirgizia, together with all the peoples of our motherland, were marching confidently along the path of building communism. ...

In the period covered by the report Kirgizia has achieved real successes in the development of the national economy and culture. During the postwar five-year plan, the gross output of industry increased 74% and capital equipment has been doubled. A major task has been accomplished in the installation of new technology and mechanization of labor-consuming processes.

The republic's agriculture has changed beyond recognition. Its technical equipment is being constantly increased. One out of five collective farms has been equipped with electricity. Sown acreage has been extended, the irrigated land area increased; cotton yields have tripled in recent years and the sugar beet harvest has doubled. Communal livestock on collective and state farms has increased.

In addition to the continuous growth of the economy, the material well-being and cultural level of the working people in both city and rural areas have been raised. The real wages of workers and employees have increased considerably. For example, the monetary income per collective farm household has increased 70% in three years. ...

A major part of the session was taken up by problems of raising the level of Party organizational and political work. Serious errors in the selection, training and placement of personnel were sharply criticized. The Central Committee and province, city and district committees have been slow to eliminate previous mistakes in personnel selection and placement and have continued to transfer to new posts officials who failed in previous jobs. For example, Kirgiz Republic Minister of State Control Aliyev was dismissed from work for grave misdemeanors, yet the republic's Council of Ministers decided to recommend him for the post of republic Deputy Minister of Finance.

It was noted at the Congress that the Central Committee and certain province and district committees, instead of concentrating on the Bolshevik training of personnel, have adopted administration by fiat and have taken a great number of disciplinary measures against Party, Soviet and economic officials. This has aroused in personnel a lack of confidence in their powers and capabilities. For example, in December, 1951, three bureau members, Comrades Razzakov, Zuerkulov and Kulatov, at a single circuit session pronounced Party disciplinary measures on two province Party committee secretaries and two province executive committee chairmen. Simultaneously, Comrade Churkin, Central Committee Secretary, was holding a bureau session in Frunze with the remaining members, at which disciplinary measures were taken against certain officials for defects in fiber-crop procurement.

Frunze Province Party Committee Secretary Comrade Dikambayev and Tien-Shan Province Party Committee Secretary Comrade Sydykov mentioned in their speeches the unsatisfactory checkup on carrying out adopted decisions. They criticized the Central Committee and the Council of Ministers for bureaucratic armchair leadership. Comrade Dikambayev stated that in the period covered by the report the Central Committee had sent out 1800 resolutions and written instructions. The province committee had sent out a similar quantity of paper. ...

There was serious criticism of the republic's historians, who have permitted an antihistorical and anti-Marxist approach to the history of the Kirgiz people; some historians have glorified feudal ways, extolled the khans, the military leaders and the enemies of the laboring masses, and have incorrectly evaluated a number of Kirgiz national movements.

The Kirgiz branch of the U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences and its institutes have failed to meet their tasks. Their scientific work is not always adapted to the needs of the national economy and cultural progress.

Comrade Konduchalova, director of the Central Committee's Department for Work Among Women, and Kirgiz Young Communist League Secretary Comrade Khomenko criticized Party and Soviet agencies for their weak efforts in work among women. They pointed out that feudal and patriarchal survivals in the republic have not yet been eliminated. ...

A plenary session of the newly elected Kirgiz Party Central Committee was held. The session elected I. R. Razzakov as First Secretary, V. N. Churkin as Second Secretary and K. K. Karakeyev Secretary.

TADZHIKISTAN

EIGHTH CONGRESS OF TADZHIKISTAN COMMUNIST PARTY. (By Staff Correspondent A. Rummyantsev. Pravda, Sept. 26, p. 2. 1300 words. Condensed text:) Stalinabad— ... Comrade B. Gafurov, Secretary of the Tadzhikistan Communist Party Central Committee, stated in his report that the period since the republic's Seventh Party Congress has been one of continuous and vigorous growth of the economy and culture of Soviet Tadzhikistan. ...

Major successes have been achieved in the development of cotton growing. The sown area has been expanded and the harvest has been increased. Tadzhikistan has firmly maintained first place in the Soviet Union for harvest yield and second place for gross harvest of raw cotton.

The communally owned herds on collective farms have been increased by hundreds of thousands of head and their quality has been improved. The harvest yields of grain and legumes have been raised on many collective farms. Everywhere the areas of communally owned orchards and vineyards on collective farms have been extended. Collective farms have grown and become stronger; their monetary income in 1951 was almost two and one-half times that in 1948 and income in kind has also greatly increased.

In recent years a number of large new industrial enterprises have been set up in the republic, and much has been done to reconstruct and expand existing enterprises. The republic's largest enterprise, the Leninabad Silk Combine, is producing almost twice as much cloth as in 1948. Silk fabrics have greatly improved in quality and their costs have dropped.

The culture of the Tadzhik people, socialist in content, national in form, is continually growing. The opening of the Tadzhik Republic Academy of Sciences was a noteworthy event in the cultural life of the Tadzhik people. In the past three years the number of students in higher educational establishments has also doubled. ...

There are major shortcomings in schools, higher educational establishments, scientific work and historical and literary activity. Some historians have idealized Central Asia's feudal past and have expounded national movements incorrectly. The Andizhan uprising in 1898, for example, was treated as a national liberation movement although it was feudal-nationalistic, antinational and reactionary.

Comrade Pulatov, Secretary of the Tadzhikistan Communist Party Central Committee, had been expected to inform the Congress of the reasons for the major errors and shortcomings on this most important sector of the ideological front. However, he limited himself in his speech merely to an admission that such mistakes had occurred. ...

Major errors had been revealed not long ago in the work of the Leninabad Province committee and its secretary, Comrade Rakhmet-Zade. He had surrounded himself with an atmosphere of flattery and obsequiousness, had stifled criticism and self-criticism and had trained Party officials in a spirit of complacency and arrogance. Having failed to justify confidence as a leader, he was removed from his post as province committee secretary—and appointed head of the schools department of the Tadzhikistan Communist Party Central Committee.

At the plenary session of the newly elected Tadzhikistan Communist Party Central Committee B. G. Gafurov was elected First Secretary, P. S. Obnosov was elected Second Secretary and Z. A. Khalikova Secretary.

BELORUSSIA

20TH CONGRESS OF BELORUSSIAN COMMUNIST PARTY. (By Special Correspondents I. Pustovalov and I. Zinkovich. Pravda, Sept. 26, p. 2. 2300 words. Condensed text:) Minsk— ... The Congress discussed the Belorussian Communist Party Central Committee's report, which was given by its Secretary, Comrade N. Patolichev. ...

The prewar level of industrial production has been considerably surpassed. Belorussian industry has not only been reconstructed but has made further strides. Power engineering, machine building and the fuel, building material, lumber and other industries are developing rapidly. New industry has been set up for the production of motors, bearings, tractors, motorcycles, bicycles and road-building machines. ...

N. Patolichev and those who spoke in the discussion cited figures and examples showing the growth of the culture and well-being of the Belorussian people. During the past three years alone, the number of workers and employees in the republic's national economy has grown 24.3%. ...

Comrade Golodushko, Gomel Province Party Committee Secretary; Comrade Sysoyeva, the republic's Minister of the Food Industry, and other delegates profoundly criticized the Belorussian Communist Party Central Committee and its departments for their superficial approach to decisions on broad questions affecting the development of industry. ...

Central Committee officials concerned with the development of industry have not thoroughly studied the economics and technology of production; they do not study conditions in the localities and are most often guided by reports and telephone inquiries. Only incorrect planning and lack of attention to city development on the part of the republic's organizations can explain the fact that industry in the city of Vitebsk lags far behind the general development of industry in the republic.

Belorussian Communist Party Central Committee Secretary Comrade Abrasimov, Comrade Malinenko, director of the machine-building department, and other Central Committee officials were sharply criticized for their superficial, armchair direction of industry and building.

Justified complaints were made at the Congress regarding Belorussian Republic Minister of Local Industry Comrade Brench, Minister of the Building Materials Industry Comrade Isidorov, Minister of the Meat and Dairy Industry Comrade Sharolko and other officials. ...

Comrade Mazurov, secretary of the Minsk Province committee, said, "We are scarcely aware of the work of the Central Committee's agricultural department in the province. The only reminder of the department's existence is a stream of resolutions and instructions on various agricultural problems. Comrade Krasikov, the department's director, and his assistants are only concerned with writing directives."

Delegates sharply criticized the Belorussian Republic Ministry of Agriculture and Minister Comrade Kostyuk for bad direction of the training of machine operators and aloofness from collective farms and Machine and Tractor Stations. ...

It was noted at the Congress that many of the republic's Soviet [i.e., governmental] agencies handle their work inefficiently. Speakers severely criticized the leadership of the Belorussian Republic Council of Ministers and its Chairman, Comrade Kleshchev, for lack of initiative and for formal, bureaucratic methods.

Comrade Zhdanovich, Chairman of the Bobruisk Province Executive Committee, said: "The Belorussian Republic Council of Ministers adopts and sends out each day an average of ten resolutions and instructions." ...

The plenary session of the newly elected Belorussian Communist Party Central Committee elected N. S. Patolichev First Secretary, M. V. Zimyanin Second Secretary and T. S. Gorbunov Secretary.

KARELO-FINNISH REPUBLIC

THIRD CONGRESS OF KARELO-FINNISH COMMUNIST PARTY. (By Staff Correspondent K. Petrovsky. Pravda, Sept. 29, p. 2. 1000 words. Condensed text:) Petrozavodsk— ...

A. Yegorov, Secretary of the Karelo-Finnish Republic Communist Party Central Committee, reported to the Congress on the work of the Central Committee. The speaker and those who took part in the discussion noted that in the three and one-half years since the Second Congress the republic's Communist Party, thanks to the untiring concern of the All-Union Communist Party Central Committee and Comrade Stalin personally, had achieved certain successes in the development of agriculture, industry and culture. Housing construction has been widely developed and there has been improvement of living conditions. The lumber industry—the major branch of the republic's economy—has been provided with first-class machinery. In 1951 the gross output of the republic's industry increased 79% over 1948 and logging output has increased 487% ...

The Congress sharply criticized the work of the republic's Council of Ministers and its Chairman, Comrade Prokkonen. Comrade Prokkonen's speech perplexed the delegates. Instead of profoundly analyzing the defects in the Council of Ministers' work, he confined himself to a formal acknowledgment that the Council of Ministers had worked unsatisfactorily.

It was pointed out at the Congress that Central Committee Secretary Comrade Tsvetkov had exercised only perfunctory leadership over propaganda and agitation and had given too little attention to training propagandists.

Comrade Sukkainen, Chairman of the Presidium of the Karelo-Finnish branch of the U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences, noted that the republic's Communist Party Central Committee had been insufficiently concerned with problems of scientific work and had failed to give needed aid to the Academy of Sciences. ...

Comrade Kaurinen, Chairman of the Karelo-Finnish Republic Supreme Soviet, emphasized in his speech at the Congress the enormous significance of the successful achievement of the Fifth Five-Year Plan to the cause of defending peace throughout the world. ...

A plenary session of the newly elected Karelo-Finnish Republic Communist Party Central Committee elected Comrade A. N. Yegorov First Secretary of the Central Committee, Comrade I. N. Petrov Second Secretary and Comrade N. P. Vtorushin Secretary.

UZBEKISTAN

11TH CONGRESS OF UZBEKISTAN COMMUNIST PARTY.

(By Special Correspondents S. Selyuk and V. Sitov, Pravda, Sept. 28, p. 2. 1600 words. Condensed text.) Tashkent— ... The comments and proposals made at the Congress on the revised Party Statutes for the most part concerned the duties of Party members. Delegate Dzhumanazarov wished to include in the Party Statutes a point concerning the duty of Communists to protect and strengthen socialist property. In the opinion of Comrade Khakimov, Namangan City Party Committee, the Party Statutes should be supplemented with a statement that participation in religious ceremonies and feudal landowning ways are incompatible with Party membership. ...

The Congress heard and discussed the keynote report of the Uzbekistan Communist Party Central Committee, delivered by Comrade A. Niazov, Central Committee Secretary. ...

In the period covered by the report, the republic's industry has grown. Industrial output in 1951 had increased 60% over 1948. Major successes have been achieved in the development of agriculture, particularly in cotton growing, its principal branch. ...

Congress delegates sharply criticized armchair, bureaucratic methods in the work of the republic's Ministries of Cotton Growing, Water Resources and Agriculture. It was also noted that the U.S.S.R. Ministry of Cotton Growing had not solved important problems advanced by the republic organizations and did not see to fulfillment of the U.S.S.R. Council of Ministers' decisions concerning cotton growing in Uzbekistan. Many of the speakers criticized the substantial shortcomings in the work of the republic's Council of Ministers.

"The Uzbekistan Communist Party Central Committee and the Uzbekistan Republic Council of Ministers," said Comrade

Mirza-Akhmedov, Andizhan Province Party Committee Secretary, "have dealt superficially with problems of cotton cultivation and have not always been familiar with the true state of affairs in the provinces. In 1951 they set up Fergana Province as an example for everyone and awarded it the challenge banners. However, it later came to light that things were not so dazzling in this province. To the surprise of the republic organizations, Fergana Province did not fulfill the plan for raw cotton deliveries." ...

Comrade Popov, Tashkent Province Party Committee Secretary, gave facts in his speech to prove that the bureau of the Uzbekistan Communist Party Central Committee had made serious errors in a number of cases involving the appointment of administrative personnel, having failed to study the political and professional qualifications of these officials. Within three years, four first secretaries and three province committee chairmen have been replaced in the Tashkent Province Party Committee, and three first secretaries have been replaced in the Fergana Province committee. The turnover of administrative personnel has also been great in other Party, Soviet and economic organizations. ...

Those who spoke in the discussion demanded that the Central Committee and the province committees train administrative personnel in the strictest observance of Party and state discipline. The need for developing bolder and wider self-criticism and criticism from below was pointed out. In this connection, the republic newspapers Kyzyl Uzbekistan and Pravda Vostoka were criticized for failure to print penetrating and profound criticisms of shortcomings in the work of Party, Soviet and economic agencies. ...

The Party organization has lately discovered a number of ideological distortions and traces of bourgeois nationalism in the work of certain writers and scholars.

"Nationalist survivals," said Comrade Niazov in the Central Committee's keynote report, "find expression in the idealization of the feudal past of the Uzbek people, in glossing over the class contradictions that existed in prerevolutionary Uzbekistan, in bypassing or belittling the tremendous role of the Russian people and Russian culture in the destinies of the Uzbek people and other peoples of the Soviet Union and in attempts to weaken the unbreakable friendship among our country's peoples. The Uzbekistan Party organization must conduct a merciless struggle against the slightest signs of bourgeois nationalism; it must expose the reactionary nature of pan-Slavism and pan-Turkism, tirelessly increasing political vigilance and daily training the republic's working people in the spirit of proletarian internationalism." ...

At a plenary session of the Uzbekistan Communist Party Central Committee Comrade A. I. Niazov was elected First Secretary, Comrade R. Ye. Melnikov was elected Second Secretary and Comrade S. Kamalov Secretary.

LITHUANIA

SEVENTH CONGRESS OF LITHUANIAN COMMUNIST PARTY.

(By Special Correspondents L. Tolkunov and M. Filimonov, Pravda, Sept. 29, p. 2. 1600 words. Condensed text.) Vilnius— ... The Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee report was made by Central Committee Secretary Comrade A. Snieckus. The speaker and the delegates who took part in the discussion spoke of the vigorous development of Soviet Lithuania's economy and culture. The annual growth of the republic's industrial output has averaged 23% to 27%. New branches of industry, which Lithuania neither knew nor could have known under the bourgeois system, have been established. Machine-tool, turbine, bicycle, electric motor, cement and other factories have been opened. ...

The staffs of the republic's Council of Ministers and of most of the ministries have not worked with the drive and responsibility required by the tasks entrusted them. The blame for this lies with the leaders of the Council of Ministers and primarily its Chairman, Comrade Gedvilas.

Comrade Katyrev, Secretary of the Kaunas Province Party Committee, said in his speech that Central Committee officials have gone about preparing questions for the Central Committee bureau to discuss concerning the work of district committees, bypassing the province committee. Many questions which could have been

decided effectively by the province committee with the aid of the Central Committee officials have been brought before the Central Committee bureau after delays of three to four months. He criticized Comrade Gusev, head of the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee's Department of Party, Trade Union and Young Communist League Organizations, for disorganization in its work and insufficient aid to Party organizations. ...

Questions of ideological work played a major role at the Congress. An important event in the ideological life of the Lithuanian Party organization was the publication in the Lithuanian language of 13 volumes of the "Works" of V. I. Lenin and 12 volumes of the "Works" of J. V. Stalin. Party propaganda has been broadened and the quality of instruction in schools and higher educational establishments has been raised.

At the same time, the Congress disclosed important defects, omissions and mistakes in ideological work. It was pointed out that the Party organizations frequently go about this work in a campaign manner, without regard for the needs of different strata of the population. The bestial nature of Anglo-American imperialism and its reactionary ideology is inadequately exposed in lectures, reports and the press.

Delegate Comrade Lazutka declared: "Gross distortions in social science instruction have been permitted for a long time in higher educational establishments in Kaunas. Young personnel is seldom promoted to scientific work in the agricultural academy and medical institute. The Lithuanian Central Committee and its secretaries have shown little concern for the ideological and political training of scientific personnel and the improvement of higher educational establishments."

The writer Comrade Venclova; Comrade Raguotis, Secretary of the Lithuanian Young Communist League Central Committee, and Comrade Paradauskas, Vilnius City Party Committee Secretary, said that Lithuanian writers, composers and artists are producing few works on contemporary themes. They also pointed out that works which were defective ideologically and artistically have sometimes been produced. ...

Comrade Pusinis, a member of the Lithuanian Central Committee, was sharply criticized by the Congress for his frequent defamations of the older scientific intelligentsia en masse, many of whom have been striving honorably to serve the people.

Delegates severely criticized certain of the republic's administrative officials for complacency toward bourgeois nationalism. Comrade Paleckis, a member of the Lithuanian Central Committee, has concealed behind general phrases denouncing bourgeois nationalism his reluctance to expose actual proponents of nationalist views, and has failed to fight against them.

Congress Delegates Comrades Beliauskas, Niunka, Liaudis, Sumauskas, Macijouskas, Ziugzda, Kaunietis and others cited specific instances to prove that Comrade Paleckis not only had shown complacency toward bourgeois nationalists but had supported many of them. He had not participated actively enough in the Party organization's fight for the socialist reorganization of agriculture. Comrade Paleckis admitted in his speech to the Congress that the criticism directed against him was correct and he promised to rectify his errors in practical work. ...

At a plenary session of the newly elected Lithuanian Central Committee Comrade A. J. Snieckus was elected First Secretary of the Lithuanian Central Committee, Comrade V. P. Aronov was elected Second Secretary and Comrade V. J. Niunka Secretary.

Moscow Province Conference

THE COMPOSITION OF THE CONFERENCE

TENTH MOSCOW PROVINCE PARTY CONFERENCE.—Report of Comrade G. V. Podelshchikov, Chairman of the Cre-

dentials Committee. (Vechernyaya Moskva, Sept. 24, p. 4. 1400 words. Condensed text.) Comrade Stalin's closest comrades-in-arms, Comrades V. M. Molotov, G. M. Malenkov, L. P. Beria, K. Ye. Voroshilov, A. A. Andreyev, A. I. Mikoyan, L. M. Kaganovich, N. S. Khrushchev, N. A. Bulganin, N. M. Shvernik, A. N. Kosygin, Secretaries of the Party Central Committee; Comrades M. A. Suslov, P. K. Ponomarenko, and M. F. Shkiryatov, Assistant Chairman of the Party Control Committee of the Party Central Committee, were unanimously elected delegates to the conference.

In all, 547 delegates with voting powers and 42 delegates with consultative votes were elected to the Tenth Moscow Province Party Conference. The conference is attended by 536 delegates with voting powers and 41 delegates with consultative votes. Twelve delegates are absent for good reasons, confirmed by the credentials committee. In the period under review the province Party organization has increased by 70,386 members and candidates.

In the period between the ninth and tenth province conferences the network of Party organizations has grown considerably. The number of Party committees has increased by 40, primary Party units by 2643, shop Party organizations by 733, Party groups by 8188. ...

Among the delegates to the conference are 90 U.S.S.R. and Russian Republic Supreme Soviet Deputies, 428 Deputies to the Moscow Province, city and district Soviets, 18 Heroes of the Soviet Union, 20 Heroes of Socialist Labor, 27 Stalin Prize winners and 574 who have been awarded Orders and medals of the Soviet Union.

The conference is attended by 240 Party officials, including 125 district and city committee secretaries and 77 secretaries of primary Party units.

Among the delegates are 58 Ministers and Deputy Ministers, 57 heads of industrial and transport enterprises and 35 production innovators.

Twenty-seven agricultural workers, including 12 collective farm chairmen and brigade leaders, have been elected delegates to the conference.

Sixty-seven officials of Soviet and administrative agencies, 16 trade union and Young Communist League officials and 30 workers in culture, science and the arts have also been elected to the conference.

Among the conference delegates are a considerable number of military personnel, among them widely known commanders under whose leadership our valiant Soviet Army carried out Stalin's strategic plan for the destruction of the enemy and won victory in the great patriotic war. ...

Delegates to the conference include 78 women, 19 of them being secretaries of city and district Party committees and chairmen of district Soviet executive committees, 12 being secretaries of primary Party units and 11 directors of enterprises. Among these delegates are heads of institutions and educational establishments, doctors, teachers, scientific workers and leading women workers in industry and transport.

These statistics reflect the constant concern of our party for the nomination of women to diverse sectors of Party, Soviet and economic work.

One must also mention that 338 delegates to the province Party conference have been given the honor of representing Party organizations for the first time. It is also necessary to note the fact that 515 of the delegates, or 87%, have higher, incomplete higher or secondary education. The presence of a substantial number of delegates with higher or secondary education reflects the general cultural growth of Moscow Party organization members.

Delegates' length of Party membership are as follows: before 1917, 10; from 1918 to 1924, 56; from 1925 to 1930, 170; from 1931 to 1940, 196; from 1941 to 1945, 127; from 1946 to 1951, 30.

The ages of the delegates are shown by the following statistics: under 30, 11; between 31 and 40, 142; between 41 and 50, 349; over 50, 87. ...

KHRUSHCHEV'S REPORT

TENTH MOSCOW PROVINCE PARTY CONFERENCE.—Report of N. S. Khrushchev, Secretary of the Moscow Province

Party Committee. (Moskovskaya pravda, Sept. 28, pp. 1-4. 22,500 words. Excerpts:) ... On the Work of Industry and Transport.— ... All qualitative indices for the work of industry and transport have been improved. The 1951 labor productivity plan in industry was overfulfilled 3.7%. Compared with 1948, output per worker has increased 39%. The labor productivity quota for six months of this year has been fulfilled 101.7%. ...

Indisputable successes have been attained in industry and transport, but it would be incorrect to fail to see the serious shortcomings behind these successes. Some enterprises have not fulfilled state plans, and many factories and plants, while fulfilling gross output plans, have not met output assignments for many of the most important commodities. ...

State and Party discipline is weak among certain officials in enterprises and institutions. There are quite a few officials who adopt formal attitudes toward Party and government decisions, showing little energy and persistence in carrying out state plans. Certain heads of enterprises have indulged in padding reports on fulfillment of state plans. ...

Party organizations must struggle resolutely against all instances of antistate practices, theft and abuses; they must guard the interests of the Party and the state and train executive personnel in the spirit of truthfulness, honesty and conscientiousness toward jobs entrusted to them. The struggle to protect public property from thieves and pilferers is one of the most important tasks of Party organizations. ...

Supervision of Agriculture.—In carrying out the Party Central Committee's decision, Party organizations have done a great amount of work in 1950 to amalgamate small collective farms. As a result of this amalgamation, collective farms in the province have decreased to one-fourth their former number; at present there are 1419. Arable land has increased on the average from 196 to 836 hectares per collective farm. Amalgamation of small collective farms has required more productive utilization of Machine and Tractor Station equipment for increasingly successful development of all branches of the communal sectors of collective farms.

In addition, it should be noted that in carrying out the collective farm amalgamation there were shortcomings and mistakes, consisting of incorrect, consumer-orientated approaches to collective farming and attempts to speed up the concentrated resettlement of villages into major collective farm settlements.* Thus, problems of consumption and not production tasks were emphasized. These shortcomings and errors occurred also in the work of the Moscow Province Party Committee. Guided by the Party Central Committee's instructions, the province Party committee has remedied these shortcomings and errors in its practical work.

The most important task of agriculture is to increase all crop yields, to increase communal livestock while substantially raising meat and dairy yields, to expand marketed output in agriculture and animal husbandry by continually strengthening and developing the communal sectors of the collective farms and to improve the work of state farms and M.T.S. through the use of advanced agricultural machinery and techniques. Party organizations must organize workers on collective farms, M.T.S. and state farms for this task.

In order to meet the assignments set by the Party and to bring about the growth of agriculture, the collective farms must first of all be strengthened with managerial personnel. Party organizations have done considerable work in this direction. The province Party committee and the district Party committees have recently selected and recommended 710 specialists and practical workers as collective farm chairmen. Today 244 collective farm chairmen have higher or secondary agricultural education; the total number of collective farm chairmen with higher or secondary education is 410, or 28%. Seventy-four percent of the collective farm chairmen are Party members.

The amalgamation of collective farms and the equipping of M.T.S. with new machinery have brought about wider mechanization of collective farming. In 1948 M.T.S. machines sowed 55% of the winter crops, plowed 76% of the arable land and

sowed 43% of the spring grain crops. In 1952 this work has been completely mechanized. Mechanization standards for growing potatoes, vegetables and other crops have risen sharply, particularly in planting and tending. ...

In 1948, 12% of the grain was harvested with combines, and on many acreages grain crops were harvested manually. In 1951 the combines harvested 61% of the grain crops; this year the combines have already harvested 70%. ...

Party and Soviet organizations, as well as all agricultural workers, are faced with the task of raising the yield per hectare to a minimum of 180 to 200 centners of potatoes, 280 to 300 centners of cabbages, 180 to 200 centners of tomatoes and 150 to 180 centners of cucumbers. ...

Party and Soviet organizations and agricultural personnel must ensure fulfillment of plans for increasing the numbers of all types of livestock and poultry and raising the average milk yield to 2200-2400 kilograms per cow, the wool clip per sheep to four kilograms, the number of sucklings per sow to 16 and eggs per laying hen to not less than 100.

It must be noted that Party, Soviet and agricultural agencies are striving for strict observance of the Collective Farm Statutes.

The misappropriation of collective farm property must be vigorously put down; it is necessary to work constantly and persistently to strengthen the communal sector, meting out severe punishment to those enemies of the collective farm system who pilfer collective farm property.

Party organizations and Soviet and agricultural agencies must constantly concern themselves with the improvement of labor organization in the collective farms and the strengthening of labor discipline. Leveling must be completely eliminated and income must be distributed correctly according to the number of workday units based on output, thus raising the collective farm worker's personal interest in communal labor.

It is necessary to raise the value of and the payment for the workday unit. It must be brought to the attention of all collective farm workers that only through the development of the communal sectors can collective farms raise incomes more rapidly and increase payments for the workday units.

Enterprises have been established in many of the province's collective farms for the manufacture of building materials and other products, thus draining manpower and material assets from the principal tasks on collective farms. This shortcoming must be eliminated and collective farm efforts directed toward raising yields, developing animal husbandry and strengthening the communal sector. The output of building materials must be increased to provide for collective farms. ...

Further Raising of the Material Well-Being and Cultural Standards of the Working People.— ... In the past three years the people of Moscow and the province have received 5,300,000,000 rubles in benefits and grants under the social insurance system. During this period, workers and employees have received free or at reduced rates 930,000 passes to rest homes and sanatoriums. Three hundred sixty-three million rubles have been paid out in benefits to mothers with many children and to single mothers and widows. Major assistance has been given to invalids of the patriotic war, to those who have incurred work disabilities and to the families of fallen soldiers.

Public health expenditures in 1951 amounted to 1,743,000,000 rubles, or double the amount spent in 1940. The network of medical institutions has been expanded. In the past three years 5430 hospital beds have been added and the number of doctors has increased by 3420. Kindergartens and children's nurseries have added facilities for 37,000 more children. ...

Much work has been done in recent years to increase the volume and speed of housing construction. In 1951, 735,000 square meters of housing [floor space], 170% more than that completed in 1948, were built and put into use in Moscow. Five million two hundred ninety-five thousand square meters of housing have been built in the cities and districts of Moscow Province. This year, Muscovites will get 750,000 square meters of new housing space and the working people in the province will get 550,000 square meters. In the next two or three years the volume of housing construction is to be increased to 1,000,000 square meters annually. A substantial increase is also planned for Moscow Province. Moscow and Moscow Province have never in their history known housing construction of such scale and pace. ...

* [See "Khrushchev's Speeches on Amalgamating the Villages," Current Digest of the Soviet Press, Vol. III, No. 7, and "Khrushchev's Agro-City Proposal Is Rejected," Vol. III, No. 21.]

By the government's decision, 38 new factories and plants are being built in Moscow and Moscow Province for the production of building materials and related goods. The Pavshin and Stalinogorsk plaster goods factories, the Kuchino and Kudinov ceramic products factories, the Mytishchi silicate brickyards and a number of other enterprises producing building materials have been put into operation in recent years. Factories producing foam silicate blocks, reinforced concrete architectural products, concrete girders, mineral insulation, glass wool, reinforced concrete pipe, etc., will be built.

Two major enterprises, the Moscow and Lyubertsy factories for producing reinforced concrete products, will be built this year and will ensure production of 240,000 cubic meters of reinforced concrete structural parts, including wall panels, floors, ceilings, staircases, etc., for 700,000 square meters of housing annually.

The capacities of all factories under construction and of those being modernized and rebuilt will make it possible to erect annually in Moscow 170 standard design ten-story buildings with a total housing space of up to 1,000,000 square meters.

In order to introduce industrial methods of construction in cities and industrial centers in the province, the government has adopted a resolution for the building of four factories producing reinforced concrete structures, with a total capacity of 240,000 cubic meters annually. ...

The government has allocated large funds for the municipal development of the capital and cities in the province. In the past three and a half years about 2,000,000,000 rubles have been spent on major repairs and improvements of apartment houses in Moscow. One hundred twelve kilometers of water mains and 87 kilometers of sewer lines have been built. ...

The task set by Comrade Stalin of making all workers and peasants cultured and educated is being successfully carried out in our country. Universal seven-year education has been introduced everywhere and appropriations for public education have increased constantly. More than 200 new schools have been built in Moscow and the province in the past three years. At present we have 3848 schools, in which 1,328,000 pupils receive instruction. In addition, more than 100,000 students attend schools for workers and rural youth.

The Soviet teacher is surrounded by universal attention and honor; he has attained heights which have never been attained and never can be attained by a teacher in any capitalistic country. There are 53,400 teachers in Moscow schools and schools in the province. Of these, 22,000 have been awarded Orders and medals of the Soviet Union for long and meritorious service. ...

In Moscow and the province there are 103 higher educational establishments in which 270,000 students receive instruction. Technical schools and other specialized secondary schools give instruction to 123,000 persons. Party organizations have begun to pay more attention to the work of higher educational establishments and technical schools. ...

Growth and Strengthening of the Ranks of the Moscow Party Organization.— ... Much injury has been done to the Party by members who give verbal allegiance to the Party, making speeches on the need to combat shortcomings, but in actual practice stifle criticism from below. There are instances in which Party, Soviet and other executive officials not only fail to set up the conditions necessary for the wide development of self-criticism and criticism from below, but take reprisals against it, stifling criticism and placing obstacles in the way of people who report shortcomings to the Party agencies. There are cases in which comrades who have made critical remarks have been forced to swear they will not "wash dirty linen in public" any more. ...

The province Party committee has taken steps to strengthen administrative personnel. Many city and district Party committee secretaries who had failed in their duties and committed major shortcomings and errors in supervision of Party organizations have been relieved of their jobs by the Moscow committee and replaced by new, energetic people with more initiative. The Party, Soviet and administrative personnel have improved lately in regard to their political and general educational training and practical experience. ...

Such a great evil as the selection of executive personnel on the basis of friendship, personal devotion or kinship has not

yet been rooted out. At Party meetings and Party conferences instances have been cited of certain executives who have surrounded themselves with friends and relatives, thus creating an atmosphere of mutual protection and concealment of shortcomings, though the job in hand suffered. Such a musty atmosphere is a happy hunting-ground for crooks and irresponsible persons. ...

The province Young Communist League organization, which has a membership of 795,000, has actively assisted in the solution of the economic and political tasks which confront the Party organization. ...

The success of Party propaganda must depend largely on the proper selection and training of propaganda personnel. There are more than 64,000 propaganda workers in the Moscow Party organization. Most of them have the necessary theoretical training and experience in propaganda work and possess a conscientious attitude to their work: During the report period, much work has been done in the training and refresher training of propaganda personnel. In 1951 and 1952 alone, more than 6000 leaders of study circles on Party history, philosophy and political economy took leave of absence from work and completed studies at one-month courses offered by the Moscow Province and City Party Committees. In the summer of 1952, more than 400 propaganda workers and seminar leaders were trained in courses held by the Moscow Province Party Committee. ...

The Bolshevik press is a most important instrument of Party leadership in all branches of political, economic and cultural life. ...

But the formal, bureaucratic attitude of some officials toward newspaper articles may be shown by the following example. Comrade Ivanov, apartment house superintendent for the Stalin Automobile Plant, wrote an article for the plant newspaper *Stalinet* [The Stalinite], in which he recommended making radiator coils for gas water heaters from metal scrap. This proposal deserved serious attention and the editors sent it to the assistant manager of the plant, Comrade Nosov. Comrade Nosov wrote his decision on the letter: "To the Head of the Housing and Utilities Department, Comrade Kulik. See to drawing up a reply." Comrade Kulik sent the letter on to the department's chief engineer, Comrade Titov, and he, without pausing to think, wrote on it his decision: "To Comrade Ivanov. Draft a reply." Thus Comrade Ivanov was instructed to reply to his own letter to the editors. (*Laughter in the hall.*)

District and city Party committees and Party organizations must improve their direction of newspapers and heed the warnings of the press. ...

PROVINCE OFFICIALS CHOSEN

PLENARY SESSION OF THE MOSCOW PROVINCE PARTY COMMITTEE. (Moskovskaya pravda, Sept. 25, p. 1. Complete text:) A plenary session of the Moscow Province Party Committee, elected at the Tenth Moscow Province Party Conference, has been held.

The session elected Comrades A. P. Aristov, S. A. Vasilyev, A. P. Volkov, V. V. Grishin, V. M. Gulyayev, I. V. Kapitonov, I. M. Skachkov, Ye. I. Tretyakova and N. S. Khrushchev members of the bureau of the Moscow Province Party Committee.

Comrade N. S. Khrushchev was elected First Secretary of the Moscow Province Party Committee, Comrade V. V. Grishin Second Secretary and Comrade Ye. I. Tretyakova Secretary.

At a meeting of the Inspection Commission of the Moscow province Party organization Comrade S. F. Anfimov was elected Inspection Commission Chairman.

THE MOSCOW CITY CONFERENCE

TENTH MOSCOW CITY PARTY CONFERENCE. (Vechernyaya Moskva, Sept. 17, pp. 2-3, 6000 words; Sept. 18, 8500 words. Excerpts:) **Report of Comrade N. F. Ignatov, Chairman of the Credentials Committee.**— ... At all Party conferences delegates unanimously and with great enthusiasm elected as their first delegate to the Tenth Moscow City Conference the wise leader and teacher Joseph Vissarionovich Stalin.

Comrade Stalin's closest associates, Comrades V. M. Molotov, G. M. Malenkov, L. P. Beria, K. Ye. Voroshilov, A. I.

... The draft revised Party Statutes stress the necessity for strict observance of Bolshevik principle in the selection of personnel. Examples from our Party organization show that certain Communist leaders have frequently violated this principle. Thus, Comrade Galkin, head of the Chief Administration for Marketing Household Goods, hired a number of persons who had previously worked with him in Kulbyshev. Under Comrade Galkin's patronage, these officials engaged in bad management and slovenly work. Only through the intervention of the Party organization were they exposed and punished. Unfortunately, Comrade Galkin drew no conclusions whatever from this fact and continues to employ unqualified people in the Central Union of Consumers' Cooperatives. ...

Speech of Comrade A. M. Pronin, Moscow Military District.—

The draft revised Party Statutes emphasize that the strength and invincibility of the Party lie in close, inseparable ties with the people. ... Not all Party members are meeting this most important demand. Individual Communists isolate themselves from Party organizations and from non-Party groups and fail to heed the voice of the people and to respond to the people's needs and requests. Certain Party members consider it below their dignity to have heart-to-heart talks with ordinary Party members and non-Party persons and are conceited, high-handed and boastful. ...

Speech of Comrade Ye. I. Afanasenko, Secretary of Frunze

Borough Party Committee.—Instances are still encountered in our borough Party organization in which people who verbally acknowledge criticism stifle it in practice. Thus, Comrade Zagovalyev, Chairman of the Central Council of Producers' Cooperatives, only recently summoned Comrade Isayev, secretary of the Party bureau, and dressed him down for daring to criticize him at a borough Party conference for a lordly attitude to Party work. Party members of this organization sharply condemned this suppressor of criticism. ...

Speech of Comrade S. V. Pankratov, Secretary of the Party

Committee of the U.S.S.R. Ministry of Foreign Trade.— ...

I wish to confirm the necessity for the point on criticism in the Party Statutes by an example from our Party organization. Party Member Diomidov former chairman of Mezhdunarodnaya kniga [International Books, Soviet book and magazine export concern] did not heed Party members' criticisms, responded badly to criticisms of himself and failed to draw proper conclusions for future work. Speaking at Party meetings, Diomidov would praise his own work and that of his organization without any grounds whatsoever. And when Communists tried to expose defects Diomidov shut them up rudely. His conceit, curtness and disdainful attitude toward subordinates led to serious failures in the work of Mezhdunarodnaya kniga.

The Ministry's Party committee, after examining Party work in the organization, concluded that it was necessary to discipline Comrade Diomidov. For his un-Partylike attitude to criticism he received a comparatively mild Party penalty—a reprimand registered in his dossier. However, Comrade Diomidov failed to alter his attitude toward criticism and was dismissed from his post as chairman.

Now he is working at a new job in the U.S.S.R. Society for the Dissemination of Political and Scientific Knowledge and is again behaving badly. ...

W. REPORT OF THE CREDENTIALS COMMISSION

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1. 1990年12月，在“中国—东盟”贸易合作会议上，中国代表提出，中国愿与东盟国家在平等互利的基础上，开展贸易合作。

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1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10. 11. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20. 21. 22. 23. 24. 25. 26. 27. 28. 29. 30. 31. 32. 33. 34. 35. 36. 37. 38. 39. 40. 41. 42. 43. 44. 45. 46. 47. 48. 49. 50. 51. 52. 53. 54. 55. 56. 57. 58. 59. 60. 61. 62. 63. 64. 65. 66. 67. 68. 69. 70. 71. 72. 73. 74. 75. 76. 77. 78. 79. 80. 81. 82. 83. 84. 85. 86. 87. 88. 89. 90. 91. 92. 93. 94. 95. 96. 97. 98. 99. 100. 101. 102. 103. 104. 105. 106. 107. 108. 109. 110. 111. 112. 113. 114. 115. 116. 117. 118. 119. 120. 121. 122. 123. 124. 125. 126. 127. 128. 129. 130. 131. 132. 133. 134. 135. 136. 137. 138. 139. 140. 141. 142. 143. 144. 145. 146. 147. 148. 149. 150. 151. 152. 153. 154. 155. 156. 157. 158. 159. 160. 161. 162. 163. 164. 165. 166. 167. 168. 169. 170. 171. 172. 173. 174. 175. 176. 177. 178. 179. 180. 181. 182. 183. 184. 185. 186. 187. 188. 189. 190. 191. 192. 193. 194. 195. 196. 197. 198. 199. 200. 201. 202. 203. 204. 205. 206. 207. 208. 209. 210. 211. 212. 213. 214. 215. 216. 217. 218. 219. 220. 221. 222. 223. 224. 225. 226. 227. 228. 229. 230. 231. 232. 233. 234. 235. 236. 237. 238. 239. 240. 241. 242. 243. 244. 245. 246. 247. 248. 249. 250. 251. 252. 253. 254. 255. 256. 257. 258. 259. 260. 261. 262. 263. 264. 265. 266. 267. 268. 269. 270. 271. 272. 273. 274. 275. 276. 277. 278. 279. 280. 281. 282. 283. 284. 285. 286. 287. 288. 289. 290. 291. 292. 293. 294. 295. 296. 297. 298. 299. 300. 301. 302. 303. 304. 305. 306. 307. 308. 309. 310. 311. 312. 313. 314. 315. 316. 317. 318. 319. 320. 321. 322. 323. 324. 325. 326. 327. 328. 329. 330. 331. 332. 333. 334. 335. 336. 337. 338. 339. 340. 341. 342. 343. 344. 345. 346. 347. 348. 349. 350. 351. 352. 353. 354. 355. 356. 357. 358. 359. 360. 361. 362. 363. 364. 365. 366. 367. 368. 369. 370. 371. 372. 373. 374. 375. 376. 377. 378. 379. 380. 381. 382. 383. 384. 385. 386. 387. 388. 389. 390. 391. 392. 393. 394. 395. 396. 397. 398. 399. 400. 401. 402. 403. 404. 405. 406. 407. 408. 409. 410. 411. 412. 413. 414. 415. 416. 417. 418. 419. 420. 421. 422. 423. 424. 425. 426. 427. 428. 429. 430. 431. 432. 433. 434. 435. 436. 437. 438. 439. 440. 441. 442. 443. 444. 445. 446. 447. 448. 449. 450. 451. 452. 453. 454. 455. 456. 457. 458. 459. 460. 461. 462. 463. 464. 465. 466. 467. 468. 469. 470. 471. 472. 473. 474. 475. 476. 477. 478. 479. 480. 481. 482. 483. 484. 485. 486. 487. 488. 489. 490. 491. 492. 493. 494. 495. 496. 497. 498. 499. 500. 501. 502. 503. 504. 505. 506. 507. 508. 509. 510. 511. 512. 513. 514. 515. 516. 517. 518. 519. 520. 521. 522. 523. 524. 525. 526. 527. 528. 529. 530. 531. 532. 533. 534. 535. 536. 537. 538. 539. 540. 541. 542. 543. 544. 545. 546. 547. 548. 549. 550. 551. 552. 553. 554. 555. 556. 557. 558. 559. 560. 561. 562. 563. 564. 565. 566. 567. 568. 569. 570. 571. 572. 573. 574. 575. 576. 577. 578. 579. 580. 581. 582. 583. 584. 585. 586. 587. 588. 589. 590. 591. 592. 593. 594. 595. 596. 597. 598. 599. 600. 601. 602. 603. 604. 605. 606. 607. 608. 609. 610. 611. 612. 613. 614. 615. 616. 617. 618. 619. 620. 621. 622. 623. 624. 625. 626. 627. 628. 629. 630. 631. 632. 633. 634. 635. 636. 637. 638. 639. 640. 641. 642. 643. 644. 645. 646. 647. 648. 649. 650. 651. 652. 653. 654. 655. 656. 657. 658. 659. 660. 661. 662. 663. 664. 665. 666. 667. 668. 669. 670. 671. 672. 673. 674. 675. 676. 677. 678. 679. 680. 681. 682. 683. 684. 685. 686. 687. 688. 689. 690. 691. 692. 693. 694. 695. 696. 697. 698. 699. 700. 701. 702. 703. 704. 705. 706. 707. 708. 709. 710. 711. 712. 713. 714. 715. 716. 717. 718. 719. 720. 721. 722. 723. 724. 725. 726. 727. 728. 729. 730. 731. 732. 733. 734. 735. 736. 737. 738. 739. 740. 741. 742. 743. 744. 745. 746. 747. 748. 749. 750. 751. 752. 753. 754. 755. 756. 757. 758. 759. 760. 761. 762. 763. 764. 765. 766. 767. 768. 769. 770. 771. 772. 773. 774. 775. 776. 777. 778. 779. 780. 781. 782. 783. 784. 785. 786. 787. 788. 789. 790. 791. 792. 793. 794. 795. 796. 797. 798. 799. 800. 801. 802. 803. 804. 805. 806. 807. 808. 809. 810. 811. 812. 813. 814. 815. 816. 817. 818. 819. 820. 821. 822. 823. 824. 825. 826. 827. 828. 829. 830. 831. 832. 833. 834. 835. 836. 837. 838. 839. 840.

1. 1950年10月，中央人民政府政务院决定，在全国范围内开展镇压反革命运动。这一运动是新中国成立初期，为了巩固新生的人民政权，清除反革命势力，维护社会秩序而进行的一场大规模的政治运动。

1. 1950年10月1日，中华人民共和国成立，标志着中国历史进入了一个新的纪元。

16; Stalino, 15, and Dnepropetrovsk, 12. The largest Communist Party delegations from the Union republics are the Kazakhstan delegation, with 42 voting delegates; the Georgian, with 32; the Belorussian, with 28; the Uzbekistan, with 25, and the Azerbaidzhan, with 23.

It must be said that many Party organizations could have had a greater number of voting delegates than they actually have if the work with candidates in these organizations were better organized. The candidature, as Comrade Khrushchev correctly said in the theses of his report, is frequently reduced to an empty formality and, for a substantial number of candidates, is prolonged for several years. In the Ukraine Party organization there are about 62,000 candidates with a candidature which has exceeded the limits; in the Moscow Party organization, 34,000; in the Kazakhstan organization, more than 22,000; in the Uzbekistan, more than 17,000, and in the Leningrad, 14,000.

Not only has the numerical strength of our party increased since the 18th Party Congress, but the number of Party organizations has also grown considerably.

At present we have in the Party 15 Union republic Communist Parties; 8 territory, 167 province, 36 regional, 544 city and 4886 district or borough Party organizations.

Taking part for the first time in elections of delegates to a Congress of our party are the Party organizations in a number of republics, provinces, cities and districts which became part of the Soviet Union during the interval between the 18th and 19th Congresses. Among them are, first and foremost, the Party organizations of four new Union republics which have joined the fraternal family of Soviet peoples: the Lithuanian Republic, the Moldavian Republic, the Latvian Republic and the Estonian Republic.

Permit me to dwell in some detail on data concerning delegations elected to the 19th Congress by the Communist Parties of the Baltic republics. These data are convincing evidence of the steady growth of the Party's authority and of the boundless faith placed in it by the working people who were comparatively recently liberated from capitalist slavery. On Jan. 1, 1941, the Latvian Communist Party had a total of 2800 Communists. At our Congress the Latvian delegation represents 50,000 Party members. The Lithuanian Communist Party delegation represents 36,000 Communists at the 19th Congress, whereas in January, 1941, a total of about 2500 persons belonged to the Lithuanian Communist Party. Twelve years ago, when the Estonian people embarked on the path of socialism, there were 2000 persons in the Estonian Communist Party. Now the Estonian Party organization has about 31,000 Communists.

The Baltic republics, which actually undertook the building of socialism only after the war, have not only made great headway in industrialization in a short time, with the assistance of the peoples of other fraternal republics, but have also carried out the transition from a smallholders' economy to the path of socialism, have completed the collectivization of agriculture and are successfully developing a culture which is national in form and socialist in content.

Represented at the Congress, also for the first time, are the Party organizations of the western Ukraine provinces, which have more than 100,000 Communists, and the western Belorussian province Party organizations, which include about 33,000 Party members and candidates.

Taking part in the Congress' work are delegates of the Party organization in Kaliningrad [Königsberg] Province, founded on the territory of former East Prussia, which was a nest of imperialist reaction and a centuries-old place d'armes for attack on our homeland.

Communists in such regions as Southern Sakhalin and the Kurile Islands, which have been reunited with our homeland, have also taken part in the election of delegates to the 19th Congress.

It should be noted that between the 18th and 19th Congresses a large number of primary Party units were newly set up at enterprises and construction projects, Machine and Tractor Stations, state and collective farms and educational establishments. During this period the number of primary Party units increased by 237,245 organizations, or more than tripled.

The greatest number of new Party organizations have been established at construction projects, where their number has almost quadrupled. In recent years alone large Party organi-

zations have been established at the great construction projects of communism: the Kuibyshev Hydroelectric Station, where there are 2550 Communists; the Stalingrad Hydroelectric Station, with 1862 Communists; the construction site of the Main Turkmenian Canal, 747 Communists; the construction site of the Kakhovka Hydroelectric Station, 640, and the construction site of Moscow State University, 759 Party members and candidates. Large Party organizations have also been set up at many industrial enterprises which were constructed between the 18th and 19th Party Congresses. Among them are the Party organizations of the Kuibyshev State Ball Bearings Plant, which has 1224 Communists; the Moscow Small Auto Plant, 1170 Communists; the Altai Tractor Plant, 1096; the Urals Stalin Auto Plant, 1090 Communists; the Party organizations of the Lipetsk, Minsk and Vladimir Tractor Plants; the Tula Power-Driven Combine Plant; the Kutaisi and Minsk Auto Plants, and many other enterprises.

It is significant that the number of primary units on the collective farms has increased to more than sixfold what it was at the time of the 18th Party Congress and in educational establishments to almost sevenfold.

Such are the principal data on the numerical composition of delegates to the 19th Party Congress and the Party organizations represented at it.

Among the delegates to the Congress are personnel from all branches of Party and state work, socialist economy and culture.

Data on the education of delegates to the Congress are indicative. Of the 1192 delegates to the Congress, 709 have a higher education, 84 have an incomplete higher education, 223 have a secondary education and 176 have an incomplete secondary or elementary education.

These data on the delegates to the 19th Party Congress reflect the steady growth in the cultural level of members of our party and of all Soviet people.

Among the 709 delegates to the Congress with a higher education are 282 engineers, 68 agronomists, zootechnicians and other agricultural specialists, 98 teachers, 18 economists, 11 physicians and seven lawyers. The presence among the Congress delegates of such a large number of specialists in various branches of economy and culture shows once more that in our country educated people who know their work well and are capable of advancing it are highly valued and boldly promoted.

Taking part in the work of the Congress are 65 delegates with scholarly degrees and titles and 58 Stalin Prize winners, among whom, along with prominent workers in science and technology, are production workers and collective farmers who were awarded this great prize for outstanding inventions and fundamental improvements in production methods.

Comrades! The data concerning the delegates' length of Party membership and age show that our party is consistently applying Comrade Stalin's instructions on the need to aim at a combination, a union of old and young cadres in one common orchestra guiding the work of the Party and the state. While boldly promoting new, young officials, the Party is fully utilizing in a supervisory capacity old personnel with great experience and knowledge of the work.

The composition of delegates to the Congress in terms of length of Party membership is divided as follows: before 1917, 1.2%; since 1917-1920, 6.2%; since 1921-1930, 36.4%; since 1931-1940, 36.0%; since 1941-1945, 16.1%, and since 1946, 4.1%.

Thus, Party members with a period of service before 1920, who went through the great school of underground work and the Civil War, total 7.4% of the delegates to the Congress.

Delegates to the Congress by age: under 35, 5.9%; from 36 to 40, 17.7%; from 41 to 50, 61.1%; over 50, 15.3%.

Delegates of 37 nationalities were elected to the Congress: Russian, Ukrainian, Belorussian, Azerbaidzhanian, Georgian, Armenian, Kazakh, Uzbek, Turkmenian, Kirgiz, Tadzhik, Karelian, Lithuanian, Tatar, Bashkir, Buryat, Chuvash, Mordvinian, Udmurt, Ossetian, Komi, Yakut, Mari, nationalities of Dagestan and others.

The multinational composition of the delegates to the Congress is the best evidence of the fact that the party of Lenin and Stalin is the incarnation of the indestructible friendship and fraternal cooperation among the peoples of our state and that

이것이 바로 우리 민족의 전통적인 문화유산이다.

우리 민족은 오랜 역사를 통해 독자적인 문화를 발전시켜왔다. 특히 한글은 우리 민족의 정체성을 상징하는 중요한 문화유산이다. 한글은 단순한 의사소통의 도구를 넘어, 우리 민족의 사상과 문화를 담는 그릇이 되었다.

한글은 우리 민족의 문화유산으로서, 그 가치를 인정받아 유네스코 세계문화유산으로 등재되었다. 이는 우리 민족의 문화적 자긍심을 높이고, 세계에 우리 문화를 알리는 계기가 되었다. 또한, 한글은 우리 민족의 전통적인 가치관과 생활양식을 담고 있는 문화유산이다. 한글을 통해 우리는 우리 민족의 전통적인 문화를 이해하고, 그 가치를 계승할 수 있다.

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PRAVDA

Organ of the Central Committee and Moscow Committee of the All-Union Communist Party (of Bolsheviks)

No. 260 (12482)

Monday, Oct. 6, 1952

Price 20 kopeks

THE 19TH CONGRESS OF THE ALL-UNION COMMUNIST PARTY OF BOLSHEVIKS OPENED YESTERDAY IN THE GREAT HALL OF THE KREMLIN PALACE.

COMRADE G. M. MALENKOV, SECRETARY OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE A.-U. C. P. (B.), DELIVERED THE REPORT OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE A.-U. C. P. (B.).

19th Congress of All-Union Communist Party (of Bolsheviks)



Presidium of the 19th Congress of the All-Union Communist Party (of Bolsheviks). Left to right: Comrades J. V. Stalin, L. M. Kaganovich, A. B. Aristov, M. D. Bagirov, V. M. Molotov, O. V. Kuusinen, K. Ye. Voroshilov, V. M. Andrianov, N. S. Khrushchev, A. I. Niazov, D. S. Korotchenko, L. P. Beria, Zh. Shayakhmetov, N. A. Bulganin, N. S. Patolichev. At the speaker's rostrum is G. M. Malenkov. —(Photo by A. Ustinov and F. Kislov.)

VI. THE CONGRESS OPENS

FIRST SESSION—OCT. 5, 1952. (Pravda, Oct. 6, p. 1. Complete text:) The 19th Congress of the All-Union Communist Party (of Bolsheviks) opened Oct. 5 in the Great Hall of the Kremlin Palace. Present in the hall in addition to the Congress delegates were guests—representatives of the working people of the Soviet capital, workers, government and Party figures, representatives of science and the arts and representatives of foreign Communist and Workers' Parties.

Seven p.m. The delegates greet with prolonged applause the appearance on the platform of Comrade Stalin and his faithful comrades-in-arms Comrades Molotov, Malenkov, Voroshilov, Bulganin, Beria, Kaganovich, Khrushchev, Andreyev, Mikoyan and Kosygin. All rise. Shouts ring through the hall in waves: "Hurrah for Comrade Stalin!" "Hurrah for the great Stalin!" "Hail Comrade Stalin!" "Hurrah for our dear, beloved Stalin!" The Congress delegates' ardent ovation expressed boundless love and devotion for the genius leader of the Communist Party, the Soviet people and all progressive humanity, our dear Joseph Vissarionovich Stalin.

On behalf of the Communist Party Central Committee Comrade V. M. Molotov opened the Congress with an introductory speech.

Comrade V. M. Molotov's Introductory Speech.—Comrades! On behalf of the Party Central Committee I greet the delegates to the 19th Party Congress and our dear guests, here representing foreign Communist Parties and other fraternal parties of the working class. (Stormy, prolonged applause.)

Our first words here should be dedicated to those who heroically defended our Soviet motherland in the years of the war against the German and other aggressors and gave their lives for our just cause. Let us rise to honor the glorious memory of those who fell in that war, having laid down their lives in the

struggle against fascism and for the cause of the freedom and independence of the Soviet Union. (All rise.)

Absent from our midst today are several of the most prominent figures of our party. Alexander Sergeyevich Shcherbakov, who directed political work in the army in the difficult war years and who was particularly known to the Party as the outstanding head of the Moscow Party organization, has died. Mikhail Ivanovich Kalinin, whom the whole country knew so well and whom our party loved so much, is gone from our midst. Andre Alexandrovich Zhdanov, one of the talented representatives of the Stalinist leading core of the Party, has died. We remember the names of many other dead friends and comrades whose lives were indivisibly linked with the Party. We honor their memory in deep respect. (All rise.)

The preceding Congress of our party was held in 1939. Events of great historical importance have occurred in the time that has elapsed.

As you know, German fascism's treacherous attack on the Soviet Union broke in upon our people's peaceful labors. We were obliged to interrupt work on the tasks of the Third Five-Year Plan. We had to convert completely to a war footing, subordinating everything to the purpose of routing the enemy who had invaded our territory.

The second world war was a severe test for the young, multi-national Soviet state. At the same time it constituted a comprehensive check of the correctness of our party's policy. The Soviet people lived through many hard days and made heavy sacrifices in the war years. However, the Soviet Union did not weaken and did not waver, but under the leadership of our party was still further tempered in the fire of these events, was strengthened as a socialist state and gained con-

PRESIDIUM OF THE CONGRESS:*

| | |
|-------------------|-------------------|
| V. M. Andrianov | O. V. Kuusinen |
| A. B. Aristov | G. M. Malenkov |
| M. D. Bagirov | V. M. Molotov |
| L. P. Beria | A. I. Niazov |
| N. A. Bulganin | N. S. Patolichev† |
| K. Ye. Voroshilov | J. V. Stalin |
| L. M. Kaganovich | N. S. Khrushchev |
| D. S. Korotchenko | Zh. Shayakhmetov |

V. M. Molotov then grants the floor to Comrade Brezhnev. Speaking on behalf of the Caucus of Delegation Representatives, he proposes that a Congress secretariat be elected. This proposal is adopted. The Congress unanimously elects the secretariat nominated by Comrade Brezhnev.

SECRETARIAT OF THE CONGRESS:†

| | | |
|-------------------|----------------|----------------|
| A. N. Poskrebyshv | A. I. Mgeladze | A. M. Puzanov |
| N. G. Ignatov | L. G. Melnikov | A. J. Snieckus |
| I. V. Kapitonov | Z. I. Muratov | D. G. Smirnov |

On behalf of the Caucus of Delegation Representatives, Comrade Mgeladze introduces a proposal to elect an editorial commission of the Congress. The Congress unanimously elects the editorial commission.

EDITORIAL COMMISSION OF THE CONGRESS:†

| | | |
|----------------|-----------------|-------------------|
| P. N. Pospelov | L. F. Ilyichev | M. A. Suslov |
| B. Gafurov | N. A. Mikhailov | Ye. I. Tretyakova |

At Comrade Patolichev's proposal a credentials commission of the Congress is elected.

CREDENTIALS COMMISSION OF THE CONGRESS:*

| | | |
|----------------|-------------------|------------------|
| N. M. Pegov | S. A. Vagapov | N. V. Kiselev |
| G. A. Arutinov | I. T. Grishin | I. G. Kebin |
| S. Babayev | A. P. Yefimov | I. R. Razzakov |
| N. I. Belyayev | J. E. Kalnberzins | M. F. Shkiryatov |
| L. I. Brezhnev | A. I. Kirichenko | I. D. Yakovlev |

After election of the executive bodies the agenda is confirmed.

AGENDA OF THE 19TH CONGRESS

OF THE ALL-UNION COMMUNIST PARTY (OF BOLSHEVIKS)

1. Report of the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party—Comrade G. M. Malenkov, Secretary of the Central Committee, reporter.
2. Report of the Central Inspection Commission† of the All-Union Communist Party—Comrade P. G. Moskatov, Chairman of the Inspection Commission, reporter.
3. Directives of the 19th Party Congress for the Fifth Five-Year Plan of Development of the U.S.S.R., 1951-1955—Comrade M. Z. Saburov, Chairman of the State Planning Committee, reporter.
4. Changes in the Statutes of the All-Union Communist Party—Comrade N. S. Khrushchev, Secretary of the Central Committee, reporter.
5. Election of central Party bodies.

The Congress then confirms the order of its work.

The floor is granted to Comrade G. M. Malenkov, Secretary of the Central Committee, for the report of the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party. The delegates greet Comrade G. M. Malenkov's appearance at the rostrum with stormy, prolonged applause. All rise.

* [In Russian alphabetical order except for first name.—Trans.]

† [“Revizionnaya komissia,” which is sometimes variously translated in other publications as “auditing,” “inspection” or “revision” commission.—Trans.]

* [Listed in Russian alphabetical order.—Trans.]

† [In Russian alphabetical order except for first name.—Trans.]

TO THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE REPORT BY MALENKOV

[illegible][illegible]

$\frac{1}{2}$ $\frac{1}{3}$ $\frac{1}{4}$ $\frac{1}{5}$ $\frac{1}{6}$ $\frac{1}{7}$ $\frac{1}{8}$ $\frac{1}{9}$ $\frac{1}{10}$ $\frac{1}{11}$ $\frac{1}{12}$ $\frac{1}{13}$ $\frac{1}{14}$ $\frac{1}{15}$ $\frac{1}{16}$ $\frac{1}{17}$ $\frac{1}{18}$ $\frac{1}{19}$ $\frac{1}{20}$ $\frac{1}{21}$ $\frac{1}{22}$ $\frac{1}{23}$ $\frac{1}{24}$ $\frac{1}{25}$ $\frac{1}{26}$ $\frac{1}{27}$ $\frac{1}{28}$ $\frac{1}{29}$ $\frac{1}{30}$ $\frac{1}{31}$ $\frac{1}{32}$ $\frac{1}{33}$ $\frac{1}{34}$ $\frac{1}{35}$ $\frac{1}{36}$ $\frac{1}{37}$ $\frac{1}{38}$ $\frac{1}{39}$ $\frac{1}{40}$ $\frac{1}{41}$ $\frac{1}{42}$ $\frac{1}{43}$ $\frac{1}{44}$ $\frac{1}{45}$ $\frac{1}{46}$ $\frac{1}{47}$ $\frac{1}{48}$ $\frac{1}{49}$ $\frac{1}{50}$ $\frac{1}{51}$ $\frac{1}{52}$ $\frac{1}{53}$ $\frac{1}{54}$ $\frac{1}{55}$ $\frac{1}{56}$ $\frac{1}{57}$ $\frac{1}{58}$ $\frac{1}{59}$ $\frac{1}{60}$ $\frac{1}{61}$ $\frac{1}{62}$ $\frac{1}{63}$ $\frac{1}{64}$ $\frac{1}{65}$ $\frac{1}{66}$ $\frac{1}{67}$ $\frac{1}{68}$ $\frac{1}{69}$ $\frac{1}{70}$ $\frac{1}{71}$ $\frac{1}{72}$ $\frac{1}{73}$ $\frac{1}{74}$ $\frac{1}{75}$ $\frac{1}{76}$ $\frac{1}{77}$ $\frac{1}{78}$ $\frac{1}{79}$ $\frac{1}{80}$ $\frac{1}{81}$ $\frac{1}{82}$ $\frac{1}{83}$ $\frac{1}{84}$ $\frac{1}{85}$ $\frac{1}{86}$ $\frac{1}{87}$ $\frac{1}{88}$ $\frac{1}{89}$ $\frac{1}{90}$ $\frac{1}{91}$ $\frac{1}{92}$ $\frac{1}{93}$ $\frac{1}{94}$ $\frac{1}{95}$ $\frac{1}{96}$ $\frac{1}{97}$ $\frac{1}{98}$ $\frac{1}{99}$ $\frac{1}{100}$

$$\frac{d}{dt} \left(\frac{\partial L}{\partial \dot{x}} \right) = \frac{\partial L}{\partial x}, \quad \frac{d}{dt} \left(\frac{\partial L}{\partial \dot{y}} \right) = \frac{\partial L}{\partial y}, \quad \frac{d}{dt} \left(\frac{\partial L}{\partial \dot{z}} \right) = \frac{\partial L}{\partial z}$$
[illegible][illegible]

1. The first step in the process of the investigation is the identification of the problem. This is done by the investigator who is responsible for the investigation. The investigator must identify the problem and the scope of the investigation. The investigator must also identify the objectives of the investigation. The objectives of the investigation are the goals that the investigator wants to achieve. The objectives of the investigation are the goals that the investigator wants to achieve.

[illegible]

Второй этап — выявление и анализ проблем, связанных с деятельностью организации. В этот этап включены следующие вопросы: «Какие проблемы существуют в деятельности организации?», «Какие проблемы существуют в деятельности организации?», «Какие проблемы существуют в деятельности организации?».

[illegible][illegible][illegible][illegible]

* *For the purpose of this study, the 2000 census was used to determine the number of people in the study area who were 18 years of age or older. The 2000 census was used because it was the most recent census available at the time of the study. The 2000 census was used because it was the most recent census available at the time of the study.*

1. The Bureau of the Ministry of the Interior of the Russian Empire, in the person of the Minister of the Interior, has the honor to inform you that the Ministry of the Interior has received from the Ministry of the Navy a request for the transfer of the ship "Vostok" to the Ministry of the Interior for the purpose of its use as a school ship for the training of cadets of the Ministry of the Interior. The Ministry of the Interior has the honor to inform you that it has agreed to the transfer of the ship "Vostok" to the Ministry of the Interior for the purpose of its use as a school ship for the training of cadets of the Ministry of the Interior.

[illegible][illegible]

ing in the grip of the deeper and deeper general crisis of capitalism and of constantly recurring economic crises; the line of militarization of the economy and one-sided development of the branches of production working on war orders, the line of competitive struggle among countries, the line of enslavement of some countries by others. This situation comes about because this economy is developing not in the interests of society, but in the interests of assuring maximum profits for the capitalists through the exploitation, ruin and impoverishment of the majority of the population of the given country, through enslavement and systematic looting of the peoples of other countries, particularly backward countries, and finally through wars and militarization of the national economy.

The development of production in the U.S.S.R. and in the capitalist countries is characterized by the following data:

GROWTH OF INDUSTRIAL OUTPUT IN THE U.S.S.R. AND THE CAPITALIST COUNTRIES, 1929-1951

(In per cent of 1929)

| | 1929 | 1939 | 1943 | 1946 | 1947 | 1948 | 1949 | 1950 | 1951 |
|----------------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|
| U.S.S.R. . . . | 100 | 552 | 573 | 466 | 571 | 721 | 870 | 1082 | 1266 |
| U.S.A. . . . | 100 | 99 | 217 | 155 | 170 | 175 | 160 | 182 | 200 |
| Britain . . . | 100 | 123 | a | 112 | 121 | 135 | 144 | 157 | 160 |
| France . . . | 100 | 80 | a | 63 | 74 | 85 | 92 | 92 | 104 |
| Italy | 100 | 108 | a | 72 | 93 | 97 | 103 | 118 | 134 |

aData not issued.

As the above table shows, the volume of industrial production in the U.S.S.R. in 1951 constituted 1266% of that of 1929, that is, increased almost thirteenfold in this period; Soviet industry in the postwar period, as in the period before the war, has been constantly advancing along an ascending line on the basis of development of peaceful production.

From the above table it is also evident that industrial output in the United States of America stood still from 1929 to 1939, then rose thanks only to the sharp increase in war production during the second world war, then dropped considerably and rose again only as a result of launching of the war against the Korean people and conversion to an intensified arms drive, and in connection with this grew in 1951 to double that of 1929.

Britain's industrial output in the same period increased only 60%, and in many other West European capitalist countries industry is still hovering around the level of 1929.

In the European people's democracies, despite the fact that they suffered considerably more from the war than the capitalist countries of Western Europe, the prewar level of industrial production was surpassed in 1951: in Poland it was 2.9 times as great [as before the war], in Czechoslovakia 1.7 times, in Hungary 2.5 times, in Rumania 1.9 times, in Bulgaria 4.6 times and in Albania more than fivefold. A steady advance in agriculture is likewise taking place in these countries; technical crops are increasing particularly fast and there are considerable achievements in animal husbandry.

The German Democratic Republic has attained great successes in developing its economy. By 1952 the republic's industrial output had not only been restored to the prewar level but exceeded it by 36%; the volume of industrial production in 1951 was 2.4 times as great as in 1946; metallurgy, machine building, the chemical industry and production of electric power are growing year by year. Agriculture has surpassed the prewar level in both sown area and yields.

The economy of the Chinese People's Republic is developing rapidly. The Chinese people are working with tremendous enthusiasm and succeeding in overcoming the severe consequences of many years of destructive war against the Japanese invaders and Kuomintang reaction. From the time of the establishment of the rule of people's democracy the industrial development of China has proceeded at a rapid pace: the volume of industrial output in 1951 was more than double that of 1949; railroad transport has been restored and construction of new railroad lines is proceeding at an intensive pace. As a result of the great agrarian reform carried out by the people's government of China, great successes have been attained in agriculture: grain crops in 1951 were 128% of the 1949 figure and cotton was 252% of the 1929 crop. While the country's fi-

nances in the old China were utterly disordered and inflation attained tremendous proportions, the people's government of China has strengthened the finances and provided a stable currency.

Great economic progress was made in the Korean People's Democratic Republic after its liberation from the Japanese colonizers. By 1949 the volume of industrial output had increased to fourfold that of 1946. In the countryside, after the people's democratic government carried out agrarian reform, the sown area increased almost 25% and the yields of all crops increased considerably. The American imperialists' attack interrupted the peaceful constructive labors of the masses of the people of the Korean People's Democratic Republic. The American and other troops operating under the U.N. flag are barbarously destroying peaceful cities and villages of North Korea, its industry and agriculture.

The Mongolian People's Republic has made great strides in developing its economy. The republic's national economy is growing and gaining in strength year by year and the Mongolian people's welfare is improving and their culture growing. Stock raising, the basic branch of the country's economy, is on an unswerving upgrade; the number of cattle has increased 2.5 times during the republic's existence and all the cattle now belong to the working peasantry. Output of state and cooperative industry has almost tripled in the past decade.

All the data characterizing the development of production in the capitalist countries and the countries of the democratic camp bear witness that the tempos of industrial output of the capitalist countries, including U.S. output, lag far behind the pace of development of industry of the U.S.S.R. and the people's democracies.

From these data it follows, further, that industrial output of the capitalist countries has risen slightly only in connection with war preparations and with supplying the war machine in the war period.

The second world war not only did not remove the economic and political contradictions of capitalism but, on the contrary, further sharpened these contradictions, shook the economy of the capitalist countries and deepened the general crisis of the world capitalist system. The second world war did not bear out the hopes of the large bourgeoisie of the imperialist states. Each of the two large capitalist groupings which came to grips in the period of the war counted on using armed force to redivide the world, seize new sources of raw materials and enlarge the markets for their goods—that is, improve their own economic situation at their rivals' expense and gain world domination.

But these calculations went awry. Although Germany and Japan were put out of action as the major competitors of the three chief capitalist countries—the U.S.A., Britain and France—and these [latter three] countries, particularly the U.S.A., hoped as a consequence to increase production in their countries fourfold or fivefold, these hopes were shattered. On top of this, China and the European people's democracies were lost to the capitalist system and, with the Soviet Union, constituted a single, mighty camp of peace and democracy confronting the camp of imperialism.

The economic result of the formation of the two opposite camps, as Comrade Stalin points out, was that the single, all-inclusive world market broke up and two parallel world markets were formed: the market of the countries of the peaceful democratic camp and the market of the countries of the aggressive, imperialist camp. The disintegration of the single world market is the most important economic result of the second world war and of its economic aftermath.

The two world markets are developing in opposite directions. The new, democratic world market does not know any difficulties of marketing goods, since the size of this market is increasing year by year in accord with the crisis-free growth of production in the countries of the camp of democracy, since the constant growth of production in all the countries of the democratic camp is constantly enlarging the volume of the democratic market. On the other hand we have the other market, the world imperialist market, unlinked with the U.S.S.R. and the other democratic countries and consequently shrunken, suffering marketing difficulties because of the interruptions and crises in production, because of the unemploy-

ment and impoverishment of the masses, because of the isolation from the democratic countries. At the same time it is necessary to keep in mind that as a result of the disintegration of the single world market the area of application of forces of the chief capitalist countries (the U.S.A., Britain, France) to world resources has been sharply curtailed, in view of which the world capitalist market is shrinking more and more, and selling conditions in this market have deteriorated and are continuing to deteriorate further.

The capitalist states emerged from the second world war with uneven results among them, [a fact] which brought substantial changes in the economic relations among these countries. After the prolonged fighting, the human losses and the material damage, the economy of many of the belligerent countries proved badly undermined. This applies above all to Germany, Italy and Japan. France, the Netherlands, Belgium and some other countries likewise suffered great damage. Britain was quite seriously weakened.

The United States of America batted on the war, the American billionaires improved their economic positions. Nevertheless, the U.S.A. did not succeed in attaining its aim, did not succeed in establishing the domination of American capital in the world market. The U.S.A. expected to raise its production fourfold or fivefold after Germany and Japan were put out of action. But it increased its production only twofold and is now tumbling downhill toward economic crisis. It is a fact that the U.S.A. now has no less than 3,000,000 completely unemployed and still more partially unemployed. Mass strikes of the workers are further complicating things for the U.S. billionaires. And this is happening because U.S. industry, through the fault of the U.S. ruling circles, has forfeited such markets as the U.S.S.R., China and the European people's democracies.

American imperialism acts now not only as an international exploiter and enslaver of peoples but as a force disorganizing the economy of the backward capitalist countries. Taking advantage of the weakening of its competitors, U.S. monopoly capital seized a substantial part of the world capitalist market after the war. It is destroying the historically established multi-lateral economic ties among the capitalist countries, replacing them with unilateral ties of these countries with the U.S.A. Forcing its exports by the most unscrupulous dumping and at the same time protecting its domestic market from imports of foreign goods, causing the American people to gasp under high prices, the American monopolies are more and more deranging the world capitalist market. American imperialism is depriving the West European countries of the opportunity of obtaining foodstuffs in the former markets in Eastern Europe, although the countries of Western Europe had always shipped large quantities of industrial goods there in exchange for foodstuffs and raw materials.

This kind of economic policy on the part of American imperialism is bound to aggravate the contradictions between the United States and the other capitalist countries. The chief of these remain the contradictions between the U.S.A. and Britain. These contradictions emerge in the form of the open struggle between the American and British monopolies for sources of oil, rubber, nonferrous metals, rare metals, sulphur and wool and for markets for their goods.

To this should be added the very serious contradictions between the U.S.A. and Japan, Italy and Western Germany, countries which are living under the occupation yoke of the U.S. dictators. It would be naive to think that these vanquished countries will consent to live forever under the heel of American occupiers. It would be foolish to think that they will not try in one way or another to wrest themselves from U.S. oppression in order to lead a free, independent life.

The contradictions between the U.S.A. and Britain and between the U.S.A. and France are growing more acute and will continue to grow more acute as American capitalism penetrates the economies of Britain, France and Italy and seizes raw materials and markets in the British and French colonies by granting loans under a fanfare of "aid." First Britain and, following her, France and the other capitalist countries are trying to wrest themselves from subjection to the U.S.A. in order to win an independent status and high profits. A stubborn struggle by the capitalists of Britain against American domination in international trade is already unfolding.

The economic difficulties in the grip of which the capitalist countries found themselves after the war have been deepened by the fact that the imperialists themselves cut off their access to the world democratic market. The United States of America reduced trade with the Soviet Union and the European people's democracies to almost zero and has ceased trade with China. It has virtually forbidden not merely the vanquished countries (Japan, Western Germany, Italy) but also Britain, France, the Netherlands, Denmark, Norway, Belgium and other capitalist states to sell and buy in the market of the countries of the democratic camp. In 1951 U.S. trade with the countries which are now members of the democratic camp had contracted to one-tenth that of 1937; Britain's to one-sixth and France's to less than one-fourth.

The U.S.A. and also Britain and France expected to strangle the U.S.S.R., China and the European people's democracies by economic "blockade." What actually happened was that the world democratic market was not strangled but strengthened. The consequence was that the imperialists struck a serious blow at their own exports and further intensified the contradiction between their industrial production capacity and the opportunities for marketing its output.

All this means that still deeper contradictions have arisen in the capitalist economy and that the world system of capitalist economy as a whole has become both considerably shrunken and weaker and still more unstable than it had been before the war.

The capitalists of the U.S.A., recognizing the existence of these economic difficulties, are trying to offset them by the war in Korea, an armaments drive and militarization of industry.

In unleashing the reactionary war against the Korean people and fanning war hysteria against the democratic camp, the imperialists of the U.S.A., Britain and France converted their economy to war and carried to tremendous lengths the militarization of the economy and the armaments race in their countries. At present a constantly growing part of the industrial output of these countries is employed for war matériel. War orders play the decisive role in the basic branches of industry of the U.S.A. and the other capitalist countries. Direct and indirect outlays for the arms drive constitute a constantly growing share of the budgets of the capitalist states. In the U.S.A. direct military expenditures rose from \$1,000,000,000 in the 1937-1938 budget year to \$58,200,000,000 in 1952-1953 and to-day these expenditures constitute 74% of the total budget of the U.S.A., while in 1937-1938 U.S. military expenditures comprised 14% of the budget; in Britain military expenditures correspondingly rose from 197,000,000 to 1,634,000,000 pounds sterling and now constitute 34% of the entire budget, as compared with 17% in the prewar period; in France military expenditures now comprise almost 40% of the entire budget.

This unprecedented growth of military expenditures is leading to continuous increase in taxes and increased inflationary issue of paper currency. The drastic weakening of the capitalist countries' entire financial system as a consequence of the war and of the U.S. ruling circles' policy continues to grow. Depreciation of currency has reached unheard-of proportions. According to official and obviously doctored data, the purchasing power of the dollar in 1951 was only 43% of what it had been in 1939, the pound sterling's was only 32%, the French franc's 3.8% and the Italian lira's less than 2%.

The conversion to a war economy enabled the U.S.A. and other capitalist countries to raise the level of industrial output for a time. On this basis bourgeois economists try to prove that large war orders can indefinitely maintain a high level of "business activity." But reality is refuting these claims. Now, in the third year of particularly intensive militarization of the capitalist economy, the disastrous effects of this militarization are becoming more and more evident. The war-inflation factors leading to temporary enlivening of the business index gave rise to lopsided military development of the economy of the capitalist countries. A larger and larger portion of the manufactures and raw materials is being absorbed by unproductive war consumption or frozen in the form of huge strategic stockpiles. At the same time, the militarization of the economy leads to squeezing funds from the public through higher taxes. All this turns the budgets of the capitalist countries into means by which the billionaires rob the people, consider-

ably reduces the purchasing power of the population, lowers demand for the products of industry and agriculture, leads to sharp reduction of production for civilian needs and creates the conditions for the onset of an acute economic crisis.

The militarization of the national economy does not eliminate but, on the contrary, deepens the disproportion between production capacity and the shrinking purchasing power of the population—purchasing power which the ruling upper circles in capitalist countries are reducing to the very minimum, which leads to increasing contraction of the capitalist market. Thus the expansion of war production leads inevitably to the maturing of a new and profound economic crisis.

The armaments drive imposes a particularly heavy burden on the economy of the United States' satellites. In launching the war in Korea, the United States increased its pressure on the West European states, demanding of them more and more complete conversion of industry to war purposes and inordinate allocations for war preparations, depriving civilian industries in these countries of necessary raw materials and supplies. American imperialism has completely thrown off the mask of "rehabilitating" the economy of the capitalist countries. American "aid" is now granted only for armaments, for the preparation of a new war. The armaments drive conducted by the rulers of Britain, France, Italy, Western Germany, Belgium, Norway and other capitalist countries at the dictation of the American monopolies is ruining the economy of these countries and driving them to disaster.

The billionaires, who have taken control over the bourgeois state and dictate to it the policy of preparing a new war and conducting the arms drive, are now making colossal profits. The armaments drive has turned into a source of unprecedented enrichment for the billionaires, above all for the monopolies and billionaires of the United States. Even according to official, minimized statistics, the profits of the U.S. capitalist monopolies increased from \$3,300,000,000 in 1938 to \$42,900,000,000 in 1951, i.e., they increased thirteenfold. Huge profits are also being made by the British monopoly moneybags and also by the capitalist monopolies of France, Italy, Japan and other countries in spite of the fact that the economy of these countries is in a state of prolonged stagnation.

At the same time militarization has led to sharp deterioration in the living conditions of the masses of the people. The increase in taxation, the rise in prices of consumers' goods and inflation have intensified the relative and absolute impoverishment of the working people. In the United States of America direct taxes on the public in the current budget year are more than 12 times as high as in the 1937-1938 budget year, even after allowance for currency depreciation. In the West European countries, where the tax burden was quite considerable even before the second world war, taxes have increased correspondingly: they have doubled in Britain and increased 2.6 times in France and 1.5 times in Italy.

Even the obviously minimized official cost-of-living and retail price indexes attest to the uninterrupted rise in the high cost of living, which has been particularly accentuated since the American aggression in Korea. In these conditions the policy of "freezing" wages, carried out by the capitalists with the support of the right-wing socialists and reactionary trade union leaders, has led to a great cut in the real wages of workers and employees. In France and Italy the 1952 real wages of workers are less than half prewar, in Britain 20% below prewar. According to figures of the electrical workers' union, the cost of living in the U.S.A. has almost trebled in comparison with 1939. Despite the growth of war production, the number of unemployed and partially unemployed is growing in the capitalist countries. In Italy and Western Germany unemployment exceeds the level of the grimmest years of the world economic crisis of 1929-1933: in Italy there are more than 2,000,000 fully unemployed and an even larger number of partially unemployed; in Western Germany there are almost 3,000,000 completely or partially unemployed. In Japan there are approximately 10,000,000 completely or partially unemployed. In the U.S.A. there are no less than 3,000,000 completely unemployed and 10,000,000 partially unemployed. Unemployment is growing in Britain, where there are already half a million

unemployed. In such a small country as Belgium there are more than 300,000 unemployed.

The increasing deterioration of the material situation of broad strata of the population as a consequence of the arms drive is leading to a steady growth of dissatisfaction among the masses of the people and intensifying their struggle against the lowering of the standard of living and against the entire policy of preparing a new war. The class contradictions between the imperialist bourgeoisie, on the one hand, and the working class and all the working people, on the other, are becoming more and more acute. A strike wave is spreading wider and wider through the capitalist world.

The situation of the world capitalist system today is complicated by the fact that the colonial system of imperialism is actually disintegrating as a result of the war and the new surge of the national liberation struggle in the colonial and dependent countries.

A direct result of the rout of fascist Germany and imperialist Japan was the breaching of the front of imperialism in China, Korea and Vietnam, where people's republics arose in place of semicolonies and colonies. The victory of the Chinese people further revolutionized the East and stimulated the development of the liberation struggle of peoples oppressed by imperialism.

The contradictions between the colonial powers and the colonies have increased in the postwar period. Britain, France, Belgium and the other colonial powers are trying to compensate themselves at the expense of the colonies for the burdens being imposed on them by militarization of the economy and the expansion of the United States. At the same time, the American imperialists are infiltrating the colonies and spheres of influence of these colonial powers, winning positions there for themselves and increasing the exploitation of the peoples of the colonial and dependent countries. In the course of this struggle the American usurpers are inspiring plots against their British and French "allies," promoting by their actions further accentuation of the crisis in the colonial system of imperialism. The territory of many of the colonial and dependent countries (Egypt, Iran, Syria, Morocco, Tunisia, et al.) is being used for military bases and their peoples are being prepared for the role of "cannon fodder" in a future war.

As a result of the prolonged oppression by the imperialists and the existence of survivals of feudalism, the economy of the colonial and dependent countries, especially agriculture, is in a state of decline. Tens of millions of people in India, Indonesia, Iran and the countries of Africa live in constant hunger and vast numbers of people have fallen victim to death by starvation. The outcome of the predatory exploitation of the colonial and dependent countries by the imperialist powers is that development of the productive forces is retarded in these countries, the purchasing power of the population is extremely low, and the markets for manufactured goods are shrinking. All this drags down the economy of the capitalist world like a dead weight, intensifying the internal contradictions of the world capitalist system as a whole.

The peoples of the colonial and dependent countries are offering more and more determined resistance to the imperialist enslavers. The growing scope of the national liberation movement is borne out by the struggle of the peoples of Vietnam, Burma, Malaya, the Philippines and Indonesia and by the growth of national resistance in India, Iran, Egypt and other countries.

2. Aggravation of the International Situation; Threat of New War Emanating From American-British Aggressive Bloc; The People's Struggle for Peace.—In the sphere of international relations, too, the postwar activities of the ruling circles of the United States of America, Britain and France have been keyed not by preparation for a new war.

Almost immediately after the second world war ended, the United States of America abandoned the agreed course which the wartime allies had pursued and which was set forth in the decisions of the Teheran, Yalta and Potsdam conferences. By a whole series of aggressive actions the U.S.A. aggravated the international situation, confronting the world with the danger of another war.

The rulers of the U.S.A. formulated the aims of their aggressive line candidly enough. Back in 1945, soon after Truman

became President of the United States, he declared that "victory has faced the American people with a constant and urgent necessity for [providing] world leadership." Subsequently Truman and other American politicians repeatedly reiterated claims to "U.S. world leadership." This line of working to win world domination, of working to subordinate all other countries is the basic element in the entire policy of the American imperialist hierarchy.

The bosses of the U.S.A. knew of course that domination over other nations cannot be won by peaceful means. They knew from the experience of the Hitlerites, who also sought domination over other countries, that world domination is not even to be dreamed of without recourse to force, without unleashing a new war. So they decided to breach the peace, to prepare a new war. And, since the U.S.S.R. is the principal opponent of a new war, the principal bulwark of peace, the bosses of the U.S.A. came to the conclusion that the war must be launched against the U.S.S.R. and the other supporters of peace. Thus was the North Atlantic aggressive bloc formed, hammered together without the knowledge of the U.S.S.R. and behind its back. And in order to conceal the aggressive aims of this bloc from the people and to deceive the people, they declared it a "defensive" bloc against "communism," against the Soviet Union, which, they alleged, intends to attack the U.S.A., Britain, France and the other members of the bloc.

It is for this criminal purpose that American war bases are being established in various countries, as closely as possible to the Soviet borders.

In remilitarizing Western Germany and Japan, the ruling circles of the U.S.A. and their supporters are restoring, before the eyes of the whole world, the two foci of the second world war, to destroy which the peoples shed their blood in that war.

The U.S. attack on the Korean People's Democratic Republic marked the shift of the American-British bloc from preparation of aggressive war to outright acts of aggression. The Korean people, who are heroically defending the freedom and independence of their country, in close cooperation with the valorous Chinese volunteers, and are repulsing the breakers of the peace, win the ardent sympathy of all democratic and peace-loving mankind. (*Stormy applause.*)

The international situation as a whole today has a number of specific features and characteristics, of which it is necessary to note the following.

The principal aggressive power, the United States of America, is strenuously spurring the other capitalist countries on to war, primarily the countries belonging to the North Atlantic bloc, but also the countries vanquished in the second world war—Western Germany, Italy and Japan. The American tycoons are determining, for all the participants in the bloc, the aims of the war, its plan of action and the forces which are to take part in it, and are deciding other questions of the preparation for the war, dictating their will.

The rulers of the U.S.A. state that they are inspired by such ideals as that of creating a "community of free nations." From time to time they make the statement that the U.S.A., Britain, France, Turkey, Greece represent the "community of free nations," whereas the U.S.S.R. and the people's democratic republics are alleged to be "unfree" countries. We understand this to mean that there really is "freedom" in the U.S.A., Britain, France, Turkey and other capitalist countries, not freedom for the people, but freedom to exploit and rob the people. As for the U.S.S.R. and the people's democracies, it is true that such "freedom" does not exist there, because in those countries freedom to exploit and rob the working people was long ago abolished. (*Applause.*) Here, then, is what the heralds of the "American way of life" preen themselves on.

Indeed, U.S. policy toward [its] West European and other capitalist "friends" is not a democratic but an imperialist policy. Under the flag of "anticommunism" and "defense of freedom" the United States is actually subjugating and robbing the old, long-established bourgeois states and their colonies. The American imperialists need the smoke screen of the "struggle against communism," just as Hitler did in the past, to divert attention from their actual predatory designs. Pursuing an imperialist policy toward Britain, France and other capitalist countries, the United States of America has the—to put it mildly—effrontery to pose as a sincere friend of these countries.

A fine friend! Rides on the backs of his junior partners, robs and enslaves them, belabors them with whip and spur, and still says: "Let us be friends," which, on the lips of the American moneybags, means: First you give me a ride, then I'll ride on you. (*Laughter in the hall.*)

Once-free capitalist states—Britain, France, the Netherlands, Belgium, Norway—are now factually abandoning the national policy and pursuing a policy dictated by the American imperialists, surrendering their territories for American bases and military staging areas, thereby jeopardizing their own countries in event of hostilities. In deference to the U.S.A. they are entering into alliances and blocs directed against the national interests of their own states. A glaring example of this is the action of the ruling circles of France, which are assisting with their own hand the restoration of France's age-old bitterest enemy, German imperialism. British leaders of both the Conservative and Labor groups have signed up for a long time as junior partners of the U.S.A., thereby pledging to pursue not their own national policy but an American policy. The British people are already suffering grievously from this policy and the British Empire is coming apart at the seams.

At the same time, the British propaganda media harp on the theme that the Communists allegedly are destroying the British Empire. Yet the ruling circles of the British Empire cannot fail to see the obvious facts which attest that the British Imperial possessions are being seized not by Communists but by American billionaires.

Is it the Communists rather than the American billionaires who have taken over Canada and are taking over Australia and New Zealand, who are dislodging Britain from the Suez Canal Zone and from the markets of Latin America and the Near and Middle East and are taking over the oil regions which Britain possesses?

The facts show that no enemy of Britain has inflicted such heavy blows upon her or taken away her Empire piece by piece as her American "friend" is doing. This "friend" is in a bloc with Britain and is using British soil for air bases, thereby placing her in a difficult and, I should say, dangerous position, and yet at the same time poses as Britain's savior from "Soviet communism."

As for such "free" countries as Greece, Turkey and Yugoslavia, they have already managed to become American colonies, and the rulers of Yugoslavia, all those Titos, Kardeljs, Rankovices, Djilas, Pijades et al., long ago signed up as American agents carrying out espionage and sabotage assignments from their American "chiefs" against the U.S.S.R. and the people's democracies.

The ruling circles of France, Italy, Britain, Western Germany and Japan have bound themselves to the chariot of American imperialism, abandoning a national, independent foreign policy of their own. True, the ruling hierarchy of these countries is thereby betraying the national interests of these countries and confessing its own bankruptcy. But this hierarchy prefers to sacrifice the national interests of its countries in the hope of assistance by the overseas imperialist patrons against its own peoples, whom it fears more than bondage to foreign imperialists.

Direct responsibility for this international policy of the ruling circles is borne also by the right-wing Social-Democrats, primarily by the hierarchy of the British Labor Party, French Socialist Party and Social-Democratic Party of Western Germany. The right-wing socialists of Sweden, Denmark, Norway, Finland, Austria and other countries are following in the footsteps of their colleagues and during the whole period since the second world war have been furiously fighting the peace-loving and democratic forces of the peoples. The present-day right-wing Social-Democrats, in addition to the old role of flunkey of the national bourgeoisie, have turned into agents of foreign, American imperialism and are performing its dirtiest assignments in the preparation of war and in the struggle against their own peoples.

A particular feature of the strategy of American imperialism is that its masters are building their war plans on the use of foreign territories and foreign armies, primarily the West German and Japanese, as well as the British, French and Italian, on the use of other peoples, who, in the design of the American strategists, are to serve as blind tools and cannon fodder.

for winning world domination for the American monopolists.

But already the more sober-minded and progressive politicians in the European and other capitalist countries, those who are not blinded by anti-Soviet animus, distinctly see the abyss into which the reckless American adventurers are dragging them, and they are beginning to take a stand against war. It is to be presumed that in the countries condemned to the role of obedient pawns of the American dictators there will be found genuinely peace-loving democratic forces which will pursue an independent peace policy and will find a way out of the impasse into which the American dictators have driven them. Taking this new path, European and other countries will meet complete understanding on the part of all the peace-loving countries. *(Stormy, prolonged applause.)*

In the effort to disguise their predatory policy, the ruling circles of the United States are trying to pass off the so-called "cold war" against the democratic camp as a peaceful policy of defense and are scaring their peoples with the spectre of an imaginary danger of attack by the U.S.S.R. A characteristic feature of the policy of the masters of the Atlantic bloc is the disguising of aggressive plans and of the hostilities already in progress by demagogic peace phraseology. The fact is that it is not so easy nowadays to drive the peoples—who only recently experienced all the hardship of a blood-letting war—into a new war, a war against the peace-loving peoples. Hence these efforts of the aggressive Atlantic bloc to don sheep's clothing.

In these circumstances it would be dangerous to underestimate the harm done by the hypocritical peace camouflage of the aggressors of today.

The preparation for war is accompanied by an unprecedented orgy of militarism, which has permeated the entire life and being of the peoples of the countries of the imperialist camp, by a furious onslaught of reaction against the working people and by fascistizing the entire regime in these countries.

Preparing for the second world war, the Hitlerite imperialists introduced fascism in their country; now the American imperialists, preparing for a new war, are introducing a brutal fascist regime not only in the U.S.A. but also in other countries, primarily in places where the forces of peace and democracy are particularly large, as in France, Italy and Japan, for example. The ruling circles of these countries, carrying out the disgraceful mission dictated by the American military clique, have launched war against their own peoples. And the American armed forces stationed outside the U.S.A. are performing the part of punitive gendarme forces.

Nowadays American imperialism no longer figures as merely an aggressor but also as an international gendarme trying to stamp out freedom wherever it can and to install fascism.

Against this world gendarme there is already rising a wave of hatred and resistance on the part of the peoples it is suppressing.

All this testifies to the weakening of the imperialists' positions and leads to sharp aggravation of the struggle within the imperialist camp between the forces of fascist reaction and the democratic forces of the peoples in the imperialist countries. This situation is fraught with very serious consequences for the warmongers.

In connection with the mounting threat of war, a movement of all peoples in defense of peace is developing and an antiwar coalition is being formed of various classes and social strata interested in ending the international tension and averting a new world war. The warmongers will not succeed in misrepresenting this nonpartisan democratic peace movement as a party movement, as allegedly Communist. The fact that 500,000,000 people signed the Stockholm appeal and more than 600,000,000 signed the appeal demanding the conclusion of a peace pact among the five great powers is the best refutation of this contention of the warmongers and an indication of the colossal scope of this nonpartisan, democratic movement in defense of peace. This peace movement does not pursue the aim of abolishing capitalism, for it is not a socialist movement but a democratic movement of hundreds of millions of people. The peace partisans are advancing demands and proposals for the preservation of peace and prevention of a new war. In the present historical circumstances, attainment of this end would be a tremendous triumph for the cause of democracy and peace.

The present ratio of forces between the camp of imperialism and war and the camp of democracy and peace makes this prospect quite real. For the first time in history there is a powerful and united camp of peace-loving states. In the capitalist countries the working class is better organized and powerful democratic international organizations of workers, peasants, women and youth have been established. The Communist Parties, which are waging a courageous struggle for the cause of peace, have grown and gained in strength.

The peoples of all countries have an interest in the struggle against the danger of a new war and this includes the broad masses in the United States of America, for in the event of war they will suffer no less than the populace of other countries. In spite of the tremendous American superiority in matériel, the war in Korea has already cost the American people hundreds of thousands of killed and wounded. It is not hard to realize what colossal sacrifices the American people would have to bear if the bloated financial magnates of the U.S.A. hurl them into a war against the peace-loving nations.

The task now is to increase the activity of the masses of the people, to improve the organization of the peace partisans, to expose the warmongers tirelessly and to prevent them from enmeshing the people in lies. To curb and isolate the adventurers of the imperialist aggressors' camp who, for the sake of their profits, are trying to engulf the peoples in a holocaust of blood—such is the paramount task of all progressive and peace-loving mankind. *(Prolonged applause.)*

3. The Soviet Union in the Struggle for the Preservation and Strengthening of Peace.—The basic Party line in the field of foreign policy has been and remains the policy of peace among nations and ensuring the security of our socialist motherland.

From the first days of the existence of the Soviet state, the Communist Party has proclaimed and has pursued a policy of peace and friendly relations among nations. Throughout the entire period between the two world wars the Soviet Union perseveringly championed the cause of peace, fought in the international arena against the danger of a new war, seeking enforcement of a policy of collective security and collective resistance to the aggressor. It was not the fault of the Soviet Union that reactionary circles of the U.S.A. and of the West European countries thwarted the policy of collective security, encouraged Hitler aggression and brought on the unleashing of the second world war.

While steadfastly championing a policy of peace, our party at the same time, mindful of the hostile encirclement, tirelessly strengthened the country's defense capacity so as to meet the enemy fully prepared.

In 1939, when the conflagration of the new war was already raging, Comrade Stalin at the 18th Party Congress stressed the fundamental principles of Soviet foreign policy, stating: "We stand for peace and the strengthening of business relations with all countries, we maintain and will continue to maintain this stand insofar as these countries preserve like relations with the Soviet Union, insofar as they do not try to trespass on the interests of our country." At the same time Comrade Stalin warned the aggressors: "We do not fear the aggressors' threats and are prepared to return with doubled force every blow struck by warmongers who try to violate the Soviet borders."

And when Hitler Germany treacherously attacked our motherland the Soviet people gave a shattering rebuff to the enemy and utterly defeated him. The whole world convinced itself that our party does not cast words to the winds. *(Stormy, unabating applause.)*

Upon the conclusion of the second world war the Party continued to follow a foreign policy aimed at securing a firm and lasting peace and at developing international cooperation. The Soviet government proposed a well-known program of measures for prevention of war.

The Soviet Union's love of peace is shown not only by the proposals it makes but also by its deeds. After the war the Soviet Union greatly reduced its armed forces, which at present do not exceed in numbers the forces which it had before the war. After the war the Soviet government in the shortest possible time withdrew its troops from the territory of China, Korea, Norway, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia and Bulgaria, which they had entered in the course of military operations against the fascist aggressors. Believing that the struggle against the mis-

anthropic propaganda of a new war has a great function to perform in eliminating international tension, the U.S.S.R. Supreme Soviet on March 12, 1951, enacted a Peace Defense Law and proclaimed war propaganda a heinous crime against humanity, thereby setting an example for other states to follow.

In the most serious complications that have arisen in the international arena in recent years it is the Soviet Union that has advanced proposals providing a basis for peaceful settlement of dispute. Suffice it to recall that it was the Soviet Union which put forth the proposals that have served as the basis for the truce negotiations in Korea.

The government of the U.S.S.R. attaches great importance to the United Nations, believing that it could be a valuable means of maintaining peace. At the present time, however, the U.S.A. is converting it, from the agency of international cooperation which it was to have been under its charter, into an agency of U.S. dictatorial policy in the struggle against peace, and is using it as a cover for U.S. aggressive actions. Notwithstanding the tremendous difficulties caused by the voting machine which the U.S.A. has created in the United Nations, the Soviet Union here is championing peace, seeking adoption of effective proposals called for by the present international situation, proposals aimed at curbing the aggressive forces, averting a new war and putting an end to hostilities where hostilities have already broken out.

It would be wrong to believe that war can only be directed against the Soviet state. As is known, the first world war was precipitated by the imperialists long before the U.S.S.R. came into existence. The second world war started as a war among capitalist states, and the capitalist countries themselves suffered greatly from it. The contradictions now rending the imperialist camp may lead to a war of one capitalist state against another. Considering all these circumstances, the Soviet Union is seeking to prevent any war between states; it advocates the peaceful settlement of international conflicts and differences.

However, in pursuing its policy of ensuring lasting peace, the Soviet Union is faced with the fact of the aggressive policy of the U.S. ruling circles.

Moreover, the bellicose American circles try to place the blame at the wrong door and bend every effort to build up their lying propaganda concerning a mythical threat on the part of the Soviet Union. As for these lying tales about the Soviet Union, it would be ridiculous to hold forth on the subject of their complete groundlessness. Incontrovertible facts testify as to who is actually the aggressor.

Everyone knows that the United States of America is developing the armaments drive and refusing to ban atomic and bacteriological weapons and to reduce conventional armaments, whereas the Soviet Union proposes to ban atomic and bacteriological weapons and to reduce other armaments and armed forces.

Everyone knows that the United States refuses to conclude a peace pact, whereas the Soviet Union proposes to conclude such a pact.

Everyone knows that the United States is forging aggressive blocs against the peace-loving peoples, whereas the treaties concluded by the Soviet Union with foreign states are guided exclusively by the objective of combating a renewal of Japanese or German aggression.

Everyone knows that the United States attacked Korea and is trying to enslave it, whereas the Soviet Union has nowhere waged any military operations since the very moment when the second world war ended.

The United States is also conducting aggression against China. It has seized soil immemorably Chinese—the island of Taiwan. Its air force is bombing Chinese territory in violation of all the generally accepted norms of international law. Everyone knows that the air force of the U.S.S.R. is not bombing anyone and that the U.S.S.R. has not seized any foreign territory.

Such are the incontrovertible facts.

Turning to our relations with Britain and France, it must be said that these relations should have been maintained in the spirit of the treaties which we concluded with these states during the second world war and which make provision for cooperation with these countries in the postwar period. However, the British and French governments are grossly violating these treaties. Contrary to the solemn promises of postwar coopera-

tion which they gave to the Soviet Union at the time when it was waging a sanguinary war for liberation of the peoples of Europe from German fascist enslavement, the rulers of Britain and France have gone all out in implementing the aggressive plans of the American imperialists against the peace-loving states. It is plain that in view of this attitude of the governments of Britain and France, our relations with these countries leave much to be desired.

The position of the U.S.S.R. with reference to the U.S.A., Britain, France and other bourgeois states is clear, and we have repeatedly stated this position. The U.S.S.R. is still ready to cooperate with these states with a view to observance of peaceful international norms and the ensuring of a firm and lasting peace. (Applause.)

With regard to the vanquished countries—Germany, Italy and Japan—the Soviet government is following a policy which differs fundamentally from the policy of the imperialist powers. The presence of the Soviet socialist state among the victors created for the peoples of the vanquished states a completely new situation and possibilities unprecedented in history. The policy of the Soviet state opens up for every country that surrendered unconditionally the possibility of peaceful democratic development, advancement of its civilian industry and agriculture, marketing of goods in foreign markets and creation of the national armed forces necessary for the defense of the country. In accordance with the Potsdam Agreement, the Soviet Union is undeviatingly pursuing a policy aimed at the promptest conclusion of a peace treaty with Germany, withdrawal of all occupation forces from Germany and formation of a united, independent, peace-loving, democratic Germany, having in mind that the existence of such a Germany, together with the existence of the peace-loving Soviet Union, precludes the possibility of new wars in Europe and renders impossible the enslaving of European countries by the world imperialists. (Prolonged applause.)

We may hope that the German people, who face the dilemma of taking this path or being converted into mercenaries of the American and British imperialists, will choose the right path—the path of peace. (Applause.)

The same must be said with reference to Italy; the Soviet people wish the fraternal people of Italy complete restoration of their national independence. (Applause.)

The Soviet government believes that Japan too must become an independent, democratic, peace-loving state, as was stipulated in the joint Allied decisions. The Soviet government refused to sign the unilateral treaty imposed by the American dictators at the conference in San Francisco because this treaty flouts the principles of the Cairo and Potsdam declarations and the Yalta Agreement and is aimed at turning Japan into an American military base in the Far East. The peoples of the Soviet Union have a deep respect for the Japanese people, who are compelled to bear the yoke of foreign bondage, and they are confident that the Japanese will achieve the national independence of their homeland and will take the path of peace. (Applause.)

The Soviet policy of peace and security for nations is based on [the premise] that the peaceful coexistence of capitalism and communism and cooperation are quite possible, given a mutual desire to cooperate, readiness to carry out commitments undertaken, and observance of the principle of equality and noninterference in the internal affairs of other states.

The Soviet Union has always stood for and now stands for the development of trade and cooperation with other countries irrespective of differences in social systems. The Party will continue to pursue this policy on the basis of mutual advantage.

Though belligerent American-British circles claim that it is only the arms drive which keeps the capitalist countries' industry busy, there is in reality another prospect, the prospect of developing and expanding trade relations among all countries, irrespective of differences in their social systems; this could keep the industry of the industrially developed countries busy for many years, guarantee the sale to other states of goods of which some states have an abundance, help to lift the economy of underdeveloped countries and thereby establish lasting economic cooperation.

In pursuing its peaceful policy, the Soviet Union is in full accord with the other democratic peace-loving states—the Chinese People's Republic, Poland, Rumania, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Bulgaria, Albania, the German Democratic Republic, the

Korean People's Democratic Republic and the Mongolian People's Republic. The U.S.S.R.'s relations with these countries set an example of entirely new relations among states, relations never yet encountered in history. They are based on the principles of equality, economic cooperation and respect for national independence. True to its treaties of mutual aid, the U.S.S.R. is extending and will continue to extend assistance and support in the further strengthening and development of these countries. (Stormy applause.)

We are confident that in peaceful competition with capitalism the socialist economic system will prove its superiority over the capitalist economic system more and more strikingly with each passing year. But we have no intention whatever of forcing our ideology or our economic system upon anybody. "The export of revolution is nonsense," says Comrade Stalin. "Each country will make its own revolution if it wants to do so, and if it does not want to do so there will be no revolution."

While steadfastly pursuing its policy of peaceful cooperation with all countries, the Soviet Union at the same time takes account of the existence of a menace of new aggression on the part of the berserk warmongers. Therefore it is strengthening and will go on strengthening its defense capacity. (Prolonged applause.)

The Soviet Union is not frightened by threats from the warmongers. Our people have experience in fighting aggressors and they are no novice at thrashing them. They thrashed the aggressors during the Civil War, when the Soviet state was young and comparatively weak; they thrashed them in the second world war and they will thrash them again if they dare attack our homeland. (Stormy, prolonged applause.)

One cannot overlook the facts of the past. And these facts show that as a result of the first world war Russia seceded from the capitalist system and that as a result of the second world war a whole series of countries in Europe and Asia seceded from the capitalist system. There is every reason to believe that a third world war would cause the collapse of the world capitalist system. (Prolonged applause.)

That is the prospect, so to speak, of a war and its aftermath if it is forced upon the peoples by the warmongers, the aggressors.

But there is another prospect, the prospect of preserving peace, the prospect of peace among nations. This prospect calls for a ban upon war propaganda in accordance with the resolution of the U.N., the banning of atomic and bacteriological weapons, consistent reduction of armed forces of the great powers, conclusion of a peace pact among the powers, expansion of trade among countries, restoration of a unified world market and other similar measures in the spirit of the strengthening of peace.

Carrying out such measures will strengthen peace, deliver the peoples from fear of the menace of war, put an end to the unparalleled expenditure of material resources on armaments and preparation for a war of annihilation, and make it possible to turn these resources to the benefit of the peoples.

The Soviet Union stands for carrying out these measures, stands for the prospect of peace among nations. (Stormy, prolonged applause.)

The Party's tasks in the sphere of foreign policy:

(1) To continue the struggle against the preparation and unleashing of another war, to weld together a powerful democratic antiwar front for the strengthening of peace, to strengthen the ties of friendship and solidarity with supporters of peace the world over, to expose persistently all preparations for a new war, all machinations and intrigues of the warmongers;

(2) To go on pursuing a policy of international cooperation and promotion of business relations with all countries;

(3) To strengthen and develop the relations of inviolable friendship with the Chinese People's Republic, the people's democracies in Europe—Poland, Czechoslovakia, Rumania, Hungary, Bulgaria and Albania—and with the German Democratic Republic, the Korean People's Democratic Republic and the Mongolian People's Republic;

(4) Tirelessly to strengthen the defense power of the Soviet state and increase preparedness to deal any aggressors a crushing rebuff. (Stormy, unabating applause.)

II. INTERNAL SITUATION IN THE SOVIET UNION

The period under review is characterized by the further strengthening of the internal situation in the Soviet Union, by growth of the entire national economy and socialist culture.

For the first two years after the 18th Party Congress the working people of our country continued successfully to carry out the Third Five-Year Plan and achieved further strengthening of the Soviet Union. During these years new successes were attained in development of the economy.

Fascist Germany's treacherous invasion of the U.S.S.R. interrupted the peaceful labors of the Soviet people. A difficult period in the history of the Soviet state began, the period of the great patriotic war. In the course of this war the working class, the collective farm peasantry and the Soviet intelligentsia, both at the front and in the rear, showed high social consciousness and devotion to their motherland.

The war ended in our historic victory and the Soviet Union entered upon a new, peaceful period of its economic development. In a short span of time the Soviet state by its own efforts and resources, without outside assistance, rehabilitated its war-devastated economy and advanced it further, surpassing the prewar economic indices.

As early as 1947 the successes achieved in rehabilitation of industry and agriculture made it possible to end the rationing system for food and manufactured goods and to carry out a currency reform. These measures and five successive reductions of prices of foods and manufactured goods raised the purchasing power of the Soviet ruble and ensured a rise in the material well-being of the working people. In 1950 the ruble was put on a gold basis and its exchange rate was raised in relation to foreign currencies.

The successes achieved in rehabilitation and development of the economy made it possible for the Soviet state to undertake important new economic tasks, including construction of the great hydroelectric stations on the Volga and the Dnieper, the digging of great navigation and irrigation canals and the planting of protective forest belts over an extensive area of the country.

The historic events in the period under review have shown that the Soviet social and state system is not only the best form of organization for economic and cultural development of the country in years of peaceful construction but also the best form for mobilization of all the forces of the people to repel the enemy in time of war. These events have also demonstrated the immense growth in the political activeness of the working people, the further consolidation of the moral and political unity of the Soviet people, united around the Communist Party, and the further strengthening of the fraternal friendship of the peoples of the U.S.S.R. and the development of Soviet patriotism.

Our people are filled with determination to continue their devoted work for the welfare of the socialist fatherland, to fulfill with honor the historic task of establishing a communist society. (Stormy, prolonged applause.)

1. The Continued Advance of the U.S.S.R. National Economy.—

A. Industry.—The socialist industrialization of the U.S.S.R. was carried out in the years of the prewar five-year plans. A mighty industry was the basis for the growth of the entire national economy and of the country's preparations for active defense. The correctness of our party's general line of industrializing the country was strikingly confirmed in the war years. The implementation of the policy of industrializing the U.S.S.R. was of decisive importance to the fate of the Soviet people and saved our motherland from enslavement.

Under the trying war conditions the Party was able to convert industry swiftly to a war footing. The equipment of all major industrial enterprises was evacuated from the zone of military operations to eastern regions. During the war years the Soviet state mustered sufficient strength and resources not only to put the evacuated enterprises into operation quickly but also to accelerate the construction of new enterprises, chiefly in heavy industry. Year after year during the war, industry kept producing more and more of all kinds of arms and munitions for the front, despite the fascist invaders' temporary occupation of economically important parts of the country.

With the war's end, industry was reconverted from war to civilian production. The Party set the task of extensive, priority development of heavy industry, particularly the metallur-

Prize winner has been merited by 8470 workers in science, industry, transport and agriculture.

An important result of the development of industry has been that during the period under review industry in the eastern regions of the U.S.S.R. has developed rapidly, as a consequence of which the geographical distribution of our industry has changed considerably. A powerful industrial base of our country has been established in the eastern regions—in the Volga region, the Urals, Siberia, the Far East, the Kazakh Republic and the Union republics of Central Asia. By 1952 the total volume of industrial output in these areas had tripled in comparison with 1940. In 1951 the eastern regions accounted for approximately one-third of all U.S.S.R. industrial production, more than half of all the steel and rolled metal produced, nearly half the coal and oil and more than 40% of the electric power generated.

Such are the major results of U.S.S.R. industrial development during the period under review.

The tasks in development of our industry during the next few years are set forth in the draft directives on the Fifth Five-Year Plan for development of the U.S.S.R., submitted for the consideration of this Congress. These tasks are to raise the 1955 level of industrial production approximately 70% over the 1950 level, with production of means of production due to increase approximately 80% and production of consumers' goods approximately 65%. This target for the growth of industrial production means that in 1955 the volume of industrial production will be triple that of 1940.

The Fifth Five-Year Plan marks a big new step forward on the road of our country's development from socialism to communism. (*Stormy applause.*)

Our industry possesses every opportunity to carry out the tasks ahead. All branches of industry are now equipped with perfected machinery and have qualified cadres of workers, engineers and technicians, and the enterprises do not suffer from a shortage of raw materials and supplies. The task now is to use facilities to the full, resolutely to eliminate shortcomings in the work, bring to light untapped production reserves and turn them into a mighty source for advancing the economy.

Each year industry not only fulfills but overfulfills the state plan. But the over-all indices of the good work of industry as a whole conceal bad work by many enterprises which fail to meet state assignments, as a result of which the economy fails to receive a certain amount of goods. But the ministries do not take the necessary measures for fulfillment of the plan by every enterprise, instead frequently transferring assignments from inefficient plants to the leading enterprises. Accordingly, inefficient enterprises exist at the expense of the leading enterprises.

One of the chief reasons for failure to fulfill state plans is uneven output by enterprises in the course of the month. The Party has more than once drawn our industrial executives' attention to this defect. Nevertheless, many enterprises continue to work in spurts, producing almost half the month's program during the final ten days of the month. The result is that the full production capacity is not used, there is overtime work, more rejects and disruption of the work of associated enterprises.

In order to meet the plan for gross output, some enterprises indulge in the antistate practice of producing secondary items above plan while underfulfilling the program for production of important items scheduled in the state plan.

In a number of branches of industry state standards of quality of output are violated. There are cases of consumers being provided inferior-quality articles and goods which fail to meet established standards and technical specifications. Machine-building enterprises often launch production of machines which still need improvement in design and do not conform to performance requirements. Low-grade output is still great at light industry enterprises. All this harms the national economy.

It is impossible to tolerate such defects in the work of industry. The state plan is law. It is the duty of every enterprise to meet the assignments set for them and to supply the national economy with the goods it needs. Industrial executives and Party organizations have the duty of seeing to fulfillment of the plan by every enterprise, not only for gross volume of output but also without fail for output of all items specified in the

state plan, of seeing to systematic improvement in quality of output, of bringing to light and entirely eliminating the hindrances to normal working of enterprises.

Special attention must be devoted to securing a further comprehensive increase in labor productivity in all branches of industry.

At all stages of the building of socialism our party has constantly sought to secure a systematic rise in labor productivity as a most important condition for the growth and improvement of socialist production. The enormous successes which have been achieved in developing production in the U.S.S.R. are principally due to this. During the period from 1940 to 1951 labor productivity in industry increased 50%; 70% of the increase in industrial output during this period was obtained through the increase in labor productivity. During the same period labor productivity in construction increased 36%.

The rapid growth of labor productivity in the U.S.S.R. is primarily a result of the wide introduction in the national economy of new machinery and up-to-date technological processes, a result of mechanization and electrification of production, especially the mechanization of labor-consuming and arduous work, and also a result of better organization of work, of the rise in the general educational and cultural level of the working people and the improvement of their working skills. The socialist economic system provides unlimited scope for the use of the most up-to-date machinery. In the U.S.S.R. machines not only save labor, but also lighten the workers' labor; as a result, in the socialist economy, unlike the capitalist, the workers welcome the introduction of machinery. A Soviet worker is directly interested in raising labor productivity, since he knows that thereby the economic might of the U.S.S.R. is strengthened and the living standard of the working people is raised. The unity of interests of state and people is the foundation of the high productivity of social labor under socialism.

However, the potentialities for growth of labor productivity in our industry are still far from utilized to the full. There is evidence of this primarily in many enterprises' failure to fulfill plans for labor productivity. It should be pointed out that the ministries concern themselves insufficiently with this important matter; instead of seeing to fulfillment of the programs for labor productivity at every enterprise, ministries frequently content themselves with average indices achieved in the industry as a whole and do not take necessary measures to draw laggard undertakings up to the level of the foremost.

At many enterprises growth of labor productivity is retarded by poor utilization of existing mechanical equipment; there are impermissible instances of a careless and thriftless attitude to equipment. The mechanization of production at any enterprise must inevitably be accompanied by release of some of the workers in order that they may be employed either in expanding production at the enterprise concerned or in work at new enterprises. However, some managers of enterprises, instead of seeing to the proper use of mechanical equipment and thereby raising the productivity of labor, not infrequently employ an outmoded organization of work with extensive use of manual labor.

Another serious defect in the matter of mechanizing production is the fact that in mechanizing the various production processes some sectors either are not mechanized at all or are insufficiently mechanized. At many enterprises, while there is a high level of mechanization of the basic production processes, auxiliary processes, including such labor-consuming tasks as hauling, loading and unloading of raw materials, supplies and finished goods, are poorly mechanized. This lowers the general economic effect of mechanization and acts as a hindrance to normal flow of production.

Growth of labor productivity is also retarded by the fact that the organization of work is unsatisfactory at many enterprises and building jobs, as a result of which there is considerable waste of working time. Ministries not infrequently determine the number of workers for enterprises and building jobs without sufficient study of actual requirements, without effective or correct utilization of the labor force. At enterprises and especially at building jobs there is still a turnover of labor, which does great harm to production.

Output quotas and technical performance standards are of

great importance in raising labor productivity. Yet the matter of output and performance standards is unsatisfactory at many enterprises. Still predominant is the application of low, so-called experimental-statistical norms which do not correspond to present-day technology and production methods, do not reflect the experience of leading workers and do not stimulate higher labor productivity. The proportion of experimental-statistical norms is very high, amounting at many enterprises to more than 50% of all output quotas in effect.

It is the task of Party, management and trade union organizations to eliminate rapidly the hindrances to growth of labor productivity and to see to meeting and overfulfilling the program for increased labor productivity in all branches of the economy, at every enterprise and on every production sector. It is necessary resolutely to eliminate shortcomings in utilization of the abundant machinery which we possess, per severingly to carry out the program of comprehensive mechanization and automatization of production processes, make wider use in all branches of the economy of the latest scientific and technological discoveries, systematically improve the forms and methods of organization of labor and production and make more efficient use of manpower.

Comrade! Our industry is growing, developing and becoming more and more powerful and technically perfected. We will continue to develop the productive forces of our socialist industry in every way as the foundation of the might of our motherland and of growth of the Soviet people's material well-being. (Stormy, prolonged applause.)

B. Agriculture.—By the beginning of the period under review, i.e., by the time of the 15th Party Congress, the collective farm system in our country had been fully consolidated, the collective farms were strong and socialist farming had been firmly established as the only form of agriculture.

The war temporarily retarded the development of agriculture and inflicted great damage on it, particularly in the occupied areas, where the Hitlerite invaders laid waste and looted the collective farms, Machine and Tractor Stations and state farms. However, despite the enormous wartime difficulties, the collective and state farms of the eastern regions maintained uninterrupted supply of food for the army and the population and of raw materials for light industry. Without the collective farm system, without the self-sacrificing labor of the collective farmers, men and women, without their high political consciousness and organization, we could not have met this extremely difficult task.

With the transition to peaceful construction, the Party was confronted by the task of rapid restoration and further development of agriculture. A special concern of the Party in the postwar period has been organizational-economic strengthening of the collective farms, providing aid to them in restoring and further developing the communal sector and, on this foundation, raising the material well-being of the collective farm peasantry. The amalgamation of small collective farms was of great importance for further increasing the productive forces of agriculture, since the communal sector can be more successfully expanded and improved in large farms. There are now 97,000 amalgamated collective farms instead of the 254,000 small collective farms which existed on Jan. 1, 1950.

As a result of the measures taken by the Party and government, the difficulties caused by the war and by the severe drought which followed in 1946 were successfully surmounted in agriculture; the prewar level of agricultural output was regained and surpassed in a short time.

The prewar sown area was rapidly restored in the postwar years, yields rose and the gross harvests of grain, technical, fodder, melon, vegetable and other crops increased. The sown area of all crops in 1952 exceeded the prewar sown area by 5,300,000 hectares.

The grain crop was restored in the third year after the end of the war and rose in subsequent years, with a simultaneous large increase in the amount of marketed grain. In this year, 1952, the gross grain harvest amounted to 8,000,000,000 poods (stormy applause); moreover, the gross harvest of that most important food crop, wheat, was 48% above the 1940 figure. (Applause.)

Thus the grain problem, formerly considered the most acute

and serious problem, has been solved, solved definitely and finally. (Stormy, prolonged applause.)

Cotton and sugar beet production have developed especially rapidly in the postwar period: the 1951 gross cotton crop exceeded the prewar level by 46% and the sugar beet crop by 31%. This year's harvest of these very important crops is still more abundant. The prewar level has been surpassed in oil-bearing crops, potatoes and fodder crops; moreover, by 1951 the gross harvest of green fodders (fodder root crops, fodder melons and silo crops) was 25% above 1940. There has been a substantial increase in flax, vegetable and melon crops in the postwar period. However, owing to the inadequate attention paid by Party, Soviet and agricultural bodies to the cultivation of these needed crops, flax and vegetable crops have not yet reached the prewar level in a number of provinces.

This year, as in past years, the state plans for grain deliveries to the state and for deliveries to the state of cotton, sugar beet, oil seed, potatoes, vegetables and other crops and also animal produce are being successfully fulfilled.

Our farming is becoming more and more skilled, more and more productive, and yielding more and more marketed produce. This extremely important feature in the development of our agriculture must be understood. Now that the grain problem has been solved, the results in farming can no longer be appraised in the old way, that is, only by the amount of grain produced. It is evident from the data cited above that, besides successes in grain production, we have made important progress in the development of cotton, sugar beet, oil-bearing, fodder and other crops. Our farming has undergone a qualitative change and today differs fundamentally from the old, relatively unproductive extensive farming. Whereas by 1952 the total sown acreage in the U.S.S.R. had increased to 1.4 times that of 1913 and the total acreage under grain had increased 57%, the acreage under technical, melon and vegetable crops had increased to 2.4 times that of 1913 and under fodder crops more than elevenfold. Technical crops now account for more than 40% of the total value of marketed crops. Hence it would be a gross error to judge successes in agriculture only by the level of grain production.

In the postwar years much attention has been devoted to supplying agriculture with new machinery. Without this, rapid solution of the problem of restoring and further developing agriculture would have been impossible. In this period large numbers of new and improved diesel-driven caterpillar tractors, self-propelled combines, mowers, sugar beet combines, flax combines, cotton pickers and other high-efficiency machines have been added to the machine and tractor park. The total capacity of tractors in the Machine and Tractor Stations and on the state farms has increased 59% in comparison with the prewar level and that of combine harvesters 51%. Agriculture has been provided with many new machines for mechanizing labor-consuming work in animal husbandry. In connection with the considerable growth of mechanization in farming and forestry, the network of Machine and Tractor Stations has been enlarged in the postwar years and a considerable number of special-purpose stations has been established for mechanization of forest shelter-belt planting, mechanization of land drainage and improving meadows and pastures, and mechanization of labor-consuming work in animal husbandry. In all, 1546 new machine stations were established in this period; the total number now amounts to 8939.

The postwar successes in the development of agriculture have created the conditions for solving still greater problems in farming. The interests of the national economy and the task of further improving the well-being of the Soviet people demand a further increase in the output of agriculture. The draft directives for the Fifth Five-Year Plan provide for the following increases in gross harvest in the five years: grain, 40% to 50%, with a 55% to 65% increase in wheat; cotton, 55% to 65%; flax fiber, 40% to 50%; sugar beet, 65% to 70%; sunflower seed, 50% to 60%; potatoes, 40% to 45%; fodder crops, approximately 100% to 200%.

Now that the prewar level of sown acreage has been reached and surpassed, the only correct course in increasing farm output is to increase yields comprehensively. Raising yields is the principal task in farming. In order

is necessary to raise the quality of field work and reduce the length of time for it, to improve utilization of tractors and farm machinery, to complete the mechanization of the basic operations in farming, to ensure the quickest possible development of crop rotation and sowing of perennial grasses on collective and state farms, to improve seed selection, to make proper soil cultivation universal, to increase use of fertilizers and enlarge the irrigated area. It is necessary to heighten the organizing role of the Machine and Tractor Stations in the collective farms, raising the responsibility of the M.T.S. for fulfillment of plans for yields and gross harvests and for development of animal husbandry.

Our agriculture must become still more productive and skilled, must develop cultivation of fodder grasses and proper crop rotation and must give greater relative importance to sowings of technical, fodder, vegetable and potato crops.

In the light of the significant progress made in crop cultivation, the task of comprehensive development of animal husbandry has arisen in the postwar years as the central task of the Party and state in the development of agriculture. In the period from July, 1945, to July, 1952, the head of cattle in the U.S.S.R. increased 13,400,000, sheep 41,800,000, pigs 21,200,000, and horses 5,600,000. The prewar, 1940 level was reached in 1948 in the number of cattle on all categories of farms, 1950 in the number of sheep and this year in the number of pigs. In order to place output of animal husbandry products on a firm basis, the Party has devoted special attention to development of communally owned productive animal husbandry on the collective and state farms. Today collective farm animal husbandry, with its state farm counterpart, has become predominant in the country both in total number of livestock and in output of animal husbandry. Gross and marketed output of meat, milk, butter, eggs, wool and leather for the U.S.S.R. as a whole has surpassed the prewar level. (Applause.)

Further substantial progress in animal husbandry is necessary to satisfy the population's growing demands for the products of animal husbandry and to meet light industry's need for raw materials. The draft directives for the Fifth Five-Year Plan outline a total increase of 18% to 20% during the five years in the number of cattle and a 36% to 38% increase in communally owned head of cattle on collective farms; a total increase of 60% to 62% in number of sheep and of 75% to 80% on the collective farms; a total increase of 45% to 50% in number of pigs and of 85% to 90% on the collective farms; a total of 10% to 12% in number of horses and of 14% to 16% on the collective farms; and an increase of three to three and one-half times in the numbers of poultry on the collective farms. The draft directives also provide for an 80% to 90% increase in output of meat and fats, a 45% to 50% increase in milk output, two to two and one-half times in wool and six to seven times in eggs (the latter on collective and state farms).

The chief task in development of animal husbandry continues to be that of increasing the numbers of communally owned collective and state farm livestock while attaining a substantial increase in its meat and dairy yields. To accomplish this it is necessary above all to create a dependable fodder base on all collective and state farms, to provide proper barns and cattle shelters and to mechanize animal husbandry work extensively. Livestock raising must be made highly productive, lucrative and high in marketed output. It is necessary to intensify the work of improving the livestock strains on the collective and state farms, ensuring rapid propagation of existing highly productive breeds and developing new ones. Sound progress in animal husbandry is possible only if increasing the numbers of livestock is correctly combined with extensive qualitative improvement and higher meat and dairy yields.

The state farms have grown considerably and become much stronger in the postwar years, have greatly expanded their sown acreage as compared with its extent before the war, and have increased the numbers of their productive livestock and their output of dairy and farm products. At the same time, there are serious defects in the work of the state farms. One of the major defects in the work of a considerable number of

them is the high production cost of grain, meat, milk and other farm products. It is necessary to see to a further increase in their marketed produce and a substantial lowering of production cost on the state farms through developing diversified farming, improving the organization of production, introducing complex mechanization of all labor-consuming operations, raising crop yields and increasing the productiveness of animal husbandry.

Irrigation construction and forest shelter-belt planting are of great importance in the further development of agriculture. Even in the prewar years many large irrigation systems, equipped with modern machinery, were built and old irrigation systems reconstructed, with the result that there was a 50% increase in the actual irrigated area in the Central Asian republics and other regions of the U.S.S.R., which made it possible to solve the important task of substantially increasing the cotton crop. Work was also begun on forest shelter-belt plantings.

Irrigation construction and forest shelter-belt planting has been conducted on an even greater scale in the postwar years. Large irrigation systems are being established in the Transcaucasian republics, where the actual irrigated area will be increased 50% and more in the next few years as a result. Since 1947 work has been under way on irrigation of lands that are highly fertile but suffer from drought in the Central Black Earth region—in Kursk, Orel, Voronezh and Tambov Provinces—in order to obtain dependable harvests of grain and technical and other crops. Since 1948 extensive work has been in progress to establish large state shelter belts in the steppe and forest-steppe regions of the European part of the U.S.S.R., to plant shelter belts on the collective and state farms, and to dig ponds and reservoirs. In the past three and one-half years the collective farms, state farms and forestries have planted shelter belts on 2,600,000 hectares and have dug more than 12,000 ponds and reservoirs. In regions of excessive precipitation, primarily Belorussia and the Baltic republics, a great deal of work is being done, as before the war, to drain marshes and marsh lands.

Great prospects open up for agriculture in connection with the construction of the huge hydroelectric power stations and irrigation systems on the Volga, the Don, the Dnieper and the Amu-Darya and in connection with the opening of the Lenin Volga-Don Navigation Canal. The construction of these power plants and irrigation systems will make possible the irrigation of more than 6,000,000 more hectares, supply of water to 22,000,000 hectares of grazing land, with selective irrigation [of parts of this grazing land], and extensive opportunities for electrification of farm work, introduction of electric-powered plowing, electric-powered combines and other electrical farm machinery.

In addition to large-scale irrigation construction work, conversion of all irrigated areas to a new system is being conducted successfully—a system under which the irrigated sectors are greatly enlarged through better placement of the network of irrigation ditches, reducing the number of permanent irrigation channels in the fields and replacing them with temporary channels, which makes possible fuller use of the irrigated land and irrigation water and creates better conditions for mechanization of irrigation farming.

Completion of the extensive work planned in the development of irrigation, the establishment of forest shelter belts and the draining of marshy land will raise our agriculture to a higher level and ensure the country against all weather contingencies forever. (Applause.) The task is to complete the irrigation program, shelter-belt planting and marsh drainage successfully and on schedule. Party, Soviet and economic organizations must pay special attention to this matter.

It is also of great importance to carry out the measures to raise harvest yields in the non-black earth belt of the European part of the U.S.S.R. It is well known that the opportunities are great for successful development of farming and animal husbandry in the non-black earth belt, for these regions are noted for favorable climatic conditions and adequate precipitation. Yet harvests in the non-black earth regions are still low. To obtain high and dependable harvests here it is necessary above all to organize extensive liming

of acid soils and simultaneous application of sufficient organic and mineral fertilizers, to develop fodder grass cultivation on a large scale and to improve cultivation.

Our Party, Soviet and agricultural agencies, carrying out the tasks of restoration and development of agriculture, have improved their supervision of the collective farms, Machine and Tractor Stations and state farms in the postwar years. But there are still errors and shortcomings in this sphere.

Where are the errors and shortcomings in the direction of agriculture and what tasks arise in connection with them?

First of all, it should be noted that certain of our leading officials have indulged in a wrong approach, a consumer's approach, to problems of collective farm development, particularly in connection with carrying out the amalgamation of small collective farms. They proposed forcing the pace of mass integration of villages into large collective farm settlements, suggesting that all the old collective farm buildings and collective farmers' homes be pulled down and large "collective farm settlements," "collective farm towns" or "agro-cities" be built on new sites, and viewed this as the most important task in strengthening the farms organizationally and economically. The mistake these comrades made was that they overlooked the collective farms' major tasks—the tasks of production—and put in the foreground the derivative, consumer tasks of organization of everyday living on the farms. The tasks of organization of everyday life are undoubtedly of great importance, but after all they are derivative, subordinate and not the chief tasks and they can be accomplished only on the foundation of highly developed social production. Overlooking or belittling the major tasks, the tasks of production, may place all our practical work in the countryside on the wrong track, may hamper the further development of the collective farms and do injury to the organization of everyday life itself, as well as to the whole work of socialist construction. The Party took timely measures to overcome these mistaken tendencies in the sphere of collective farm development. It is the duty of Party, Soviet and agricultural agencies to continue to devote constant attention to strengthening and developing the communally owned sector of the collective farms, which is the collective farms' chief force, and on this basis to ensure the growth of marketed output and further raising of the living standards and daily welfare of the collective farmers generally.

It must be further noted that the practice of setting up auxiliary enterprises for making bricks, tile and other manufactured goods has become widespread on many collective and state farms. Experience has shown that this raises the cost of the building materials and manufactured goods and, what is most important, distracts the collective and state farms from the problems of agricultural production and retards agricultural development. This situation must be rectified and all the efforts of the collective and state farms concentrated wholly on further developing diversified farming, with a view to making fullest use of the economic potentialities and natural conditions for a comprehensive increase in the output of grain, cotton, sugar beet, flax, potatoes, meat, milk, eggs, wool, vegetables, fruits, tea and other agricultural products. As for the building materials and other manufactured goods, our state industry and producers' cooperatives are in a position and under obligation to supply all these things to the collective and state farms, and at lower cost.

Further, it must be admitted that there still occur instances of squandering of collective farm property and other violations of the Collective Farm Statutes. Some officials of the Party, Soviet and agricultural agencies, instead of guarding the interests of the communally owned sector of the collective farms, themselves engage in pilfering collective farm property, take the path of gross violation of Soviet laws, the path of high-handedness and lawlessness in regard to the collective farms. Taking advantage of their official positions, such persons convert communal land to their own use, compel collective farm boards and chairmen to give them grain, meat, milk and other produce free of charge or at low prices, and switch their own almost unproductive livestock with highly productive and more valuable livestock belonging to the collective farms. All these acts are detrimental to the collective farms and the state,

causing serious harm to the collective farm peasantry, hindering the further organizational and economic strengthening of the collective farms and undermining the authority of the Party and the Soviet state. It is necessary to put a resolute stop to violations of the Collective Farm Statutes and to punish with all the severity of the laws of the socialist state those who are guilty of pilfering collective farm property, as enemies of the collective farm system.

Further, it should be noted that Party, Soviet and agricultural agencies do not concern themselves satisfactorily with such important questions as the organization of labor on the collective farms. In matters of organization of labor on the collective farms, as is known, certain leading officials pursued a wrong line of setting up separate teams [independent of the larger brigades] on the collective farms and eliminating the work brigades, which in effect was directed against mechanization of grain farming and led to weakening of the collective farms. The work accomplished on eliminating these mistakes and distortions made possible considerable improvement in the organization of labor on the collective farms and strengthening of the work brigades. Nevertheless, there are still substantial shortcomings in this matter. On many collective farms the work brigades do not have permanently assigned members; the means of production are not assigned permanently to the brigades, which leads to lack of personal responsibility; a great deal of working time is lost due to inefficient management, which lowers the collective farmers' labor productivity and leads to failure to meet deadlines for completion of farming operations. It is the duty of Party, Soviet and agricultural agencies to devote constant attention to improving the organization of work on the collective farms. It is necessary to introduce on the collective farms a more progressive system of distributing collective farm income, so that the number of workday units credited to each collective farmer—in accord with which the farm's net income is divided among its members—will be directly proportional to the actual amount of agricultural products raised by his brigade, his team or the individual farmer himself. This will make possible a considerable rise in the collective farmers' labor productivity, complete elimination of the practice of leveling and further increase in the value of the workday unit.

It must also be pointed out that the guidance of agriculture still suffers from a stereotyped, formal approach to many practical problems. Executives in Party, Soviet and agricultural agencies quite often disregard specific local conditions and issue uniform instructions for all districts, collective farms, Machine and Tractor Stations and state farms on farming methods, animal husbandry, labor organization and other agricultural questions; these instructions, which may be correct and necessary for some districts and farms, often prove useless and even harmful for others. There are still many officials in Party, Soviet and agricultural organizations who judge agriculture and try to direct it on the basis of so-called average indices. These officials gauge harvest yields by average data, and livestock productivity, too. But if one is content with average figures one fails to see the lagging districts and lagging collective and state farms where things are not going well, and one fails to take timely and effective measures to afford them necessary aid; on the other hand, one fails to see behind the average figures the districts and collective farms and state farms which have forged ahead and for which assignments based on average indices are not an incentive but merely retard and act as a brake on progress.

Finally, mention must be made of substantial shortcomings which exist in the matter of applying the discoveries of science and advanced experience in agriculture. We have many advanced collective farms, Machine and Tractor Stations and state farms; there are thousands of pace-makers of agriculture who are creatively applying the discoveries of science and obtaining impressive results in increasing harvest yields and livestock productivity. Nevertheless, the propagandizing of advanced experience and its introduction in the work of the collective and state farms are still unsatisfactory. Our farming science has made a great contribution to the development of agriculture. Antiscientific, reactionary ideas in agricultural science have been exposed and defeated; this science is now developing on the only correct basis, the

materialist Michurin basis, arming our personnel for the development of agriculture. But although it has many achievements to its credit, agricultural science still lags behind the requirements of collective and state farm production. The socialist system of agriculture provides wide scope for science, enables the discoveries of science and of advanced practice to be widely and swiftly disseminated, to be brought within reach of all collective farms, Machine and Tractor Stations and state farms. It is a prime duty of the Party, Soviet and agricultural agencies to do everything to promote the creative initiative of scientific and practical workers, to increase the ranks of masters of high harvests and of high meat and dairy yields, to support everything that is advanced and progressive, and to apply the discoveries of science and advanced practice as rapidly as possible in all branches of collective and state farm work.

Comrades! We all rejoice in the tremendous growth of our socialist agriculture. Our agriculture and animal husbandry are now on a mighty new upswing. There can be no doubt that within the next few years our collective farms, Machine and Tractor Stations and state farms, equipped with an abundance of machinery, will achieve still greater successes in developing agriculture and our country will have a plentiful supply of food for the people and of raw materials for rapidly growing light industry. (*Prolonged applause.*)

C. Trade, Transport, Communications.—With the growth of industry and agriculture, trade has also developed in the country. In the postwar years the turnover of the state and cooperative trade system has increased 190% and considerably exceeds the prewar level. In 1951 sales to the public in the state and cooperative stores exceeded those of 1940 by the following percentages: meat and meat products 80%, fish and fish products 60%, butter 80%, vegetable oils and other fats almost 100%, sugar 70%, fabrics 80%, footwear 50%. The network of state and cooperative retail shops has increased, the assortment of goods on sale has been considerably extended and their quality improved. Nevertheless, there are still many serious defects in the sphere of trade. The merchandising organizations do not study public demand sufficiently, they commit errors in the allocation and delivery of goods to the provinces and republics. Service to the customer is badly organized in a number of places. The task is to eliminate rapidly the existing shortcomings and to raise Soviet trade to a new and higher plane. The draft directives for the Fifth Five-Year Plan provide for an increase of about 70% in the retail turnover of the state and cooperative trade network by the end of the five-year plan as compared with 1950.

The growth of production and trade has been accompanied by the development of all kinds of transport facilities and volume of shipments.

In the years of the great patriotic war our transport, primarily rail transport, successfully coped with the difficult task of moving military shipments and also freight shipments for the national economy. In the postwar years all types of transport were not only restored but also considerably enlarged in comparison with the prewar period. This year the volume of freight handled by the railroads is approximately 80% larger than in 1940, river and marine cargo 60% larger, shipments by truck 3.1 times as large and air cargo 9.2 times as great. Average daily carloadings on the railroads this year are approximately 40% above the 1940 figure.

Today all types of transport have a more extensive technical base. The carrying capacity of the major railroad lines has been increased through the restoration of double tracks and double-tracking where they did not exist before, expansion of railroad sidings, laying heavy rails, enlargement of the automatic block system and other measures; work has continued on electrification of the heavy-traffic lines, and the locomotive park and rolling stock have been considerably increased, particularly with heavy locomotives and larger-capacity freight cars.

In water transport the length of inland waterways used for shipping was 23,000 kilometers greater in 1951 than in 1940. Marine and river transport have been strengthened by the addition of new cargo and passenger vessels. Mechanization of loading and unloading operations was considerably greater in 1951 than in 1940, amounting to 83% in the Ministry of Inland

Shipping and 90% in the Ministry of the Merchant Marine.

Motor transport has been equipped with new and improved trucks and passenger cars. The network of improved motor roads is 3.1 times as long as in 1940.

Communications—posts, telegraph, telephone and radio—have been developed further in the years since the war. The country's telephone and telegraph network has expanded, the capacity of city telephone exchanges has increased, all district centers now have telegraph and telephone communications with the province centers, and telephones have been installed in almost all village Soviets and Machine and Tractor Stations. The radio network is now almost twice as large as in 1940. The volume of correspondence carried by the mails has increased considerably; the length of airmail lines has grown 150%.

Along with the progress made in the work of transport and communications there are great shortcomings. Many railroad, shipping and trucking lines are not meeting their plans for loadings and shipment. Idle time of rolling stock and vessels in loading and unloading is still great. Irrational and excessively long railroad hauls have not yet been eliminated. The work of the trucking system is still badly organized, with many trucks laid up and many empty runs. Among the shortcomings in communications should be included the fact that the communications agencies still do not provide proper service for the needs of the national economy and the public.

It is necessary to develop all kinds of transport and communications and to improve their functioning, to husband transport facilities and to devote constant care to their maintenance, to develop and strengthen the technical base of all forms of transport, and improve the work of the postal, telegraph and telephone systems in every way.

D. Economizing—A Most Important Factor in Further Advance of the Economy.—The development of the U.S.S.R. national economy is effected through its own resources, through its internal sources of accumulation. Hence our party has always devoted and still devotes great attention to the struggle for exercise of the strictest economy, regarding it as a most important requisite for the creation of accumulations within the economy and the correct utilization of accumulated assets. The exercise of economy as a method of socialist management has played an important part in the country's industrialization. Now, when our country's economy is in a new and mighty upswing and simultaneously prices of consumers' goods are being systematically lowered, the exercise of economy assumes still greater importance. The more fully and rationally production resources are used, the more carefully and thriftily we manage our economy, the greater will be the successes that we will achieve in developing all branches of the economy, the greater will be the results that we will attain in raising the people's living and cultural standards.

However, there are major shortcomings in mobilizing and correctly utilizing the internal resources of the national economy.

First of all, it is necessary to point out the great losses and waste expenditures that go on in industry. In a number of branches of industry things are still bad in regard to utilization of production capacity. Many ministries determine the capacities of enterprises on the basis of the "bottlenecks" in production: in calculating capacities, substandard norms for the productivity of equipment are quite frequently applied; norms are fixed for the amount of labor per item of output, without taking into consideration advanced technology and improved methods of labor organization. Instead of increasing production through better utilization of the enterprises' internal resources, the ministries quite often demand state capital investments for the construction of new enterprises. In many enterprises there are great losses owing to wastefulness and uneconomical expenditure of supplies, raw materials, fuel, electric power, tools and other material assets; moreover, the established norms for expenditure are frequently violated and full-value substitutes are inadequately used; there is still considerable reject work on the production lines. In 1951, for example, the losses and waste expenditures in the enterprises of industry under all-Union jurisdiction amounted to 4,900,000,000 rubles, of which 3,000,000,000 rubles represented losses owing to rejects.

As a result of the unsatisfactory utilization of production

capacity and extensive waste due to mismanagement, many industrial enterprises fail to fulfill the assignments stipulated for them in lowering unit cost of output and greatly exceed their quotas of expenditure. Major infractions occur at enterprises in planning unit cost of output. Some executives, prompted by narrow departmental interests, to the detriment of the interests of the state, artificially create "reserves" in the plans for unit cost of output by providing excessive norms of expenditure of raw materials and supplies and exaggerating the indices of labor required per item of output. Such antistate ways of planning unit cost of output at certain enterprises attest to the absence of proper control over this matter on the part of the ministries. Instead of making thorough study of the production conditions at every enterprise, taking the necessary measures to ensure systematic lowering of the unit cost of output, the ministries sanction the planning of unit cost without verification or confirmation of the plan calculations.

Further, it should be noted that exercise of economy is especially slack in construction. Construction costs are still high for us. The builders lag far behind industry in reducing production expenditures. There are major shortcomings in the organization of construction work—unsatisfactory use is made of the facilities for mechanization, labor productivity is low, there is wasteful expenditure of materials, and overhead expenses are extremely heavy. A major shortcoming in capital construction is the diffusion of manpower, funds and facilities among numerous building organizations, a large number of which are small organizations making ineffective use of mechanization facilities. All this sends up construction costs, inflates management staffs and leads to high overhead expenditures. In 1951, for example, overhead expenditures in excess of norms in construction work amounted to more than 1,000,000,000 rubles and, instead of the profit of 2,900,000,000 rubles envisaged by the plan, the building organizations sustained a loss of 2,500,000,000 rubles that year.

Further. Large losses and unproductive expenditures also occur in agriculture. Agriculture is now equipped with considerably more machinery than in the prewar period. But there are serious shortcomings in the utilization of tractors and agricultural machinery. At many Machine and Tractor Stations and state farms the care shown for the machine and tractor park is unsatisfactory, as a result of which agricultural machinery is worn out prematurely and there is considerable overexpenditure for machinery repairs; there is large overexpenditure of fuel and lubricants. All this leads to raising the unit cost of tractor work. Wastefulness has not yet been rooted out at many Machine and Tractor Stations and collective and state farms; the harvest is not fully gathered and there are large losses in the harvest owing to poor organization of the work; the storing of collective farm property is not satisfactorily organized; many collective farms sustain heavy livestock losses and meat and dairy yields are low as a consequence of bad maintenance of livestock.

Losses and unproductive expenditures are also great in the transport system. Many railroad and shipping lines and motor transport enterprises have large overexpenditure of assets and sustain losses from nonfulfillment of haulage plans, idle time of rolling stock, vessels and vehicles, overexpenditure of fuel and wastefulness. There are still many instances of careless upkeep of rolling stock, vessels and vehicles, causing great injury to the state.

Furthermore, overhead expenditures for procurement, warehousing and distribution of farm products are excessive and the costs of merchandising are also great in the trade organizations. The staffs of procurement, merchandising and selling organizations are unduly inflated. Both at the center and in the localities there are large numbers of procurement and marketing organizations which often engage in procurement and marketing of identical products and raw materials. Irrational shipments over excessive distances often occur due to defects in the planning of procurement and distribution. The high overhead expenditures of procurement, warehousing and marketing of agricultural products result from the fact that the ministries in charge of the procurement and marketing organizations pay insufficient attention to reducing overhead costs and do not check the unit cost of the goods procured. The lack of supervision by the ministries opens the way to all

kinds of abuses, enables the procurement organizations to include all material and financial losses in the procurement cost and thereby to cover up their wastefulness. The lack of proper order and of exercise of economy in the organization of procurement, supply and marketing causes losses to the state amounting to several billion rubles.

Finally, administrative expenditures are still great. In recent years there have been repeated reductions of the administrative staffs in a number of government agencies. However, these reductions have been carried out chiefly from above, by administrative order. Reducing expenditures on maintenance of administrative staffs has not yet become an object of daily concern for the executives of institutions and organizations. Many ministries and departments maintain staffs over and above the established personnel quotas. There are a great many superfluous officials in the machinery of province, city and district institutions and organizations.

Experience shows that improvement of the work of the administrative apparatus, as well as improvement of the organization of procurement and distribution result and will result in releasing many employees. It is the duty of economic and Party organizations to make correct use of the released employees in the interests of development of the economy. The ministries concerned, the Ministry of Labor Reserves and Party and trade union organizations are obliged to see to it that these cadres acquire necessary skills and are able to apply their energies in those branches of the economy which require more personnel.

The excess expenditure of material resources, funds and manpower in all branches of the economy testify that many executives have forgotten about economy, that they do not concern themselves with rational and economical expenditure of state assets, that they do not show the proper concern for improving financial-economic operation of the enterprises and institutions under their control and that the Party organizations fail to note these shortcomings and do not correct such executives.

The task is to put an end to the indifference of business executives and Party organizations to instances of wastefulness and extravagance. In all our economic and Party work attention must be concentrated on questions of exercising strictest economy. We must concern ourselves with training Soviet people in a thrifty attitude toward public, socialist property. All excesses in expenditure of material resources, manpower and funds must be eliminated and fulfillment and overfulfillment of quotas for lowering unit cost of output must be systematically ensured. It is necessary to intensify the struggle against wastefulness, to bring about sharp reduction of overhead costs in industry, construction, transport, agriculture, trade procurement and marketing organizations, resolutely to simplify and reduce the cost of the state and economic machinery and strengthen financial control by finance agencies over fulfillment of economic plans and observance of economy. Our economic personnel must master to perfection the methods of socialist business management, must raise the standard of their technical and economic training, systematically improve the methods of production and seek, find and use reserves latent in the national economy.

The further spread of socialist competition is of tremendous importance for success in solving problems of the development of the economy. The Party has always devoted great attention to organizing competition and considers that what is most important in socialist competition is to pull up those who lag behind in their work to a par with the best. In our society a good example on the job always plays an immense role on every sector of socialist construction. Through their own experience Soviet people daily realize that better work organization, the introduction of new machinery and all kinds of improvements and inventions inevitably ease their work and result in improvement of the working people's well-being. On all sectors of socialist construction we have a host of examples of the working people's creative initiative in efforts to ensure constant growth and improvement of socialist production. Our people have long been famed for their creative initiative, intelligence and inventiveness.

The enemies of socialism and those who echo them depict socialism as a system suppressing individuality. There is

nothing cruder and more vulgarized than such a view. It has been demonstrated that the socialist system has ensured the emancipation of the individual and the flourishing of individual and group creative work, has created the conditions for thorough development of the talents and gifts latent in the masses of the people.

In our country honest work is highly appreciated and readily encouraged. The Party and the government make wide use of the system of giving awards and honors to the working people for achievements and successes in work in all spheres of the economy and culture. Since the end of the patriotic war alone, 1,346,000 workers, collective farmers, scientists, engineers, technicians, office employees, doctors, teachers and other working people have been awarded Orders and medals of the U.S.S.R., and appreciation of the outstanding inventive activity of 6480 working people of our country has been expressed by award of the high title of Hero of Socialist Labor.

It is the task of Party, Soviet, economic, trade union and Young Communist League organizations to develop competition more widely on all sectors of socialist construction, to take every measure to support good examples in work and progressive innovations by pacemakers and inventors, and to disseminate advanced experience widely among the entire mass of working people so as to help those who lag behind to catch up with those in the van. In the struggle between new and old, between advanced and backward, it is important not only to perceive the forces creating the new social system but constantly to encourage these forces, to see that they are fully developed, and to work tirelessly to organize and improve them in the interests of progress.

2. Further Rise in the Living Standards, Health and Cultural Level of the People.—The achievements in all branches of the economy have led to a further rise in the living standards and cultural level of Soviet society. This is quite a logical result; indeed, there could be no other, for the aim of development of socialist production in our country is to ensure maximum satisfaction of the constantly growing material and cultural requirements of society.

The chief index of the advance in the well-being of the Soviet people is the constant growth in the national income. Between 1940 and 1951 the U.S.S.R. national income increased 83%. As opposed to capitalist countries, where more than half the national income is appropriated by the exploiter classes, all the national income in the Soviet Union goes to the working people. The working people of the U.S.S.R. receive approximately three-fourths of the national income to satisfy their personal material and cultural needs and the remainder is used to expand socialist production and for other state and public needs.

Systematic lowering by the government of prices of consumers' goods is an important factor in the increase in the real wages of workers and employees and the real income of the peasants. As a result of the five successive reductions of state retail prices in the 1947-1952 period the prices of foods and manufactured goods are now on the average one-half what they were in the fourth quarter of 1947.

As is well known, factory and office workers in our country receive at state expense social security benefits, social insurance pensions, and passes for free or reduced-cost admission to sanatoriums, rest homes and children's nurseries and kindergartens, and they receive annual paid vacations. All the working people of city and country receive free medical services. The state issues grants to mothers of many children and unmarried or widowed mothers in town and countryside, provides free education in elementary and seven-year schools, and gives stipends to students. These benefits and grants received by the working people of town and country came to a total of 40,800,000,000 rubles in 1940; in 1951 their sum was 125,000,000,000 rubles.

Thanks to the increase in monetary wages of workers and office employees and to the increase in the peasants' monetary income and income in kind, as well as the lowering of prices of consumers' goods and the increase in grants and benefits paid by the state, the real per capita income of workers and employees was 57% higher in 1951 than in 1940 and the real per capita income of the peasants was approximately 60% higher.

The draft directives for the Fifth Five-Year Plan provide for an increase of not less than 60% in the U.S.S.R. national income in the five years, with increases of not less than 35% in the real earnings of workers and employees (counting the lowering of retail prices) and of not less than 40% in the collective farmers' income in both money and kind (the latter calculated in terms of money).

Extensive housing and community development is in progress in our country. In the postwar years alone the new housing built in cities and factory settlements totals more than 155,000,000 square meters of floor space, and more than 3,800,000 dwellings have been built in rural areas. Housing construction has been particularly extensive in the formerly enemy-occupied regions. However, despite the great volume of housing construction, there is still an acute housing shortage everywhere. Year after year many ministries and local Soviets fail to fulfill their housing construction programs and funds assigned for this purpose by the state are not fully used. In the past two years alone the amount of housing construction projected but not completed amounted to more than 4,000,000 square meters of floor space. We still have economic and Party officials who regard the housing needs of the working people as a matter of secondary importance and do not take measures to fulfill the plans for building and repair of housing. It is our task to extend housing construction to the utmost. The draft directives for the Fifth Five-Year Plan provide for approximate doubling of capital investments in state housing construction as compared with the Fourth Five-Year Plan.

The Party and the government have always displayed and continue to display great concern for the health of our people. State expenditure on public health, including expenditure for this purpose out of social insurance funds, increased from 11,200,000,000 rubles in 1940 to 26,400,000,000 in 1951. Further improvement and expansion of medical and health services for the public has been achieved on this basis. The number of hospital beds in both cities and rural areas in 1951 was 30% greater than in 1940. The network of health resorts has been enlarged and the number of doctors in the country has increased 80%.

As a result of the growth of the people's living and cultural standards and the improvement in medical services to the public, the mortality rate has been reduced in our country. During the past three years the net increase in population has amounted to 9,500,000. (*Prolonged applause.*)

Expenditure on education increased from 22,500,000,000 rubles in 1940 to 57,300,000,000 in 1951, that is, by more than one and a half times. During the postwar years alone 23,500 schools have been built. The number of pupils in the U.S.S.R. at the present time amounts to 57,000,000, almost 8,000,000 more than in 1940. Seven-year and ten-year schooling has been greatly extended; the number of pupils in the fifth to the tenth grades increased 25% in this time. The number of pupils in technical and other specialized secondary schools increased 40% during this period and the number of students in higher educational institutions increased 67%. In 1952 alone 221,000 young specialists were graduated from higher educational institutions to work in various branches of the economy; in the current year 375,000 students were admitted to higher educational institutions. At present about 5,500,000 specialists with higher or specialized-secondary education are at work in the country, 2.2 times as many as before the war.

In view of the ever-growing importance of science in the life of our society, the Party is devoting constant attention to its development. The Soviet state has undertaken the building and equipment of an extensive network of scientific research institutions, it has created the most favorable conditions for the flourishing of science and it has provided for the training of research workers on a large scale. From a total of 1560 in 1940, the number of scientific research institutes, laboratories and other scientific institutions in the U.S.S.R. increased to 2900 by the beginning of 1952, with nearly double the number of scientific workers. State expenditure on the development of science amounted to 47,200,000,000 rubles in 1946-1951.

During these recent years the network of cultural and

educational establishments in the cities and rural localities has been widely extended. At present there are 368,000 libraries of all kinds in the country, an increase of more than 120,000 as compared with 1939. Books published amount to 800,000,000 copies per year, an 80% increase over the 1940 figure. The number of sound film projectors in operation in city and countryside has almost tripled since 1939.

Literature and the arts are a most important and inseparable part of Soviet culture. We have made great strides in the development of Soviet literature, art, theater and screen. There is clear evidence of this in the awards of Stalin Prizes to many talented workers in this sphere each year. A total of 2339 workers of literature and the arts have been counted worthy of the lofty title of Stalin Prize winner.

However, it would be incorrect not to see behind the notable successes some grave shortcomings in the development of our literature and the arts. The fact is that, in spite of genuine successes in the development of literature and the arts, the ideological and artistic level of many works is still not high enough. In literature and the arts we still have many mediocre, dull works, sometimes outright potboilers, which give a distorted picture of Soviet reality. The diverse, vigorous life of Soviet society is depicted in listless and dull fashion in the work of some writers and artists. The defects in such an important and popular genre of art as the cinema have not yet been eliminated. We know how to make good films which have great educational value, but few such films are made. Our cinematography has all the facilities for making many good and varied films, but these facilities are poorly used.

It must be borne in mind that the ideological and cultural level of Soviet citizens has grown immeasurably; the Party is training their taste for the best works of literature and art. Soviet people will not tolerate dullness, art that has no message, or falsity, and they make exacting demands on the work of our writers and artists. The works of our writers and artists must scourge the faults, defects and sores found in society, must portray in their heroes the new type of people in all the magnificence of their heroic dignity and thus help inculcate in the people of our society new characteristics, ways and traits free from the ulcers and vices engendered by capitalism. Yet such art genres as satire are still lacking in our Soviet fiction, drama and motion pictures. It would be wrong to assume that our Soviet life does not provide material for satire. We need Soviet Gogols and Shchedrins who, with the fire of their satire, would burn away everything that is undesirable, rotten and moribund, everything that retards our progress.

Our Soviet literature and art must boldly show the contradictions and conflicts of life, must know how to use the weapon of criticism as an effective means of education. The force and importance of realistic art lie in the fact that it can and must disclose and hold up to the light the high spiritual qualities and typical positive features in the character of the ordinary man, create his vivid artistic portrait, as an example and object of imitation for people.

In their creation of artistic images our artists, writers and workers in the arts must constantly remember that the typical is not only what is encountered most frequently, but that which most fully and vividly expresses the essence of the given social force. In the Marxist-Leninist interpretation, the typical does not at all mean some statistical average. The typical should correspond to the essence of the given socio-historical phenomenon; it is not just the widespread, the frequently repeated or the commonplace. Deliberate exaggeration which gives sharpness to an image does not make the image atypical but shows and stresses the typical more fully. [The question of] typicalness is the chief sphere in which the Party spirit manifests itself in realistic art. The problem of the typical is always a political problem.

The lofty and noble task confronting our workers in literature and the arts can be met only if we conduct a resolute struggle against hack work in these fields, if falsity and rot are mercilessly eradicated from literature and the arts. The workers in literature and the arts have a tremendous responsibility in the great struggle to nurture what is new and lofty and to uproot what is hoary and moribund in literature and art. It

is the duty of our writers, artists, composers and screen workers to study the life of Soviet society more profoundly and to create major works of art worthy of our great people. (Applause.)

Comrades! We have accomplished a great deal in improving the material well-being and raising the cultural standards of the Soviet people. But we cannot rest content with what has been achieved. The task is to ensure a further steady improvement of the living and cultural standards of the Soviet people on the basis of development of our entire national economy. Our party will continue to manifest untiring concern for the maximum satisfaction of the constantly growing requirements of the Soviet people, for the welfare of Soviet man, the flowering of the Soviet people, is the supreme law for our party. (Stormy, prolonged applause.)

3. Further Strengthening of the Soviet Social and State System.—In the period since the 18th Party Congress our Soviet state has continued to grow, develop and gain in strength.

The economic foundation of our state—socialist ownership of the means of production—has grown and been consolidated. During this period the friendly cooperation of the workers, peasants and intelligentsia, who constitute Soviet socialist society, has become still stronger.

In the face of the greatest difficulties, our social and state system has turned out to be the most firm, viable and stable system in the world, as was shown by the experience of the war. The indestructible might of the Soviet socialist system is due to the fact that it is a genuinely popular system, created by the people themselves, that it enjoys the powerful support of the people and ensures the flowering of all the material and spiritual forces of the people.

Enemies and vulgarizers of Marxism preached the theory, most harmful to our cause, of the weakening and withering away of the Soviet state [even] in conditions of capitalist encirclement. The Party refuted and cast out this rotten theory, and advanced and substantiated the conclusion that, while the socialist revolution has triumphed in one country and capitalism still prevails in the majority of other countries, the land of the triumphant revolution must not weaken but strengthen the state in every way, that the state will remain even under communism if capitalist encirclement remains. We would not have achieved the successes in peaceful construction in which we now take pride if we had permitted the weakening of our state. If we had not strengthened our state, our army, our punitive and intelligence agencies, we would have been unarmed in the face of our enemies and confronted by the danger of military defeat. The Party turned the Soviet country into an impregnable fortress of socialism by strengthening the socialist state in every way and it is continuing to strengthen it. (Stormy applause.)

In embarking on invasion of our country, the fascist aggressors counted on internal instability of the Soviet social and state system, on weakness in the Soviet home front. But, as is known, the war refuted these calculations. Comrade Stalin's historic declaration that in the event of war our country's fighting front and home front, owing to their homogeneity and inherent unity, would be stronger than in any other country was fully confirmed. In the course of the war the armed forces and the home front of the Soviet state grew stronger. The devoted labors of the Soviet people in the rear and the heroic struggle of the Soviet Army and Navy at the front have gone down in history as an unexampled achievement of a people defending their motherland. Our army and navy were established, strengthened and fought under Comrade Stalin's direct leadership. (Stormy, unabating applause.) Comrade Stalin, the brilliant commander and organizer of the Soviet people's historic victories in the great patriotic war, created the advanced Soviet military science and armed our army with the art of vanquishing the enemy. Our people love their army and navy and surround them with constant care and attention. The armed forces of the Soviet Union were, are and will be a reliable bulwark of the security of our motherland. (Stormy, prolonged applause.)

The great patriotic war and the subsequent years of peaceful development have shown once again that the Soviet social system established under the leadership of the Party is the best form of organization of society, that the Soviet state system

is the model multinational state. Our numerous enemies and ill-wishers in the bourgeois camp have endlessly asserted that the Soviet multinational state is unstable, have cherished the hopes of rifts among the peoples of the U.S.S.R. and have foretold inevitable collapse for the Soviet Union. They were judging our state from their own bourgeois countries, in which national antagonisms and discord are inherent. The enemies of socialism are not capable of understanding that, as a result of the great October revolution and socialist changes, all the peoples of our country are linked by firm friendship on the basis of full-equality. (*Applause.*) Our party, unswervingly carrying out the Lenin-Stalin nationality policy, has strengthened the Soviet multinational state, developed friendship and mutual cooperation among the peoples of the Soviet Union, has in every way supported, guaranteed and encouraged flowering of the national cultures of the peoples of our country, has led an irreconcilable struggle against any and all nationalist elements. The Soviet state system, which has passed through the hard tests of war and which has become a world model and example of genuine equality and partnership of nations, demonstrates the great triumph of the Lenin-Stalin ideas on the nationality question. (*Prolonged applause.*) Our party preserves and will go on preserving as the apple of its eye the unity and friendship of the peoples of the U.S.S.R., has strengthened and will go on strengthening the Soviet multinational state. (*Stormy applause.*)

In the period under review new peoples have entered into the Soviet family. The Lithuanian, Moldavian, Latvian and Estonian Soviet Socialist Republics have been established. The whole Ukrainian people has been united in a single state. Belorussia has gathered the whole Belorussian people into one family. In the northwest we have new frontiers, more just and corresponding better to the interests of the defense of the country. In the Far East the Soviet Union has regained Southern Sakhalin and the Kurile Islands which had been severed from Russia. Today the state frontiers of the Soviet Union correspond best to the historically evolved conditions of the development of the peoples of our country. (*Applause.*)

With the help of the peoples of the fraternal republics, the new Union republics within a short space of time have not only advanced far in industrialization, but have also made the change from small peasant farming to the path of socialism, have completed collectivization and are successfully developing socialist agriculture.

During the postwar period the chief function of our state—the function of economic-organizational and cultural-educational work—has developed and become still more intensive. The great scope of socialist construction and the tasks of bringing Party and Soviet leadership closer to the district, city and village level brought about the necessity of a number of changes in the administrative-territorial forms of state management of industry, agriculture and the various branches of the economy. For this reason central agencies of state administration were broken down into smaller units and new agencies were established.

Unswerving adherence to the principles of socialist democracy, which underlie the Stalin Constitution, was of the greatest importance to the strengthening of our state. Elections to the U.S.S.R. Supreme Soviet, to the Supreme Soviets of the Union and autonomous republics and to the local Soviets have been held twice since the war. These elections took place in an atmosphere of great political enthusiasm and were a further expression of the unity of our people, of the people's unlimited confidence in our Communist Party and Soviet government. (*Stormy applause.*)

The tasks of the Party in the sphere of domestic policy:

1. To continue undeviatingly to strengthen the economic might of our state, organizing and directing the peaceful labors of the Soviet people for the fulfillment and overfulfillment of the great tasks of the Fifth Five-Year Plan of development of the U.S.S.R., which is an important stage along the road of transition from socialism to communism.

2. To bring about further development of industry and transport. To introduce more widely in industry, building and transport the latest discoveries of science and technology, to raise labor productivity in every way, to strengthen discipline in

carrying out state plans, to ensure high quality of output, and constantly to lower the unit cost of production, which is the basis for systematic lowering of wholesale and retail prices of all goods.

3. To bring about further development of agriculture in order to create within a short period an abundance of food for the population and raw material for light industry in our country. To see to unqualified fulfillment of the main tasks in agriculture—comprehensive raising of yields of all crops and growth of number of livestock, together with raising of its meat and dairy yields, and increasing the gross and marketed output of farming and animal husbandry. To improve the work of the Machine and Tractor Stations and state farms. To raise labor productivity of collective farmers, to strengthen further the communal sector of the collective farms, to increase their wealth, and on this basis to ensure further growth in the material well-being of the collective farm peasantry.

4. To bring about strict exercise of economy in all sectors of the national economy and in all branches of industry.

5. To develop advanced Soviet science further, with the aim of attaining first place in world science. (*Applause.*) To direct the energies of scientists toward rapid solution of the scientific problems of utilizing our country's immense natural resources. To strengthen the creative cooperation of science with production, bearing in mind that this cooperation enriches science with practical experience and helps practical workers to solve more rapidly the tasks confronting them.

6. To develop in every way the creative initiative of the working people of our motherland, to develop socialist competition more widely, to show untiring care to see that examples of new organization of labor be set on all the sectors of socialist construction, constantly to popularize these examples among all the workers in order that there may be more and more emulation of the advanced workers of our society on the labor front.

7. To continue to improve the material well-being of our people; constantly to raise the real wages of workers and employees, to improve the living conditions of the working people; to promote in every way higher incomes for the peasants. To develop Soviet culture; to improve public education and health services; to show unflinching concern for the further development of Soviet literature and arts.

8. To strengthen our social and state system in every way. To develop further the political activeness and patriotism of Soviet people, to strengthen the moral and political solidarity of our country and the friendship of its peoples.

9. To maintain vigilant watch on the machinations of the warmongers. To strengthen in every way the Soviet Army, Navy and intelligence agencies. (*Stormy applause.*)

III. THE PARTY

The steady growth in the might of our Soviet motherland is a result of the Communist Party's correct policy and of its organizing work in translating this policy into reality. As the leading and directing force of Soviet society, the Party saw to the country's timely preparation for active defense and directed all the efforts of the people toward defeating the enemy in the war years and toward the task of bringing about a new and mighty advance of the national economy in the postwar period.

The Soviet people's historic victory in the great patriotic war, the fulfillment of the Fourth Five-Year Plan ahead of schedule, the further development of the national economy, the improvement in the living and cultural standards of the Soviet people, the strengthening of the moral-political unity of Soviet society and of the friendship of peoples of our country, and the rallying of all the forces of the camp of peace and democracy around the Soviet Union—these are the principal results confirming the correctness of our party's policy. (*Stormy, prolonged applause.*)

The period under review has been a period of further strengthening of the Party, a period of consolidation of the complete unity and solidarity of the Party's ranks. The unity of our Party, which was won in fierce struggle against the enemies of Leninism, is the most characteristic feature of its internal

condition, its inner life. It is the source of our party's strength and invincibility. (Prolonged applause.)

The unity of the Party's ranks was a decisive factor in the Soviet people's victory in the great patriotic war. At the time of the most severe trials of the great patriotic war, when the fate of our country was at stake, our party functioned as a united, militant organization with no vacillations or dissensions in its ranks. In the light of the outcome of the war we see in all its magnitude the significance of the implacable struggle which our party waged over a period of many years against all manner of enemies of Marxism-Leninism, against the Trotskyite-Bukharinist degenerates, against the capitulators and traitors who tried to turn the Party from the right track and to split the unity of its ranks. It was proved that these infamous traitors and betrayers were waiting for an armed attack upon the Soviet Union and counted on stabbing the Soviet state in the back, when it would be hard pressed, at the behest of the enemies of our people. By smashing the Trotskyite-Bukharinist underground, which was the center of attraction of all the anti-Soviet forces in the country, and by purging our party and Soviet organizations of enemies of the people, the Party destroyed in time any and all possibility of the appearance of a "fifth column" in the U.S.S.R. and prepared our country politically for active defense. It is not hard to see that if this had not been done in good time we would have found ourselves during the war in the position of people under fire both from the front and from the rear and we might have lost the war.

For the unshakable solidarity of its ranks the Party is indebted primarily to our leader and teacher, Comrade Stalin, who guarded the Leninist unity of the Party. (All rise. Stormy, prolonged applause, turning into an ovation.) The unity of the Party ranks was, is and will continue to be the foundation of our party's strength and invincibility. Tempered in the fires of the stern trials of the war and in the struggle with postwar difficulties, the Party has come to this Congress stronger, more united, and rallied as never before around its Central Committee. (Stormy, prolonged applause.)

The strength of our party lies in the fact that it is linked with the broad masses by vital ties and is a genuine party of the people, that its policy conforms to the people's vital interests. The role of such mass organizations as the Soviet trade unions and the Young Communist League has greatly increased in rallying the working people around the Party and educating them in the spirit of communism. In the struggle for the freedom and independence of our motherland, for the building of a communist society, the Party has become still closer to the people and has deepened its ties with the broad masses of the working people. The Soviet people unanimously support the policy of the Party and place their full trust in it. (Stormy applause.)

The growth of the Party's ranks testifies vividly to the strengthening of its ties with the masses and its heightened authority among the Soviet people. At the time of the 18th Congress there were 1,588,852 Party members and 888,814 Party candidates, a total of 2,477,666. On Oct. 1, 1952, there were 6,882,145 in the Party, including 6,013,259 Party members and 868,886 candidates. (Applause.)

During the great patriotic war, in spite of the heavy losses sustained by the Party at the fronts, its numbers not only did not diminish, but increased by more than 1,600,000. The Party was joined by the staunchest Soviet people from the ranks of the Soviet Army and Navy who had fought gallantly at the front and by foremost representatives of the working class, collective farm peasantry and Soviet intelligentsia who were self-sacrificingly forging victory over the enemy by their efforts on the home front.

When the war ended, the Party Central Committee decided to slow down admissions to the Party, but admissions still continued at a rapid rate. The Party could not but take note of the fact that the rapid growth in its ranks also had its bad points, tended to a certain lowering of the level of political consciousness in the Party ranks, to a certain deterioration in the qualitative composition of the Party. A certain discrepancy arose between the numerical growth of the Party and the standard of political education of Party members and candidates. In order to diminish this discrepancy and improve the

qualitative composition of the Party, the Central Committee deemed it necessary not to push the further growth of the Party but to concentrate the attention of the Party organizations on tasks of raising the political standard of the Party members and candidates. In accordance with instructions from the Central Committee, the Party organizations began to select persons more carefully for Party membership, were more exacting in judging applications for membership and launched extensive work on the political schooling of Communists. The result is an unquestionable rise in the political standard of the Party ranks, in the Marxist-Leninist educational level of our membership. However, it cannot be considered that the task set by the Party—to eliminate the lag of the standard of political training behind the growth of the Party's ranks—has already been accomplished. Therefore we must continue the policy of restricting admissions to the Party and improving the political education and Party seasoning of the Communists, for the strength of the Party is not only in the number of its members but above all in their quality.

Problems of strengthening the Party machinery, improving its work and strengthening the work of the Party units have assumed special importance in the postwar period.

The new tasks which arose before the country with the end of the war and the reconversion to peacetime construction required a great improvement in work within the Party and a rise in the standard of supervision of state and economic activity by Party organizations. The fact is that the wartime circumstances had caused certain specific features in the methods of Party leadership and also had given rise to major defects in the work of Party governing organs and Party organizations [units]. This was expressed chiefly in the fact that the Party organs slackened their attention to Party organizational and ideological work, and, as a result, this work was neglected in many Party organizations. Some danger arose that the Party organs would be divorced from the masses and change from organs of political leadership, from militant organizations with drive and initiative, into something in the nature of administrative and managing bodies, incapable of meeting all sorts of local, narrowly departmental and other antistate pulls and pressures, and overlooking outright distortions of the Party's policy in economic fields and violations of the interests of the state.

In order to ward off this danger and successfully meet the task of strengthening the local Party organs and the work of the Party organizations, it was necessary to put an end to the neglect of Party organizational and ideological work and to end such phenomena as the adoption by Party organizations of administrative methods of supervision, which lead to bureaucratization of Party work and weaken the activeness and initiative of the Party masses.

The Central Committee has focused the attention of the Party organizations on the task of consistently practicing inner Party democracy and developing criticism and self-criticism, strengthening by these means the control exercised by the Party masses over the activity of the Party organs, which is the key to advancement of Party work as a whole and to increasing the activeness and initiative of the Party organizations and Party members. The measures taken by the Party to develop inner Party democracy and self-criticism have considerably helped the Party organizations to eliminate defects in Party political work and have played a big part in improving it. On this basis there has been a growth in the activeness and initiative of Party members; the primary Party organizations of enterprises, collective farms and institutions have been strengthened and their work has been invigorated; and the control exercised by the Party masses over the activity of the Party organs has increased and the role of plenary sessions of Party committees and meetings of the Party aktiv has grown.

However, it would be a mistake not to see that the level of Party political work still lags behind the demands of life, the tasks put forward by the Party. It must be admitted that there are defects and errors in the work of the Party organizations and that there are still many negative and at times even unhealthy phenomena in the life of our Party organizations, which must be recognized, seen and brought to light in order to

overcome and eliminate them and secure further progress.

What are these defects, errors, negative and unhealthy phenomena and what are the Party's tasks in this connection?

(1) Self-criticism and particularly criticism from below have not in full measure nor in all Party organizations become the principal method of disclosing and overcoming our errors and defects, our weaknesses and infirmities.

The role of criticism and self-criticism in the life of the Party and state is still underestimated in the Party organizations; persecution and victimization for criticism occur. One can still meet officials who never stop shouting about their devotion to the Party but actually tolerate no criticism from below, stifle it and take revenge on those who criticize them. No few instances are known in which a bureaucratic attitude to criticism and self-criticism has done serious damage to the cause of the Party, killed the initiative of a Party organization, undermined the authority of the leadership among the Party masses and infected the life of individual Party organizations with the anti-Party ways of bureaucrats, sworn enemies of the Party.

The Party cannot ignore the fact that wherever checkup by the masses on the activity of organizations and institutions is weakened, such ugly phenomena as bureaucracy, degeneration and even corruption of individual units in our machinery inevitably arise. Of course, phenomena of this sort are not widespread. Our party is stronger and healthier than ever. But it must be understood that the only reason why these dangerous infirmities have not become widespread is that the Party, using the weapon of criticism and self-criticism, has disclosed them promptly, openly and boldly, and has struck vigorous blows at specific instances of conceit, bureaucracy and degeneration. Wise leadership consists in the ability to see a danger in its incipency and not allow it to grow to the proportions of a menace.

Criticism and self-criticism are the Party's tested weapon in combating defects, errors and unhealthy phenomena undermining the healthy organism of the Party. Criticism and self-criticism strengthen rather than weaken the Soviet state and social system, and this is a sign of its vigor and vitality.

At the present time it is particularly important to ensure the development of self-criticism and criticism from below, to combat ruthlessly—as mortal enemies of the Party—those who hamper the development of criticism of our defects, stifle criticism or resort to persecution and victimization for criticism. The fact is that, with the victorious conclusion of the war and the major economic achievements since the war, an uncritical attitude has developed in the Party ranks toward defects and errors in the work of Party, economic and other organizations. The facts show that successes have generated in the ranks of the Party a mood of self-satisfaction, a pretense of well-being and smug complacency, a desire to rest on one's laurels and rely on past merits. No few officials have appeared who think that "we can do anything," "everything is child's play to us," "things are going well" and there is no use worrying oneself with such a disagreeable task as disclosing defects and mistakes in the work or combating negative and unhealthy phenomena in our organizations. These sentiments, harmful in their consequences, have infected a segment of the cadres who are poorly trained and unstable from the Party point of view. Leaders of Party, Soviet and economic organizations not infrequently convert meetings, gatherings of the *aktiv*, plenary sessions and conferences into a show, a place for self-praise, with the result that the mistakes and defects in the work, the infirmities and weaknesses, are not disclosed and criticized, which in turn encourages the attitudes of self-satisfaction and complacency. Careless attitudes have penetrated the Party organizations. Among Party, economic, Soviet and other officials there are a dulling of vigilance, negligence and instances of divulging Party and state secrets. Certain officials, absorbed in economic affairs and achievements, begin to forget that the capitalist encirclement still exists and that the enemies of the Soviet state are persistently trying to smuggle in their agents and utilize unstable elements in Soviet society for their own vile ends.

In order to advance our work, a resolute struggle must be

waged against negative phenomena and the attention of the Party and all Soviet people must be focused on eliminating defects in the work, and for this purpose it is necessary to promote extensive self-criticism and particularly criticism from below.

The active participation of the broad masses of working people in the struggle against defects in work and negative phenomena in the life of our party is a vivid indication of the genuinely democratic character of the Soviet system and of the high political awareness of the Soviet people. Criticism from below reflects the creative initiative and enterprise of millions of working people, their concern for the strengthening of the Soviet state. The more widely self-criticism and criticism from below are developed, the more fully will the creative forces and energies of our people find expression and the stronger will grow the masses' realization that they are the master of the country.

It is a mistake to think that criticism from below can develop of itself, spontaneously. Criticism from below can grow and expand only on condition that every person who comes forward with healthy criticism is certain he will find support in our organizations and that the defects which he points out will actually be eliminated. It is necessary for our Party organizations and Party officials, for all our leaders, to take the lead in this and set an example of an honest and conscientious attitude toward criticism. It is the duty of all executives, particularly Party officials, to create conditions in which all honest Soviet people may boldly and fearlessly criticize defects in the work of organizations and institutions. Meetings, gatherings of the *aktiv*, plenary sessions and conferences in all the organizations must really become broad forums for bold and trenchant criticism of defects.

Persistent struggle against defects and infirmities in the work of Party, Soviet, economic and other organizations must become the daily business of the whole Party. A Communist has no right to remain indifferent to unhealthy phenomena and defects in work, much less to conceal them from the Party. If matters are not going well in this or that organization, if interests of the Party and state are suffering injury, a Party member is under obligation—no matter who is involved—to report the defects to the directing Party organs, up to the Central Committee of the Party. This is a duty of every Communist, one of his most important Party obligations. We have executives who think that if their subordinates report to the Central Committee of the Party on defects, they thereby interfere in their leadership and undermine their authority. Such harmful and deeply anti-Party views must be eradicated vigorously.

It is the Party's task to promote wider and wider criticism and self-criticism and to put an end to everything that interferes with and obstructs this. The more widely we enlist the masses in combating defects in work, the stronger will be the checkup from below on the activity of all our organizations and the more successfully will matters proceed in all fields of work. Consistent application of the criticism and self-criticism slogan demands a resolute struggle against all who obstruct its development, who answer criticism with persecution and victimization. Officials who do not promote criticism and self-criticism are a hindrance to our progress, are not mature enough to be leaders and cannot expect the Party to have confidence in them.

(2) Party and state discipline is still weak among a segment of Party, Soviet, economic and other officials.

Among our cadres there are many officials who react in a formal manner to decisions of the Party and government, who do not display activeness or persistence in the struggle to carry them out and who are not concerned that things are going badly in their work and that harm is being done to the interests of the country. A formal attitude toward decisions of the Party and government and a passive attitude toward fulfilling them are vices which must be eradicated in the most merciless fashion. The Party does not need hardened and indifferent bureaucrats who prefer their own peace of mind to the interests of work, but tireless and selfless fighters for fulfillment of the directives of the Party and government, who place the interests of the state above all else.

One of the most dangerous and vicious violations of Party and state discipline is the concealment by certain officials of the truth about the state of affairs in enterprises and institutions in their charge, the embellishment of results in the work. The Central Committee and the government have disclosed instances in which certain officials have placed narrow departmental and local interests above the interests of the state and, under the guise of concern for enterprises in their charge, have concealed from the state material resources at their disposal and taken the path of violating Party and state laws. There are also cases in which industrial executives, with the connivance of Party organizations submit deliberately inflated applications for raw materials and supplies and pad output reports when they do not fulfill production plans. There are many officials who forget that the enterprises entrusted to their care and management are state enterprises and try to turn them into their bailiwicks where these apologies-for-executives do whatever they "feel like doing." (Laughter.) It is a great evil that we still have officials who think that Party decisions and Soviet laws are not binding upon them, who imagine that we have two kinds of discipline—one for the rank-and-file and the other for leaders. Such "leaders" think that everything is permitted them, that they can ignore state and Party rules, break Soviet laws and act outrageously and arbitrarily.

The Party requires of all its members and, even more, of the directing officials, truthfulness, honesty and meticulous performance of their Party and state duties, and it cannot trust persons who commit antistate actions, who try to play false with the government and to deceive the Party and state. Any deception of the Party and state, no matter what form it takes, any attempt to deceive by concealing or distorting the truth can be regarded only as a grave crime against the Party. It is time to realize that we have only one discipline in the Party for both rank-and-file members and for leaders, that Soviet laws are equally binding upon all Soviet people, high and low. No allowances can be made on account of position for leaders who are guilty of an unconscientious attitude toward fulfillment of decisions of the Party and government, who act lawlessly and high-handedly.

The task is to put a firm stop to violations of Party and state discipline, instances of irresponsibility and laxity, and a formal attitude toward decisions of the Party and government; to work tirelessly to heighten the sense of duty to Party and state in all our officials, to root out untruthfulness and unconscientiousness mercilessly. Officials who try to conceal the truth from the Party and to deceive it cannot be allowed to remain Party members. Undeviating observance of the interests of our motherland and active and tireless struggle for fulfillment of Party and government decisions is a cardinal duty of every Party and state official.

(3) The injunction of the great Lenin that the main thing in organizational work is correct selection of personnel, that it is only on the basis of correct selection of personnel that the Party can work out satisfactorily.

The facts show that correct selection of personnel and check on fulfillment of decisions are still far from the main element in the managerial activity of the central and local Party, Soviet and economic organizations.

One of the most widespread and deep-rooted defects in the practical work of Soviet, economic and Party organizations is poor organization of the factual fulfillment of directives from the center and of their own decisions, and absence of proper check on their execution. Our organizations and institutions issue far more decisions, directives and orders than required, but take little care to see whether or how they are being carried out. After all, the essence of the job is to carry them out correctly and not bureaucratically. An unconscientious, irresponsible attitude toward carrying out directives from the executive bodies is a most dangerous and vicious manifestation of bureaucracy. Experience shows that even good officials begin to grow spoiled and bureaucratic when left to themselves with no control or check on their activities.

It is a most important task of the Party to take every measure to increase checking and follow-up on decisions throughout the entire system of leadership, in the work of all organizations

and institutions, from top to bottom. For this purpose it is necessary to increase the personal responsibility of the heads of all organizations and institutions for checking on fulfillment of Party and government decisions, greatly to improve the work of the inspection and auditing machinery both in the center and in the localities, to reinforce it with personnel so that this work will be in the hands of persons of authority, experience and political alertness, capable of meticulously guarding the interests of the state. It is necessary considerably to strengthen the role of Party checkup, to focus the attention of the Party organs on verification of fulfillment of Party and government decisions. It is necessary that our directing organs rely on the wide masses of working people, the Party, trade unions and Young Communist League organizations and on the activity of the local Soviets in their work of verifying fulfillment of decisions. Only a combination of verification from above and verification from below by the Party and non-Party masses will secure the prompt elimination of defects in the work of our organizations and institutions and create an atmosphere in which decisions and directives will be carried out punctually and meticulously in Bolshevik style.

The decisive force in Party and state leadership is personnel. Without correct selection and training of personnel it is impossible to translate the political line of the Party into reality successfully. The principal task in the selection of personnel is to take every measure to improve the quality of the officials, to reinforce our Party, state and economic organizations with persons devoted to the interests of the Party and state, who know their job well and are capable of advancing the work.

As a result of the work done by the Party, the composition of the managerial personnel has considerably improved. But this does not mean that the task of improving the quality of the directing personnel has been fully solved. Now that all the branches of the economy are equipped with up-to-date machinery and the cultural level of the Soviet people has risen immeasurably, the qualifications required of the directing personnel have become different and higher. At the helm of leadership in industry and agriculture and in the Party and state machinery there must stand people who are educated, experts in their fields, people who are capable of introducing a fresh approach, of supporting everything advanced and progressive and creatively developing it.

We have every opportunity to bring this about, because there is available for selection and promotion to managerial positions a larger number than ever before of persons measuring up to these requirements.

Further strengthening of the composition of executive personnel is now chiefly dependent upon correct organization of the study and selection of personnel, but for this purpose it is necessary first of all to eliminate the defects, errors and distortions in the work with personnel. And there are no few defects in this field.

The chief defect is that some administrators select personnel not on the basis of political and work qualifications but on a basis of family relations, friendship or neighbor status. Not infrequently officials who are honest and competent, but alert to and intolerant of defects and therefore disturbing to the peace of mind of the management, are ousted under various pretexts and replaced with individuals of dubious merits or even wholly unfit for the job but compliant and pleasing to certain administrators. As a consequence of such distortions of the Party line in the selection and advancement of personnel, there emerge in some organizations close coteries of people bound together by mutual protection and placing the interests of the group above the interests of the Party and state. It is no wonder that such situations ordinarily lead to corruption and degeneration. This is what happened, for example, in the Ulyanovsk Party organization, where a segment of the economic, Soviet and Party officials from the directing hierarchy of the province organization became morally corrupted and took the path of fraud, embezzlement and stealing of state property.

A red-tape bureaucratic approach to the study and selection of personnel does a great deal of harm to the cause of further improvement of the quality of the corps of directing personnel. Not infrequently personnel is selected on the basis of informa-

tion given in questionnaires and formal requests for information, with no serious checkup on the work and political qualifications of the officials. In the selection of personnel the vicious practice has taken root of approving or appointing officials sight unseen. It is plain that when selection of personnel is approached in this formal, bureaucratic way there can be no correct decision of whether this or that candidate is or is not suitable for the job for which he has been recommended. Without going into the question of the merits and shortcomings of the candidate it is impossible to determine what post would give him the best opportunity to develop his individual abilities.

It is the duty of Party organizations to see that the principles of selection and placement of personnel laid down by our party are observed meticulously in all units of our machinery. It is necessary to wage an implacable struggle against collusive practices and mutual protection, to do away with the bureaucratic attitude to the work of studying and selecting personnel. It is necessary to raise to a higher level the work of the Party organs on the study and selection of personnel and to increase considerably the Party checkup on how this work is conducted in Soviet and economic organizations.

The task is to make selection of people and verification of fulfillment of decisions really the main thing in the executive activity of central and local Party, Soviet and economic organizations. It must be remembered that the purpose of check on fulfillment of decisions is primarily to bring to light deficiencies, to expose lawlessness, to help honest officials with advice, to punish incorrigible ones, to obtain fulfillment of the decisions, to study experience and, on the basis of experience, secure the most correct, advantageous and economical performance of the tasks set. There must be no permitting of bureaucratic approach to check on fulfillment of decisions; there must be no fear of revoking or correcting a decision taken if it should turn out that it is erroneous or inaccurate. Check on fulfillment of decisions is bound up inseparably with the task of eliminating defects in the selection of personnel; in accordance with the results of the check, it is necessary to remove bad, unsuitable, backward, unconscientious officials and replace them with better-qualified, suitable, forward-looking, honest people; verification of fulfillment of decisions must assist the promotion of new people capable of advancing the work and guarding the interests of the state.

(4) In many Party organizations there is underestimation of ideological work, as a result of which this work lags behind the Party's requirements and is in a neglected state in many organizations.

Ideological work is a paramount duty of the Party and underestimation of it may do irreparable damage to the interests of the Party and the state. We must always remember that any weakening of the influence of the socialist ideology signifies a strengthening of the influence of bourgeois ideology.

In our Soviet society there is not and cannot be any class basis for acceptance of bourgeois ideology. The socialist ideology reigns in our country; its indestructible foundation is Marxism-Leninism. But remnants of the bourgeois ideology, survivals of private-property mentality and morality are still with us. These survivals do not wither away by themselves. They are very tenacious. They can grow, and a vigorous struggle must be waged against them. Nor are we guaranteed against the infiltration of alien views, ideas and sentiments from outside, from the capitalist states, and from inside, from the remnants of groups hostile to the Soviet regime and not yet completely destroyed by the Party. It must not be forgotten that enemies of the Soviet state are trying to spread, fan and inflame all sorts of unhealthy sentiments, are trying to corrupt unstable elements of our society ideologically.

Some of our Party organizations, absorbed in economic work, forget questions of ideology, put them aside. Even in such foremost Party organizations as the Moscow organization, for example, not enough attention is devoted to ideological work. And this cannot but have consequences. Whenever attention to ideological matters is slackened, a favorable soil is created for invigoration of views and ideas hostile to us. Alien elements, all manner of elements from the remnants of anti-Leninist groups routed by the Party, try to take over those sectors of ideological work which for any reason drop

out of the field of vision of the Party organizations, wherever Party leadership and influence are relaxed, and to use them for surreptitious promotion of their own line, for revival and dissemination of all sorts of un-Marxist "viewpoints" and "conceptions."

Underestimation of ideological work is largely due to the fact that a certain segment of our directing personnel does not work to improve their own political awareness, does not add to their knowledge of Marxism-Leninism, does not enrich themselves with the historical experience of the Party. But without doing this one cannot become a full-fledged, mature leader. He who lags behind ideologically and politically, he who lives by formulas learned by rote and has no sense of the new, who is incapable of correctly orienting himself in the domestic and foreign situation, cannot be a leader in the movement and is unworthy of being one, and sooner or later will be thrown in the discard by life itself. The only kind of leader who can measure up to the tasks of our party is the kind who constantly works at his self-improvement, creatively masters Marxism-Leninism and develops and perfects in himself the qualities of a leader of the Lenin-Stalin type.

The Party organizations are still weak in their work of improving the ideological-political training of Party members and candidates and poorly organize and control the study of Marxist-Leninist theory, and as a result many Communists lack the essential knowledge in the field of Marxism-Leninism. Raising the political literacy of Party members and candidates is a necessary condition for increasing their role as the vanguard in all spheres of life, for further activating the Party masses and improving the work of the Party organizations.

Owing to inadequate supervision of ideological work and absence of check on its content, there are not infrequent errors and distortions in books, newspapers and magazines and in the activity of scientific and other ideological institutions. As a result of the intercession of the Party Central Committee, practices and traditions alien to Soviet people have been uncovered in many fields of science, instances of caste exclusiveness and intolerance of criticism have been brought to light, and manifestations of bourgeois ideology and all manner of vulgarizing distortions have been exposed and crushed. The well-known discussions on philosophy, biology, physiology, linguistics and political economy uncovered serious ideological failings in various fields of science, gave impetus to the developing of criticism and the clash of opinions and played an important part in the development of science. The Arakcheyev-like regime which existed on many sectors of the science front has been smashed. However, in a number of branches of science the monopoly of various groups of scientists who bar the way to fresh forces, shield themselves against criticism and try to settle scientific questions by administrative fiat has not yet been completely liquidated.

No science can develop successfully in a musty atmosphere of mutual admiration and hushing up of errors; attempts to establish a monopoly on the part of individual groups of scientists inevitably give rise to stagnation and decay in science.

The ideological work of the Party must play an important role in purging people's minds of survivals of capitalist mentality, of the warped thinking and pernicious traditions of the old society. We must go on developing a lofty sense of public duty in the masses, training the working people in the spirit of Soviet patriotism and friendship of peoples, in the spirit of concern for the interests of the state, perfecting those fine qualities of Soviet people—confidence in the triumph of our cause and readiness and ability to overcome all difficulties.

The task of the Party organizations is to put an end once and for all to the harmful underestimation of ideological work, to intensify this work in all units of the Party and the state, to expose tirelessly any and all manifestations of ideologies alien to Marxism. It is necessary to develop and perfect socialist culture, science, literature and art, to direct all the media of ideological and political influence—our propaganda, agitation and press—to improving the ideological training of Communists and to increasing the political vigilance and awareness of the workers, peasants and intelligentsia. It is the duty of all our cadres without exception to raise their ideological

level and to assimilate the rich political experience of the Party, so that they will not lag behind life and so that they will measure up to the Party's tasks. The Party organizations must constantly help the Party members and candidates to raise their ideological level, must instruct them in Marxism-Leninism and mold them into politically-trained, conscious Communists.

Our tasks in the field of further strengthening the Party are the following:

(1) To continue improving the quality of the Party's ranks, to permit no pursuit of numbers but to concentrate on raising the political level and Marxist tempering of the Party members and candidates; to increase the political activity of the Communists, to make all Party members staunch fighters for carrying out the Party's policies and decisions, intolerant of shortcomings in the work and capable of persistent efforts to remove them; to improve and perfect the work of the trade unions and Young Communist League and to strengthen the ties with the masses, day in and day out, mindful that the strength and invincibility of our party lie in its close and inseparable ties with the people;

(2) To do away with the spirit of self-righteousness and infatuation with achievements, a spirit which is harmful and dangerous to our cause, and the manifestation of vanity and egotism in the Party ranks; boldly and vigorously to uncover and eliminate defects and weakness in our work; to enforce inner Party democracy consistently, develop self-criticism and criticism from below, and to see to it that all honest Soviet people can be bold and free in coming forth with criticism of defects in the work of our organization and institutions; to wage a merciless struggle against any and all attempts to stifle criticism or persecute and victimize those who criticize; to take every measure to strengthen Party and state discipline, to eradicate a perfunctory attitude to Party and government decisions and to wage a vigorous fight against lack of discipline and violation of state interests;

(3) To raise to a higher level the work of the Party organization on correct selection, placement and training of personnel, to observe strictly the principles established by the Party for the correct selection of officials, to fight implacably against violators of these principles, ruthlessly to combat a bureaucratic approach in the work of selecting personnel, to improve the quality of the directing personnel, to be bolder about promoting to executive positions individuals devoted to the interests of the Party and state who know the work well and are capable of advancing it, to remove bad, unsuitable, backward and unconscientious officials; to take every measure to strengthen checkup and verification of fulfillment of decisions throughout the entire system of leadership from top to bottom, to raise the personal responsibility of the heads of all organizations and institutions for following up Party and government decisions, to combine checkup from above with checkup from below by the Party and non-Party masses; to see that correct selection of personnel and verification of decisions actually become the main things in the directing work of central and local Party, Soviet and economic organizations;

(4) To do away with underestimation of ideological work, to wage a vigorous struggle against tolerance and carelessness with regard to ideological errors and distortions, systematically to improve and perfect the ideological-political training of our cadres; to direct all the media of ideological influence—our propaganda, agitation and press—to the communist education of Soviet people; to raise Soviet science to a higher level, developing criticism and clash of opinions in scientific work, mindful that only in this way can Soviet science fulfill its mission of taking first place in the world;

(5) To continue to treasure as the apple of our eye the Leninist unity of the Party ranks, which is the foundation of the strength and invincibility of our party. (Stormy, prolonged applause.)

Comrades! In our epoch the great teaching of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin lights the way for all mankind to development of civilization.

Our party's strength lies in the fact that it is guided in all

its work by the Marxist-Leninist theory. Its policy rests on scientific knowledge of the laws of social development.

The historic role of our great teachers Lenin and Stalin lies in that, having steeped themselves in the theoretical principles of Marxism and possessing perfect mastery of the dialectical method, they have upheld and defended Marxism against all distortions and have brilliantly developed the Marxist teaching. At each new turn in history Lenin and Stalin constantly linked Marxism with specific practical tasks of the period, demonstrating by their creative approach to the teaching of Marx and Engels that Marxism is not a lifeless dogma but a living guide to action.

Marxist-Leninist theory is the object of Comrade Stalin's unremitting concern. Throughout the whole of this recent period Comrade Stalin's labors in the field of theory have been centered on working out problems of world-historic importance—the development of the socialist economy and the gradual transition to communism. Creatively enriching and developing the science of Marxism-Leninism, Comrade Stalin ideologically arms the Party and the Soviet people in the struggle for the triumph of our cause.

Of the greatest importance to Marxist-Leninist theory and to all our practical activity is Comrade Stalin's work, just published, "Economic Problems of Socialism in the U.S.S.R." (Stormy, prolonged applause.) This work gives a comprehensive analysis of the laws of social production and of distribution of goods and services in socialist society, it defines the scientific principles of development of the socialist economy and points out the way and means for the gradual transition from socialism to communism. By his elaboration of questions of economic theory Comrade Stalin has far advanced Marxist-Leninist political economy.

Comrade Stalin has set forth programmatic theses concerning the basic preliminary conditions required for preparing the transition to communism. Comrade Stalin teaches that at least three basic prerequisites must be attained in order to prepare a genuine transition to communism.

"It is essential, first, to ensure securely *** constant growth of all social production, with preponderant growth of production of means of production. Preponderant growth of production of means of production is necessary not only because it must provide equipment for its own enterprises and for enterprises of all other branches of the economy as well, but also because without it, it is altogether impossible to have expanded reproduction."*

"It is essential, secondly, to elevate collective farm property to the level of property of the public as a whole, through gradual changes carried out in a manner profitable to the collective farms and consequently to the whole of society, and to replace commodity turnover with a system of exchange of goods—likewise by gradual changes—so that the central authority [the government] or some other social-economic central agency might control the entire output of social production in the interests of society."†

Of course, commodity circulation and collective farm property are presently being successfully employed for the development of the socialist economy and are of undoubted benefit to society. They will continue to be of benefit in the immediate future, too. But we must bear in mind our future development.

"***One cannot achieve either an abundance of goods, capable of satisfying all of society's needs, or the transition to the formula 'to each according to his needs' while retaining in force such economic factors as collective farm group ownership, commodity turnover, etc.," Comrade Stalin points out.‡

So long as the socialist economy retains two basic production sectors—the state sector and the collective farm sector—commodity circulation, with its "money economy," must continue to operate as a necessary and useful element in the system of our national economy. The existence of commodity production and commodity circulation also determined the existence of the law of value under socialism, although this

* J. V. Stalin, "Economic Problems of Socialism in the U.S.S.R." [in Russian], pp. 66-67 [p. 14].

† Ibid., p. 67 [p. 14].

‡ Ibid., p. 66 [p. 14].

law has already ceased to play the role of regulator of production in our system.

But commodity circulation, like the law of value, is not eternal. When, in place of the two basic forms of socialist production, the public form and the collective farm form, there will appear a single, all-inclusive production center, commodity circulation, with its "money economy," as well as the law of value, will disappear. The view held by some that commodity circulation will persist under communism has nothing in common with Marxism. Commodity circulation is incompatible with the prospect of transition from socialism to communism.

Comrade Stalin has worked out the theory of the question of measures for elevating collective farm property to the level of public (national) property, for gradual transition to a system of product exchange between state industry and the collective farms. The existing rudiments of product exchange—in the form of "contract exchange" covering the yield of cotton-growing, flax-growing, beet-raising and other collective farms—will develop into a broad system of product exchange.

"Such a system," Comrade Stalin points out, "requires a tremendous increase in output delivered by the cities to the countryside, hence it should be introduced without particular haste and in proportion to the accumulation of city goods. But it should be introduced steadily, unwaveringly, without hesitation, step by step reducing the sphere of operation of commodity turnover and increasing the sphere of operation of product exchange.

"Such a system, cutting down the sphere of operation of commodity turnover, will make easier the transition from socialism to communism. In addition, it will make it possible to include the basic property of the collective farms—the yield of collective farming—in the general system of national planning.

"This will be a realistic and effective means of elevating collective farm property to the level of public property under our present conditions."*

The product-exchange system is definitely advantageous for the collective farm peasantry, since the latter will receive from the state far more goods and at cheaper prices than under commodity circulation. The collective farms which already employ "contract exchange," representing the rudiments of a product-exchange system, are aware of the tremendous advantages and benefits of this system. It is well known that there is a particularly large number of wealthy farms among the farms in this group.

To prepare the basic prerequisites for the transition to communism, Comrade Stalin points out, "it is essential, thirdly, to obtain such a cultural development of society as would ensure to all its members comprehensive development of their physical and mental abilities, affording them the opportunity of obtaining education sufficient to enable them to become active participants in social development, sufficient to enable them to make a free choice of occupation and not be shackled for life to any one occupation by reason of the existing labor specialization."†

"For this purpose it is necessary first of all to reduce the work day at least to six and then to five hours. This is necessary in order that members of society may receive the leisure time necessary for a thorough education. For this purpose it is necessary, further, to introduce universal, compulsory polytechnical education, so that a member of society may be able to make a free choice of occupation and not be shackled for life to any one occupation. For this purpose it is necessary, further, to improve housing conditions radically and to raise the real wages of workers and employees a minimum of 100%, if not more, both through direct increase in money wages and particularly through further systematic reduction of prices of goods of mass consumption."‡

Only after attainment of all these preliminary conditions taken together, Comrade Stalin teaches, will one be able to hope that in the eyes of the members of society toil will be turned from the heavy burden which it was under capitalism

into a prime human requirement and will public ownership be regarded by all members of society as the firm and inviolable basis of society's existence. Only after attainment of all these preliminary conditions taken together will it be possible to change from the socialist formula "from each according to his abilities, to each according to his labor," to the communist formula, "from each according to his abilities, to each according to his needs."

Comrade Stalin emphatically warns against lightmindedly running ahead of events and also against [trying to make] the transition to higher economic forms without first creating the necessary conditions for the transition.

Comrade Stalin has provided a scientific solution of such great problems and programmatic questions of communism as elimination of the antithesis between town and countryside and between manual and mental labor; and he has also worked out the question, new in the science of Marxism, of elimination of the essential distinctions between them, which still exist in socialist society.

Thus, the Party's plans for the future, which determine the perspectives and ways of our advance, are based on knowledge of economic laws, on the science of building a communist society, a science worked out by Comrade Stalin. (*Stormy, unabating applause.*)

Comrade Stalin's substantiation of the objective nature of economic laws is of tremendous importance in terms of principle. Comrade Stalin teaches that the laws of economic development, the laws of political economy—irrespective of whether capitalism or socialism is concerned—are objective laws reflecting the process of economic development, which occurs independently of people's will. People may discover these laws, recognize them, use them in the interests of society, but they cannot negate old economic laws or make new ones. Economic laws are not created by the will of human beings but arise on the basis of new economic conditions.

Profoundly erroneous are the views of those who suppose that laws of economic development can be made or negated, that in view of the special role granted by history to the Soviet state it can negate the existing laws of political economy, "make" new ones or "change" them. Denial of the existence of objective laws in economic life under socialism would lead to chaos and the rule of chance. Such a denial would result in the liquidation of political economy as a science, for science cannot live and develop without recognition of objective laws, without study of these laws. Denial of the objective nature of economic laws is the ideological foundation of adventurism in economic policy, of complete arbitrariness in the work of directing the economy.

Comrade Stalin's discovery of the basic economic law of present-day capitalism and the basic economic law of socialism is a major contribution to Marxist political economy. The basic economic law defines the essence of the given mode of production, all the principal aspects and principal processes of its development; it furnishes a key to understanding and explanation of all the laws of the economic system in question.

Comrade Stalin has shown that the chief features and requirements of the basic economic law of present-day capitalism are "to secure the maximum capitalist profit through the exploitation, ruin and impoverishment of the majority of the population of a given country, through the enslavement and systematic robbing of the peoples of other countries, especially backward countries, and finally through wars and militarization of the national economy, which are used to guarantee the highest profits."* This law reveals and explains the blatant contradictions of capitalism, reveals the causes and roots of the capitalist states' aggressive, predatory policy. The operation of this law leads to the deepening of the general crisis of capitalism, to the inevitable maturing and eruption of all the contradictions of capitalist society.

The rising and flourishing socialist system is the very antithesis of decaying capitalism. The essential features and requirements of the basic economic law of socialism, discovered by Comrade Stalin, are "to assure maximum satisfaction of the constantly growing material and cultural

* Ibid., p. 94 [pp. 19-20].

† Ibid., p. 68 [p. 14].

‡ Ibid., p. 69 [p. 14].

* Ibid., p. 38 [p. 8].

requirements of all of society through the constant growth and improvement of socialist production on the basis of the highest technology."* Comrade Stalin has shown that the purpose of the socialist mode of production is not profit but [to serve] man and his needs, to satisfy his material and cultural requirements. Ensuring maximum satisfaction of the constantly growing material and cultural requirements of all of society is the aim of socialist production, and constant growth and improvement of socialist production on the basis of the highest technology is the means of achieving the aim. The operation of this law leads to advancement of the productive forces of society, to the flourishing of society, to constant growth of the material and cultural standards of the working people. (Applause.)

Comrade Stalin's discovery of the basic economic law of present-day capitalism and the basic economic law of socialism deals a crushing blow to all the apologists of capitalism. These basic economic laws testify that whereas in capitalist society man is subordinated to the ruthless law of extorting maximum profits, for the sake of which people are doomed to extreme suffering, poverty, unemployment and wars of great bloodshed, in socialist society all production is subordinated to man and his constantly growing requirements. Herein lies the decisive advantage of the new social system, communism, which is superior to capitalism. (Applause.)

Communism arises from the conscious creative work of the many-millioned masses of the working people. The theory of drift and spontaneity is profoundly alien to the entire economic system of socialism. Thanks to the operation of the law of competition and anarchy of production, the capitalist economy is torn by the sharpest contradictions. Comrade Stalin has shown that on the basis of socialization of the means of production there arose in our country the law of planned (proportional) development of the national economy, as opposed to the law of competition and anarchy of production.

The law of planned development of the economy is not the basic economic law of socialism and our practical planning cannot of itself yield the proper positive results if it does not take into account the principal task of socialist production, if it does not rest on the basic economic law of socialism. In order to ensure continual growth of all social production and to create an abundance of products in our country, it is necessary thoroughly to master the art of planned and rational utilization of all material and financial resources and all manpower, proceeding from the requirements of the law of planned development of the economy and conforming in all respects to the requirements of the basic economic law of socialism.

In his works on the economic problems of socialism in the U.S.S.R. Comrade Stalin has shown the entire complexity of the tasks we have to resolve in the struggle against difficulties, in surmounting the contradictions which arise in the course of establishing communism.

Comrade Stalin has discovered the objective economic law of the necessary conformity of production relations to the character of the productive forces and has demonstrated the tremendous role this law plays in understanding and changing matters. With penetrating analysis of the processes occurring in our economy, Comrade Stalin has shown the profound error of the allegation that under socialism there is no contradiction between production relations and society's productive forces. There definitely are and will be contradictions, inasmuch as the development of production relations lags behind and will lag behind the development of the productive forces. Of course, in socialist society matters do not usually reach the point of conflict between production relations and productive forces, but it would be dangerous to fail to perceive that there are and can be contradictions between them. It is our duty to perceive these contradictions in time and, by pursuing a correct policy, to overcome them in time, so that the production relations may perform their role of the chief and decisive force that determines powerful development of the productive forces.

The tasks of our forward advance oblige the leaders of the Party and workers in the social sciences—above all, the economists—to guide themselves by Comrade Stalin's programmatic injunctions and to work out questions of

Marxist-Leninist theory thoroughly, in inseparable connection with the practical work of construction.

Comrade Stalin's writings are a vivid indication of the outstanding importance our party attaches to theory. Revolutionary theory was, is and will remain the unfailing beacon which illumines the path of advance of our party and our people to the complete triumph of communism. (Stormy applause.)

Comrade Stalin is constantly advancing Marxist theory. Comrade Stalin's classic work "Marxism and Problems of Linguistics" * raised to a new and higher level the fundamental propositions of Marxist theory on the law-governed nature of social development and thoroughly worked out questions of the economic base and superstructure of society and of the productive forces and production relations. The doctrine of dialectical and historical materialism is further developed as the theoretical foundation of communism. Comrade Stalin disclosed the role of language as an instrument of society's development and outlined the prospects of further development of national cultures and languages. In this work Comrade Stalin, enriching the science of Marxism-Leninism with new propositions, opened up fresh prospects for progress in all branches of knowledge.

Comrade Stalin's works on problems of economics and linguistics mark a new stage in the development of Marxism and are remarkable examples of the creative approach to the teachings of Marx, Engels and Lenin. Comrade Stalin teaches us that any dogmatic approach to theory is impermissible and can do great harm to the cause of the political education of the masses. Comrade Stalin's discoveries in the field of theory have world-historic importance and arm all peoples with knowledge of the ways of revolutionary transformation of society and with our party's wealth of experience in the struggle for communism. (Stormy, prolonged applause.)

The immense significance of Comrade Stalin's works of theory is that they warn us against skimming the surface, they penetrate the heart of phenomena, the very essence of the processes of society's development, teach us to perceive in embryo the factors which will determine the course of events, which makes possible Marxist prognosis.

The teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin give our party invincible strength, the ability to blaze new trails in history, to see clearly the goal of our consistent progress, to win victories more swiftly and to consolidate them more securely.

Leninist-Stalinist ideas illumine with the bright light of revolutionary theory the tasks and prospects of the struggle of the masses of the people of all countries against imperialism and for peace, democracy and socialism. (Stormy, unabating applause.)

Comrades! The Soviet state is no longer a solitary island surrounded by capitalist countries. We are marching forward together with the great Chinese people (prolonged applause), together with the many-millioned masses of the people's democracies and the German Democratic Republic. (Prolonged applause.) All progressive mankind sympathizes with us and supports us. (Prolonged applause.) Together with all these forces we are defending the cause of peace and of friendship among peoples.

Our mighty motherland is in the flower of its strength and is going from success to success. We have everything necessary for building a complete communist society. The natural resources of the Soviet land are inexhaustible. Our state has shown its capacity to use these immense resources for the benefit of the working people. The Soviet people have shown their capacity to build a new society, and look with confidence to the future. (Prolonged applause.)

At the head of the peoples of the Soviet Union stands the Party, tested and steeled in battle, unswervingly pursuing the Leninist-Stalinist policy. Under the leadership of the Party the world-historic victory of socialism in the U.S.S.R. has been won and exploitation has been abolished forever. Under the leadership of the Party the peoples of the Soviet Union are fighting successfully to achieve the great aim of building communism in our country. (Prolonged applause.)

* Ibid., p. 40 [p. 9].

* Current Digest of the Soviet Press, Vol. II, Nos. 21 and 28.

There is no force in the world that can halt the onward movement of Soviet society. Our cause is invincible. We must keep a firm hand on the helm and go our own course, yielding neither to provocation nor to intimidation. (Stormy, prolonged applause.)

Under the banner of the immortal Lenin, under the wise leader-

ship of the great Stalin, forward to the triumph of communism!

(At the close of the speech all delegates rise and ardently greet Comrade Stalin with a tumultuous, prolonged ovation. From all corners of the hall resound cries of "Hurrah! Hail the great Stalin!" "Hurrah for our dear Stalin!" "Hail our beloved leader and teacher, Comrade Stalin!")

VIII. THE CENTRAL INSPECTION COMMISSION REPORT

REPORT OF CENTRAL INSPECTION COMMISSION OF THE ALL-UNION COMMUNIST PARTY (OF BOLSHEVIKS).—Report by Comrade P. G. Moskatov. (Pravda, Oct. 7, p. 2. Complete text:) Comrades! The report of the All-Union Communist Party (of Bolsheviks) has told the Congress of the great victories of our party and the Soviet people and of the paths of our country's further economic, political and cultural development.

It is my task to inform the Congress of the work of the Central Inspection Commission, which has the duty, under the Party Statutes, of systematically checking the Party's finances, the organizational condition of the Party apparatus and promptness and correctness in the handling and consideration of the documents, letters, declarations and complaints submitted to the central bodies of our party.

I.—During the period under review the Party Central Committee has carried out measures for further improvement of financial discipline and accounting in Party organizations; complete centralization of the Party budget has been effected, embracing all Party organization funds down to those of the primary Party units; inspection and auditing work has been greatly improved.

With the increase in Party membership, the growth of the network of Party organizations and the extension of their publishing activities, financial and budget work also has greatly increased in scope.

The income side of the Party budget in 1951 had increased to 2.6 times that of 1939. As before, the income consists mainly of membership dues and revenue from the sale of output of the Party organizations' publishing houses. Funds received from membership dues greatly exceed income from other budget items.

The increase in membership dues has resulted from the large increase in Party membership and the rise in wages throughout the country. As is known, prompt payment of membership dues is one of the demands of the Party Statutes, an expression of Party discipline and the organizational link of Communists with the Party.

The Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party has frequently directed the attention of local Party bodies and of district, city and province Party committee Inspection Commissions to the need for improving the collection and recording of membership dues. In its resolution "On Strengthening Budget Discipline and Auditing in Party Organizations" the Central Committee has required Party committees to make quarterly reviews of problems of the collection and record-

ing of membership dues and to remove defects in these matters disclosed by the Inspection Commissions.

The system established by the Central Committee, which requires primary Party unit secretaries to collect membership dues personally, has brought about major improvement. The Central Inspection Commission has data showing that the overwhelming majority of Party members pay their membership dues promptly, in accord with the Party Statutes. Proper check-up has been established in the matter of membership dues payments. Local Party agencies systematically report to the Central Committee on the collection of membership dues and the manner of their payment by Party members and candidates. Membership dues collection records are inspected by Party committees, which take steps to eliminate defects disclosed.

Nevertheless, there are still primary Party units which do not see to prompt payment of membership dues by Party members and candidates, which do not take note of the fact that some Communists are in arrears with dues payments and do not explain the importance of promptly paying membership dues into the Party treasury.

In future, Party agencies must see to prompt payment of membership dues by every Communist and strictly observe the established system of membership dues collection and accounting, paying strict attention to this sphere of Party organizational work.

Another important source of income in the Party budget is receipts from the earnings of the Party organizations' publishing houses. These sums in 1952 were almost six times what they had been in 1940 and at present constitute 12% of the total budget income.

It is the task of Party organizations to develop publishing comprehensively and to improve the work of publishing organizations.

II.—The second part of the Central Inspection Commission's report is a report of budget expenditures and measures to ensure budget discipline and further improve the organization of finances in Party bodies.

It is first necessary to remark on two features of the expenditures side of the budget. First, the principal budgetary expenditure is for local Party organization needs. The relative size of these appropriations increases each year. Suffice it to say that in 1952 funds allocated for local Party organization needs amounted to 91% of the total Party budget. Moreover, it must be remembered that even the remaining 9%, which comprises expenditures by Party central bodies, has been spent largely on the training and refresher training of executive per-

sonnel of province, territory and republic organizations. Second, large funds have been devoted to the political education of Communists and to spreading the ideas of Marxism-Leninism. For example, 1952 expenditures for these purposes amount to about 20% of the entire Party budget.

The following educational establishments are maintained by Party funds: Under the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party (of Bolsheviks)—the Academy of Social Sciences; the Higher Party School; the one-year refresher courses for first secretaries of province and territory Party committees and Union republic Party Central Committees, province and territory [Soviet] Executive Committee chairmen and chairmen of Union and autonomous republic Councils of Ministers; the two-year Leninist courses; the Higher Party School's extension department; one-year courses for Party and Soviet executive officials; six-month refresher courses for city and district Party committee chairmen. Under province and territory committees and the Union republic Party Central Committees—two-year Party schools and nine-month refresher courses for Party and Soviet officials. Under the Ukraine Party Central Committee and the Georgian Party Central Committee—republic three-year Party schools. More than 35,000 persons are studying in the above-mentioned educational establishments. In the past five years more than 400,000 Party propaganda workers have had refresher training in the various courses.

The Party budget has devoted enormous sums each year to supplement the literature in city and district Party committees' libraries.

During the period under review the Central Committee has taken major steps to extend the material and technical base of Party publishing houses. The reconstruction of printshops and the procurement of requisite printing and publishing equipment have made it possible for our party's publishing houses to extend their work and markedly increase the circulation of newspapers and magazines. For example, one can say that the circulation of *Pravda* and *Komsomolskaya pravda* has almost doubled since 1939. In the same period circulation per issue of the 18 magazines issued by the *Pravda* Publishing House has increased 150%.

In this same period major sums have been allotted local Party organizations for the reconstruction, repair and construction of premises of district, city, province and territory Party committees and Union republic Party Central Committees, and for construction of Party educational buildings and premises. These measures have enabled our party to improve the premises and buildings of local Party agencies and their educational establishments.

All this permits the Central Inspection Commission to conclude that Party budget funds have been administered by the Central Committee to meet vital needs of the local and central bodies of our party.

As is known, the main requirement for proper conduct of Party finances has always been strict observance of budget discipline. In the period under review, improvement has been made in the organization of Party bodies' finances. Party finances have been strengthened by the directives adopted by the Central Committee during this period on setting up strict control over proper expenditure of budget funds. The Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party (of Bolsheviks) has required province and territory committees and Union republic Central Committees to take steps for economical expenditure of funds allocated from the Party budget.

Systematic checkup has been established on the proper administration of finances by local Party bodies. The inspectors' and instructors' staffs of province and territory committees and Union republic Central Committees each year look into this matter in no less than 90% of the city and district Party committees. Local Inspection Commissions also do a great deal in this direction and have frequently checked on the financial and economic operations of all the Union republic Central Committees and the territory, province, city and district Party committees.

Local Party organizations have begun to concern themselves more with financial questions of Party publishing houses. At present the production and budget estimates and the financial accounts of Party publishing houses are reviewed, as a rule, by the province and territory committees and the Union republic Central Committees.

The Central Inspection Commission, basing its conclusions on an analysis of the financial accounts of local Party agencies, data of investigation and province, territory and republic Inspection Commission reports, can report to the 19th Party Congress that most major Party bodies have conducted Party finances properly and have strictly observed budget discipline.

Nevertheless, certain local Party agencies have overexpended funds, have arbitrarily transferred funds from one allocation category to another and have not seen to proper organization of bookkeeping and accounting. Some Inspection Commissions have performed their duties poorly, infrequently checking up on the financial and economic activities of Party bodies and exercising weak control over expenditures in individual allocation brackets; as a result, there have been cases of overexpenditure on administrative and economic needs, while funds appropriated for personnel training, propaganda and agitation have sometimes not been completely expended.

The Central Committee has paid great attention to questions of regulating the size of Party staffs. In the period under review, more than one staff reduction in Party apparatus has occurred. The Central Committee's constant attention to problems of regulating the staffing of Party agencies has made it possible not only to keep the Party apparatus as a whole at the 1939 level but even to reduce it somewhat, despite the large numerical increase in the Party during this period.

The further improvement of the financial and economic activities of Party bodies requires continued work on budget strengthening, decisive reduction of waste, and economical use of funds. Local Inspection Commissions must conduct prompt audits of Party organizations' financial and economic activities, with particular attention to the caliber of inspection on questions within the competency of the commissions and establishing systematic checkup on prompt implementation of the commissions' proposals resulting from such checkups. It is our duty to manifest continued thrift in expenditures, to observe the strictest financial discipline and to conduct the Party's finances in exemplary fashion, unswervingly guided by the instructions of the Central Committee and Comrade Stalin. (*Applause.*)

III.—The Central Inspection Commission's checkup on the speed and correct handling of cases before Party central bodies has established that during the period under review there has been a further strengthening of the Party apparatus: the political and cultural level of Party personnel has risen and their sense of responsibility for the work entrusted to them has been reinforced.

An important function of Party agencies is keeping Party membership records and conducting Party business. Our party's Central Committee has perfected and improved this work since the 18th Congress. New instructions have been drawn up: "On Keeping Records of Members and Candidates of the All-Union Communist Party" and "On the System of Keeping Records and Distribution of Party Members' and Candidates' Cards of the 1936 Model." These instructions have placed personal responsibility on district and city Party committee first secretaries for keeping membership records of district and city Party organizations, for safekeeping Party documents and distributing Party members' and candidates' cards.

The Central Committee has systematically checked up on improvement in the conduct of Party business, in keeping Party members' and candidates' records and in filing and distribution of Party documents and has given local Party organizations assistance in these matters. The Central Committee has carried out local inspection of these matters in 63 province and territory committees and Union republic Central Committees. The data yielded by these inspections has been discussed in the Central Committee and appropriate resolutions adopted.

Considerable movement of Party members from one organization to another occurred under wartime conditions and in the postwar period; this could not help but affect the state of Party membership records. Party organizations have done a big job in recent years in putting in order the records of Party members and candidates and Party files. District and city Party committees and political agencies have collated records with actual Party and candidate membership; *in the records of Party members* *to be entered in the cards.*

Constant attention by

ters of records of Party members and candidates, and regular reports to it, on standard forms, regarding membership and changes in the Party organizations ensure that the Party is fully informed on the qualitative and quantitative composition of its ranks. These reports are discussed and approved by province and territory committee bureaus and Union republic Central Committees.

However, it must be noted that some district and city Party committees have been slow to enter members in Party records; they have delayed forwarding record cards to new places of work of Party members and candidates, and have included in Party records names of Party members who have arrived in their area without certificates to show their names have been removed from the records at their previous place of registration. Many city and district Party committee secretaries have not personally interviewed newly arrived Communists and have failed to verify Party documents and record cards; names have been added and taken off Party rolls in the absence of the persons concerned. In some Party organizations there have been delays in distributing cards to Party members and candidates. Some Party organizations have not yet waged the necessary battle against carelessness by Party members toward Party documents; as a result, there have been cases of lost Party membership cards.

Such shortcomings in Party organizations cannot be tolerated. It must be remembered that well-organized records, strict observance of established procedures in issuing and safekeeping Party documents, heightened responsibility, and intensified vigilance by Party administrative officials in these matters are necessary to protect the Party from penetration of its ranks by random and hostile elements.

Comrades, the Party Central Committee and the Central Committee secretaries receive innumerable letters, proposals and declarations on the most varied matters, often of state and public importance, from industrial workers, collective farmers, industrial and agricultural specialists, scientists, teachers, doctors, Soviet Army officers and soldiers, disabled war veterans, pensioners and students at various educational establish-

ments. Filled with the desire to help the state in one or another of its undertakings and to eliminate distortions in the work of sectors of the Party and state machinery or economic and other organizations, the Soviet people turn to the Central Committee of the Communist Party, knowing that their proposals and requests will be attentively considered.

The Central Inspection Commission informs the Congress that all letters received by the Central Committee of the Party receive careful consideration by Central Committee officials. In order to verify many of the letters and petitions, Central Committee officials visit the localities involved. Some declarations and letters have been discussed by the Central Committee. In addition, measures have been taken within the Central Committee apparatus which have made possible strengthened check on the handling and consideration of letters and improving the filing of all correspondence to enable rapid answering of any inquiry concerning letters to the Party Central Committee. Local Party organizations have also done much in regard to letters, statements and complaints from the working people. Unfortunately, however, not all local Party organizations have given proper consideration to letters and complaints received. Instances still occur in which letters have been sent from one organization to another and there has been no check on action taken in regard to these letters.

Party organizations must remove defects in handling the working people's letters and statements and be guided by the numerous injunctions of our party and Comrade Stalin on the necessity for a mindful attitude toward letters from working people and letters from Party members and candidates, who have the right to address any questions or statements to any Party body, at any level, right up to the Party Central Committee.

Comrades, the Communist Party and the Soviet people are confronted by new, world-historic tasks—tasks of further carrying out the great ideas of Lenin and Stalin.

Under the leadership of Comrade Stalin, our party is guiding the Soviet people along the broad and true road to communism. (Stormy, prolonged applause.)

IX. SABUROV ON THE PLAN DIRECTIVES

Directives of the 19th Party Congress for the Fifth Five-year Plan of Development of the U.S.S.R., 1951-1955.—REPORT BY COMRADE M. Z. SABUROV, CHAIRMAN OF THE STATE PLANNING COMMITTEE. (Pravda, Oct. 10, pp. 2-4. 16,000 words. Condensed text:*) Comrades! The directives for the Fifth Five-Year Plan of development of the U.S.S.R., 1951-1955, are submitted for your consideration. The new five-year plan will follow the same lines as the previous plans, that is, it will be oriented toward peaceful development of the Soviet economy, toward systematic development of the socialist system and improvement of the public welfare. Fulfillment of the new plan will mark an important stage in our country's gradual transition from socialism to communism.

Our country attained major successes in economic and cultural development on the basis of fulfillment of the Fourth Five-Year Plan. The fundamental tasks of the five-year plan of reconstruction and development of the U.S.S.R. national economy, 1946-1950, were to restore the regions of the country that had suffered from the war, to regain the prewar level in industry and agriculture, and then to surpass this level considerably. As is known from previously published reports on fulfillment of the Fourth Five-Year Plan, this plan was successfully completed and major goals in the plan were substantially exceeded.

The prewar level of development of the U.S.S.R. national economy was far surpassed as a result of the fulfillment of the Fourth Five-Year Plan. The five-year plan for industrial output was fulfilled ahead of schedule—in four years and three months—and the 1950 volume of output of all industry was 73% greater than before the war. The high rate of development in industry made possible considerable further equipping of the national economy and all its branches with up-to-date Soviet-made machinery.

In agriculture the prewar level was considerably exceeded in yields and gross harvest, as well as in output of meat and dairy products.

All forms of transportation developed in accord with the growth in the basic branches of the national economy and freight and cargo shipment considerably exceeded the prewar level.

The well-being of the working people increased on the basis of the advance in the national economy, and the prewar level

of consumption was considerably exceeded. The national income of the U.S.S.R. was 64% greater in 1950 than in 1940. Consumers' goods production considerably expanded, a monetary reform was carried out, rationing was ended on all food and manufactured goods, trade was extensively developed, retail prices were cut several times and the Soviet ruble was further strengthened. Total earnings of workers, employees and peasants was 62% greater in 1950 than in 1940.

The five-year plan for the reconstruction and development of the U.S.S.R. national economy, 1946-1950, was carried out through internal resources, without any outside help whatsoever, without foreign credits. The decisive role in fulfillment and overfulfillment of the plan was played by the self-sacrificing labors of the Soviet people, led by the Communist Party under the guidance of the great Stalin. (Applause.) Success in fulfilling the Fourth Five-Year Plan led to further strengthening of the socialist system and was a major new triumph of the U.S.S.R., ensuring further growth of the might of the socialist state.

The successful fulfillment of the Fourth Five-Year Plan makes it possible to adopt the Fifth Five-Year Plan, which will ensure further progress in all branches of the national economy, growth in the material well-being of the working people, development of public health and a rise in the cultural level of the people.

The major tasks set in the directives for the Fifth Five-Year Plan are indicated by the following data:

I.—Tasks of the Fifth Five-Year Plan in Industry. —The directives for the Fifth Five-Year Plan provide for raising the 1955 level of industrial production 70% as compared with 1950. This means that by the end of the Fifth Five-Year Plan the gross output of industry will be three times what it was before the war. ... The rate of increase of gross industrial output was higher in the past five-year plan. The slightly lower rate of increase planned during the Fifth Five-Year Plan is due on the one hand to the completion of reconstruction in industry during the Fourth Five-Year Plan, which meant that a rapid increase was brought about in production during that period by the opening of the rebuilt enterprises, and on the other hand to the need during the new five-year plan to continue to effect a considerable improvement in quality and an increase in the variety of output. At the same time it must be remembered that a 1% increase in gross output during the new five-year plan is equivalent to almost twice as much as a 1% increase during the preceding five-year plan.

The development of industry and of the national economy as a whole depends on the development of metallurgy. ... The increase in rolled metal production scheduled under the five-year plan is greater than the entire amount produced in 1940. ...

* [This translation omits facts and figures already published in the draft directives for the Fifth Five-Year Plan.]

A vast program must be carried out in building new ferrous metallurgy enterprises and expanding those now in operation. ...

Approximately 80% more electric power will be generated in 1955 than in 1950, making it possible to increase the amount of industrial electrification and to introduce automatic control of production processes on a broad scale, as well as to continue to introduce new methods of electric heat treatment and electroplating, to bring about a considerable increase in the use of electricity in agriculture, to carry out further electrification of the railroads and to increase production of electricity for the household needs of the public. ...

In accordance with decrees of the government there will be extensive construction during the Fifth Five-Year Plan of hydroelectric stations and of steam plants operating on local fuel. ...

Oil extraction is to increase approximately 85% during the five-year plan, which will necessitate intensified drilling operations, wide introduction of new drilling methods, large-scale use of means of maintaining pressure in oil seams and the completion of installations for automatic control of most oil extraction processes. ... Mighty enterprises must begin operating in the eastern parts of the country to develop the production of synthetic liquid fuel. ...

Coal production is to increase approximately 43% in the course of the new five-year plan. ...

During the five-year plan the volume of output of major types of equipment is to be increased as follows in comparison with the Fourth Five-Year Plan: steam and hydraulic turbines to 4.3 times, rolling mill equipment to 2.8 times and equipment for the oil industry to 5.2 times. ...

Industry will receive considerably more high-output cutting machines and forge presses during the Fifth Five-Year Plan than during the preceding one. In particular, it will receive 3.6 times as many heavy machine tools and single-purpose machine tools, and four times as many precision tools, which will permit far greater unit weight than for adjustable machine tools, will ensure a further rise in the technical level of machine building and will ensure the production of technically perfected machinery and equipment in quantities great enough to meet the needs of the national economy of the U.S.S.R. and of friendly democratic countries.

Instrument construction takes on increasing importance in modern large-scale machine production. Instrument construction is a necessary and important addition to the production of complex machinery, which—like modern technological processes in general—cannot be controlled without a system of instruments. Increased instrument production also reflects increased automatization of production, which is one of the most important fields of technical progress. The directives envisage an increase of approximately 170% in the production of operation and control instruments during the five-year plan.

The considerable development of all branches of machine building will permit the virtual completion during the Fifth Five-Year Plan of mechanization of arduous and labor-consuming work in industry and construction. This will be an outstanding achievement in the further equipping of the national economy, in increasing labor productivity and in lightening the labor of the workers.

In the chemical industry a very high rate of increase must be ensured in the production of soda, synthetic rubber and mineral fertilizers. Soda ash production is to be increased approximately 84% in comparison with 1950, caustic soda production 79%, synthetic rubber production 82% and mineral fertilizer production 88%. ...

Approximately 56% more lumber is to be cut and hauled and 50% more lumber products are to be produced during the five-year plan. ...

Agricultural raw material resources make it possible to increase the output of the light and food industries not less than 70% during the course of the five-year plan, including approximately 61% greater cotton cloth production in 1955 than in 1950, 54% greater wool cloth output, 55% greater leather footwear output, 92% greater meat production, 58% greater fish production, 78% greater granulated sugar output, 72% greater animal fats production, 77% greater vegetable oil production and 110% greater output of canned goods. ...

The interests of the national economy necessitate still greater variety and radical improvement in the quality of out-

put in all branches of industry. The practice adhered to by some enterprises of overfulfilling plans for increased output at the expense of the quality and variety stipulated cannot be tolerated. Higher quality of output is a primary goal of our industry. Higher quality will ensure more economical use of material resources and a reduction in losses from substandard production. Improvement in the quality and variety of consumers' goods assumes particular importance. ... State standards conforming to modern requirements should be widely established in order to ensure high-quality output, and bonus and supply systems for enterprises should be more effectively employed in the interests of fulfilling the plan for grades and types of output.

Fuller utilization of production capacity through introduction of progressive norms and rapid elimination of bottlenecks that prevent full use of equipment constitutes a major requisite for meeting five-year-plans goals in industry. It should be pointed out that the goals for utilization of production capacity were lowered in a number of branches of industry during the Fourth Five-Year Plan and were considerably exceeded in the course of the plan. This is true above all of ferrous metallurgy and the chemical industry. Enterprise capacity figures are still minimized in some branches of industry: in failing to bring to light the reserve capacities of such enterprises the ministries are retarding the development of production of a number of kinds of output. Such lowering of goals and of norms for use of equipment is discovered not only during the operation of the factories but even while enterprises are under construction. There are quite a few cases in which the capacity indicated in the blueprints has to be re-examined even while the enterprise is under construction, to see whether it cannot be increased without additional expenditures.

Considerable responsibility for minimizing production capacity lies with the planning bodies. The U.S.S.R. State Planning Committee must improve its work in finding reserve capacity and keeping it busy on state orders. It must be more resolute in combating all tendencies on the part of agencies to lower production plans. ...

A considerable amount of output is to be achieved through better use of existing capacity during the new five-year plan. Thus, about 30% of all additional pig iron smelted during the five-year period will be obtained in 1955 through improved operation of existing blast furnaces, while 25% of all additional coal will be obtained through better mine operation and 30% of all additional cement will come from fuller utilization of cement factories. Improved operation in other branches of industry is of no less importance.

In addition to improved operation of existing production facilities, the new five-year plan provides for a large program of capital construction in industry. In accord with the program for increased industrial output, the Fifth Five-Year Plan provides for increased capital investments in industry totaling approximately twice the figure for the Fourth Five-Year Plan. There must be an especially large increase in capital investments for the development of metallurgy, power plants, the oil industry and enterprises of light industry. The capital construction plan must ensure not only the completion of a considerable number of new enterprises and aggregates but must lead to increased capacity of existing enterprises through reconstruction of aggregates, the installation of new equipment, mechanization of production and improvement in technological processes. Increased production capacity obtained from expansion of existing enterprises constitutes a major source of increased output at minimum expenditures under the new five-year plan. The capital construction plan must also provide for additional construction of metallurgical enterprises, power plants, oil refineries, coal mines and mineral fertilizer plants to ensure the necessary development of these branches of industry in subsequent years.

The geographical location of new industrial enterprises should be improved during the new five-year plan with the aim of bringing industries closer to their sources of fuel and raw materials. This will permit the elimination of unnecessary long-distance railroad freight hauls. ...

Further development of industrial construction, expansion of existing construction organizations and establishment of new ones in districts of extensive construction are a decisive factor in the construction program in industry and other branches of

the national economy. The construction industry is now capable of handling much larger and more complicated jobs than previously. Such large construction organizations as the Ministry of Heavy Industry Enterprise Construction, which is mainly concerned with erecting enterprises for ferrous and nonferrous metallurgy, the Ministry of Machine-Building Enterprise Construction, and large organizations for building power plants, oil industry enterprises, coal mines and open cut mines, railroads and highways, subways, tall buildings and other projects have been formed and considerably expanded since the war. The Ministry of Heavy Industry Enterprise Construction, set up on the foundation of the People's Commissariat of Construction, is now handling more than twice the volume of construction and assembly work performed by the People's Commissariat of Construction in 1940, while it and the Ministry of Machine-Building Enterprise Construction together are performing more than three times that volume of work. Construction organizations of the Ministry of Power Plants are now handling more than five times as much construction and assembly work as in 1940.

Nevertheless, further strengthening of construction organizations is essential. ...

II.—Tasks of the Fifth Five-Year Plan in Agriculture.— ...

Most of the increase in major crops is to come from increase in yields. Approximately 90% of the over-all grain crop increase, 50% of the raw cotton increase and more than 60% of the sugar beet increase will be obtained through heightened yield.

During the Fourth Five-Year Plan a beginning was made on the tremendous Stalin program for the transformation of nature in the steppe and forest-steppe areas of the European part of the U.S.S.R. Every opportunity now exists for introducing proper farming in all areas. The Fifth Five-Year Plan provides for planting tree belts on collective and state farm fields not only in the steppe and forest-steppe parts of the European U.S.S.R., but also in the steppe areas of Siberia, Central Asia and other areas. ...

Much work was done during the Fourth Five-Year Plan to introduce correct crop rotations on the collective and state farms and to employ up-to-date cultivation. There are serious shortcomings in this work, however. The agricultural ministries and the Party and Soviet bodies of the provinces, territories and republics must improve their work to establish grass-field crop rotations and to ensure correct cultivation in all areas. The directives for the Fifth Five-Year Plan point to the further development of grass sowing as one of the main means of increasing the productivity of crops and strengthening the feed base for livestock, and provide for increased work to establish correct grass-field crop rotations on the collective and state farms. Crop rotations must be instituted to ensure the planned annual increase in the yields of grain, cotton, sugar beets, long-staple flax and other crops and of feed for livestock. More mineral and organic fertilizers must be spread on the collective and state farm fields. ...

The shift made to the new system of irrigation with temporary irrigation canals instead of permanent canals is already an important factor in increasing the area of irrigated land and raising its productivity. Plans call for completing the shift to the new irrigation system in all irrigation farming areas by the end of the five-year plan. ... Work will continue on the construction of irrigation systems in the Central Black Earth regions, the Kura-Aras lowlands, the basins of the Syr-Darya, Zeravshan and Kashka-Darya Rivers, in the regions of Central Fergana, the Kuban-Yegorlyk system, the Orto-Tokoi Reservoir and the Great Chuisk Canal. Work on these projects is being aided by powerful technical equipment. Agriculture now has a considerable supply of excavation equipment, with almost eight times as many excavators in 1951 as in 1940. Water resources projects are provided with large numbers of scrapers, bulldozers, graders and other equipment.

The broad network of irrigation systems, combined with shelter belts, correct crop rotations and other means of modern farming, is creating the basis for a mighty advance in agriculture over a considerable area of our country where until recently water shortages and frequent dry winds caused fluctuations in crop yields and caused livestock to suffer feed and water shortages. In view of the large increase planned in irrigated land area, for which the government is spending

tremendous amounts, it must become the duty of agricultural personnel to improve the use of the irrigated lands. We are still making unsatisfactory use of land served by irrigation networks, particularly in the Kazakh, Turkmenian and Azerbaidzhan Republics. It is essential to organize the use of these lands and to take steps for ensuring high crop yields on irrigated lands and for preventing salination and saturation of them. ...

To meet goals in animal husbandry it is necessary to ensure correct feeding and tending of livestock in all areas. Plantings of feed crops are to increase approximately 70% during the five-year plan, while the yield of sown grasses, ensilage crops and root crops is to increase at least 100%. ... The shift to stall feeding of livestock is a very pressing problem for our agriculture, especially in areas where a large proportion of the land is under cultivation, and will make possible a considerable increase in dairy yields. It is entirely possible to solve this major livestock problem through extensive planting of grasses, root crops, ensilage and other crops, through bringing little-productive meadows and pastures into crop rotation systems and thereby ensuring a satisfactory year-round supply of green and succulent feed for livestock. ...

As large state enterprises which now do more than two-thirds of all the field work on the collective farms, the Machine and Tractor Stations are confronted with great and responsible tasks under the new five-year plan. Further improvement must be ensured in the work of the M.T.S., their mechanization of labor-consuming jobs in all branches of collective farming must be increased, and their responsibility for fulfillment of plans for crop yields and meat and dairy yields must be increased. ...

M.T.S. tractor capacity is to increase approximately 50% during the five-year plan, including a special increase in plowing tractors. The capacity of the tractors working on the collective farm fields will be 70% greater per 100 hectares in 1955 than in 1940 and 30% greater than in 1950. In addition, agriculture will have more trucks, stationary power units and other machinery. Plans call for providing agriculture with large numbers of new and better plows, cultivators, drills, cotton-picking machines, beet combines and equipment for harvesting hay and ensiling feed, for electric sheep shearing, for electric milking, etc. It is the task of the M.T.S. and collective and state farms to ensure a considerable improvement in the use of this equipment.

There must be an increase in the use of electricity in agriculture during the Fifth Five-Year Plan. ...

The five-year plan goals in effecting a new advance in agriculture and animal husbandry necessitate further strengthening of the agricultural artel, correct selection and placing of collective farm administrative personnel and improvement in the qualifications of these personnel. It is necessary to ensure an increase in collective farm wealth through comprehensive development of the communal economy, correct balancing of crop growing and livestock raising, a considerable increase in labor productivity, improved organization and payment of labor and reduction of farming losses to a minimum. The income of the collective farms will increase and allocations to indivisible funds will be greater, which will permit broad development of construction on the collective farms, with capital investments directed primarily at development of the communal economy...

... It is essential to plan for a considerable increase in crop yields and livestock productivity on the state farms and on this basis to bring about a major reduction in the unit cost of production. ... It is essential that steps be taken for further strengthening the state farms, for seeing that they have a corps of specialists and permanent workers and for turning all state farms into high-output enterprises with high marketed output. ...

The major goals set for agriculture in the new five-year plan necessitate a marked improvement in the supervision of agriculture by the agricultural ministries and the local Party and Soviet organizations. While relying on the extensive aid given to agriculture by the state, it is essential that extensive use be made of the considerable present reserves for increasing gross and marketed crop and meat and dairy output and that every collective and state farm and M.T.S. strive to fulfill the state plan.

III.—Tasks of the Fifth Five-Year Plan in Commodity Turn- :

IV.—Tenth Plan: Fifth Five-Year Plan in Further Improvement of the Material Well-Being, Health and Cultural Level of the People.—... A tremendous program of new public housing construction must be carried out during the Fifth Five-Year plan to give further to improving the standard of living and to meet the needs of the people. In addition, to build all new construction will increase, to the fullest extent possible, the use of the regional resources. It is also recommended to the government that, in contrast to the first or five-year plan, in the second five-year plan, the government should not only build new construction but also improve existing buildings and to build new buildings with a more modern design and style.

Further control is needed, especially good time and work control to place it in the right position, but also a step by step procedure, further development of study material and the use of such material in the classroom is also very important.

Further control is needed, for example, of the work of the students to make sure that they are doing the work and that they are doing it well.

[illegible]

Equally important goals are set for the development of the economy and culture of the other Union republics as well.

Fulfillment of the new five-year plan cannot be allowed to take its course: it requires intensive and active creative effort by the workers, peasants and intelligentsia. It involves carrying out a tremendous capital construction program. Capital construction always has been and remains a basic factor in achieving the major long-range economic goals set by the Communist Party; it is a basic factor in determining the rate and direction of development of branches of the national economy. ...

Fulfillment of the capital construction plan necessitates mobilization of unutilized internal reserves and sources of accumulation in all parts of the national economy. Solution of this problem depends on meeting the goals for increased labor productivity, reduced production costs and more rapid turnover of working capital, on skilled management and on the ability to see to genuinely economical operation at every stage.

Increased labor productivity is a major factor in increasing socialist production, reducing unit costs and increasing accumulations. ... Approximately three-fourths of the entire increase in industrial output during the Fifth Five-Year Plan will be achieved through increased labor productivity. This means that industrial output is to be increased largely through increasing labor productivity.

This increase in labor productivity will be based on constant improvement in the technical equipment at labor's command and the application of advanced science and technology to production, as well as on further improvement in the material status of the people and improvement in the cultural and technical standards of the working people.

Mechanization of most heavy and labor-consuming work will be completed during the Fifth Five-Year Plan, while industrial workers will use 70% more electrical equipment in 1955 than in 1950, or 2.6 times as much as in 1940. Conditions are especially favorable for extensive development of mechanization and electrification of labor in socialist production. In the U.S.S.R., where there is no unemployment, machines not only conserve labor for society but also lighten the labor of the workers.

Broad dissemination of the experience of the best enterprises and of production innovators in using equipment, perfecting technology and introducing advanced methods of organizing production are of great importance in achieving high labor productivity. ...

Systematic reductions in the unit costs of production and in prices for industrial products are basic to the development of socialist industry. Reduction in the unit cost of production is an excellent indication of the quality of industry's work, its successes in improving production techniques, increasing labor productivity and strengthening cost accounting. Reductions in the unit cost of production and faster turnover of working capital are the basis for further reductions in retail and wholesale prices. ... It is also essential to effect a major reduction in administrative costs at enterprises and institutions.

Particular attention must be given to reducing building costs. Although there has been considerable increase in the volume of capital construction and although building projects have received much modern equipment, construction costs are still high. The construction of factories, roads, housing, hospitals and schools must cost the state substantially less each successive year.

The planned reduction in the cost of construction work is to be achieved by increasing labor productivity through further mechanization and the introduction of industrial building methods, through reductions in construction time combined with improved quality of work, through reduced overhead expenses and through lower prices for building materials.

The managerial personnel of enterprises and construction jobs must pay far more attention to the economics and financing of production, must show skill in relating all their work of developing technology and of organizing production to the economic and financial results of enterprise operations. The financial agencies must play a greater role in exerting constant financial control over production and construction, over commodity turnover and the building up of fixed capital and over the financial and economic activities of enterprises and economic organizations.

"The trouble is," says Comrade Stalin, "that our managers and planners, with few exceptions, are poorly acquainted with the effects of the law of value, that they fail to study these

effects and do not know how to reckon with them in their calculations." ...

Our cadres must be trained to be intolerant of shortcomings in the organization of production and intolerant of all signs of carelessness and red tape. They must promptly discover and fully support new advanced and progressive developments in economic life.

It is necessary to ensure strictest state discipline in fulfilling economic plans, being guided in this by the injunction of the Party and government that fulfillment of the state plan is the unconditional duty of every enterprise. The state plan must be fulfilled not only in terms of gross output but in terms of nomenclature, variety and quality of output, in terms of labor productivity and in terms of unit cost of production.

Achievement of the goals set in the new five-year plan depends upon improved planning of the national economy. Ensuring the correct balance in the development of individual industries and of the national economy as a whole and the discovery and utilization of internal reserves for increased production are major aspects of planning.

Fulfillment of the Fifth Five-Year Plan will make possible a considerable increase in reserves. The directives on the five-year plan call for doubling state material and food reserves during the five-year plan in order to guard the country against all contingencies.

Comrades! Fulfillment of the new five-year plan will mark a major step forward on the road of development from socialism to communism.

The Stalin five-year plans have always been of tremendous international importance. In describing the results of the First Five-Year Plan, Comrade Stalin pointed out that "no single step along the path of economic development in our country met such a response from the most diverse strata of the capitalist countries of Europe, America and Asia as the matter of the five-year plan, its development and fulfillment."

Our five-year plans demonstrate to the entire world the great and vital strength of socialism, the basic advantages of the socialist system of economy over the capitalist system. The new five-year plan, which envisages a tremendous growth of production and technical progress in all branches of the national economy, as well as a further advance in the material welfare and culture of the Soviet people, vividly reflects the requirements of the fundamental economic law of socialism and the law of planned development of the national economy. The essential features and requirements of the fundamental economic law of socialism consist, as Comrade Stalin teaches, in assurance of maximum satisfaction of the constantly growing material and cultural requirements of all of society through constant development and perfection of socialist production on the basis of the highest technology.

The Soviet Union's five-year plan is a plan of peaceful economic and cultural construction. Fulfillment of it will constitute a new and major contribution to strengthening world peace. The peace-loving policy of the Soviet government, which is embodied in the new five-year plan, assumes that it is possible for the socialist system and the capitalist system to exist peacefully side by side, expresses the inflexible will of the entire Soviet people for peace and fully meets the basic interests of the working people of all countries. ...

The new five-year plan increases the international prestige of the Soviet Union. Millions of persons in all countries are becoming more and more convinced of the advantages of the socialist social system, of the Soviet policy of peace and of developing friendly relations among nations.

Publication of the draft directives on the Fifth Five-Year Plan evoked profound interest and active response from all countries without exception. The working people of the entire world ardently greet the new Stalin five-year plan, aimed at peaceful economic development and a further advance in the people's welfare.

The draft directives on the Fifth Five-Year Plan won general approval of the Party organizations, the working class, the peasants and the intelligentsia in the U.S.S.R. Inspired by the program for further advancing the socialist economy and culture along the road to communism, the working people of the Soviet Union greeted the Party Congress with outstanding production successes. The gross industrial output of the

U.S.S.R. increased 12.5% during nine months of 1952 over the corresponding period of 1951, while the volume of capital investments in the national economy increased 15% and average daily carloadings increased 10%. Good grain crops were harvested, and the harvesting of technical crops, vegetables and potatoes is being brought to a close.

The Party organizations as well as individual Party members and non-Party comrades have made many observations and recommendations in discussing the draft directives on the five-year plan. The great majority of the recommendations seek to make the draft directives more specific with regard to goals and special conditions for developing the economy of various provinces, territories and republics or with regard to individual branches of the national economy.

Recommendations have been made to increase production in various branches of industry, to elaborate the goals in development of agriculture and transport or to build industrial enterprises, power plants and rail and automobile roads for various provinces, territories or republics.

For example, comrades from the Ukraine raised the question of building coal concentration plants and a steam plant at Zaporozhye, while comrades from Leningrad recommended the construction of a hydroelectric station. Recommendations were made for building new electric transmission lines and substations in the Krivoi Rog area, a hydroelectric station on the Daugava River, etc.

Many of the recommendations sought to make the goals for introducing new equipment and mechanizing labor-consuming tasks more specific, while many were made on improving labor organization and personnel training and improving the work of cultural and scientific institutions and public health institutions.

All of the resolutions were marked by concern for fulfillment and overfulfillment of the Fifth Five-Year Plan, reflect the tremendous experience amassed by the Party organizations in economic development, show the growth of our cadres and are of tremendous importance to the five-year plan.

Because the directives on the five-year plan are intended to outline only the basic goals of the national economy and cannot go into details, all the numerous recommendations of the Party organizations, individual Communists and non-Party comrades for making the draft directives more specific should be studied and used in compiling the five-year plan on the basis of the directives of the 19th Party Congress.

However, some amendments should be adopted in the final version of the draft directives. In particular, it would be advisable in the field of industry to point to the development of automatic operations in machine building, in the field of agriculture to the development of sericulture and apiculture, in the field of communications to expanding radio installation and services, and in the field of labor to the steps taken for further improvements in labor safety and working conditions.

In the people's democracies the draft directives for the Fifth Five-Year Plan evoked enthusiastic political and production activity by the working people and an increased interest in Soviet economic progress, which is the model for all peoples who have taken the road to socialism and democracy. The working people of the democratic countries greeted with satisfaction the five-year plan for further increasing the economic might of the U.S.S.R. In it they see a firm guarantee of world peace and a real basis for further consolidating and

expanding the economic ties between the U.S.S.R. and the democratic countries. The workers and peasants of the people's democracies made pledges to fulfill and overfulfill their own five-year plans in honor of the 19th Party Congress.

The working people of the capitalist countries, suffering ever greater privations because of the increasing militarization of the capitalist economy, were tremendously impressed by the proposed five-year program for further improving the living standards of the people. They are becoming more and more convinced every day that peaceful labor and the welfare of all of society are possible only under socialism.

All bourgeois newspapers devote much attention to the new Soviet five-year plan. It is interesting to note that, while the bourgeois press was generally skeptical of earlier five-year plans and many bourgeois individuals thought even the Fourth Five-Year Plan could not be carried out without American loans, now, because of the undisputed gains scored in fulfilling Soviet plans, bourgeois public opinion no longer believes that this five-year plan cannot be carried out. The Fifth Five-Year Plan was a fresh confirmation of the peaceful policy of the Soviet government and dealt a heavy blow to the warmongers. This is why the reactionary bourgeois newspapers met the draft directives for the Fifth Five-Year Plan with a flood of lies and slander, hoping thus to conceal the peaceful nature of the five-year plan from the masses of the people and to ascribe to it aggressive goals and purposes which it does not have.

Comrade Stalin has already explained that it is impossible to increase armed forces and develop a war industry and at the same time develop civilian industry, launch vast civilian construction and consistently reduce prices of consumers' goods. The lie of the alleged aggressive intentions of the Soviet Union is being spread in order to confuse the working people of the capitalist countries, to envelop them in this lie about the U.S.S.R. and through deceit to drag them into a new world war organized by the reactionary circles of the United States of America. But the consistent rise in the welfare of the working people, the development of the peaceful branches of the national economy and culture of the U.S.S.R., and the ever deteriorating status of the working people and the growth of militarism in the capitalist countries is shattering this crude lie of bourgeois propaganda.

Comrades! The inspirer of the new five-year plan, as of the preceding five-year plans, is our leader and teacher, Comrade Stalin. (Applause.)

Comrade Stalin's new work, "Economic Problems of Socialism in the U.S.S.R.," published before the Congress, armed our Party with knowledge of the economic laws of socialism, of the theory of building communism in the U.S.S.R., with a knowledge of the scientific principles of planning the national economy.

The Soviet people will greet the five-year plan drawn up on the instructions of the Party and government with a mighty new advance in production activity, in nationwide socialist competition for the triumph of the Fifth Stalin Five-Year Plan.

Soviet citizens will spare no pains to ensure successful fulfillment and overfulfillment of the new five-year plan. Closely rallied around the Communist Party, around their beloved leader and teacher, the great Stalin, the Soviet people are advancing confidently toward communism. (Prolonged applause.)

X. KHRUSHCHEV'S REPORT ON THE STATUTES

19th Congress of All-Union Communist Party (of Bolsheviks): CHANGES IN STATUTES OF THE ALL-UNION COMMUNIST PARTY (OF BOLSHEVIKS).—Report by Comrade N. S. Khrushchev, Secretary of the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party (of Bolsheviks). (Pravda, Oct. 13, pp. 1-3. Complete text:) Comrades! By their heroic struggle in the patriotic war, the Soviet people, guided by the Communist Party, defended the great socialist achievements and won victories of world-historic significance. By their self-sacrificing constructive labor since the war, the working people of our country have ensured the success of the Fourth Five-Year Plan of peaceful economic construction and have made major strides in all fields of economy, science and culture. Along with the growth of the economy, there has been a steady rise in the material well-being and cultural level of the people.

The victories and achievements are a result of the correct policy of the Communist Party, the wise leadership of the Leninist-Stalinist Central Committee and of our beloved leader and teacher Comrade Stalin. (*Stormy, prolonged applause.*)

The achievements in our country are due to the Party's great and tireless organizing work among the masses for carrying out the brilliant Stalin plans. The Communist Party's organizing work united all the forces of the Soviet people and directed them toward the common goal of defeating the enemy in the hard years of the war, rapidly restoring and further developing the national economy after the war and successfully fulfilling the plans of communist construction.

The great ideas of Marxism-Leninism light the road to communism for the Soviet people. The strength of our party lies in the fact that it is armed with knowledge of the laws of development of society and is guided in its work by the revolutionary theory of Marxism-Leninism.

Comrade Stalin's speeches collected in the book "On the Great Patriotic War of the Soviet Union," Comrade Stalin's work "Marxism and Problems of Linguistics" and the resolutions of the Central Committee on ideological problems are of tremendous significance to ideological and educational work in our country.

Comrade Stalin's work "Economic Problems of Socialism in the U.S.S.R." is a new and invaluable contribution to Marxist-Leninist theory. In creatively developing Marxist-Leninist science, Comrade Stalin arms the Party and the Soviet people with the theory of the nature of the economic laws of present-day capitalism and socialism and the conditions necessary

for preparing for the transition from socialism to communism.

Comrade Stalin's work on economic problems, like his other works, is of tremendous importance in solving the problems of building a communist society, in educating Party members and all the working people in the immortal ideas of Leninism.

Now, when the Soviet people are fighting with new energy to carry out the great program of projects for the building of a communist society, the guiding and organizing role of the Communist Party, as well as the importance of its organizational and ideological-educational work, is further enhanced.

Comrade Stalin teaches that after the correct policy is given, after a problem is correctly solved, success depends on organizational work, on organizing the struggle to carry out the Party's policy.

The tasks facing us make still greater demands on Party organizations, on all Communists, demands which must be taken into consideration in Party work and in building the Party.

Our party is constantly improving its methods of work and changing the forms of Party activity to correspond to the circumstances and new tasks.

Since the time of the 18th Party Congress, the Party has been enriched with new experience of Party activity which should be reflected in the Party Statutes. It is also necessary to take into consideration the fact that certain clauses of the Statutes adopted by the preceding Congress have become obsolete. In this connection it is necessary to make additions and changes in the Party Statutes.

On the Party's New Name and the Definition in the Statutes of the Chief Tasks of the Party.—The Central Committee considers that a need has matured to make the name of our party more precise. It is proposed that the All-Union Communist Party (of Bolsheviks) henceforth be called the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

It is expedient to make the Party's name more precise for the following considerations:

First, the name "Communist Party of the Soviet Union" is more exact. This title for the Party, which is the ruling party in our country, will correspond more closely to the names of state agencies of the Soviet Union.

Secondly, there is now no need to retain the dual name of the Party, Communist and Bolshevik, since the words Communist and Bolshevik express the same thing.

In the history of our party the addition of the words "of Bolsheviks" to the name of our party had great, fundamental

importance. In the prerevolutionary years, when the Party was called the "Russian Social-Democratic Labor Party," the addition of the phrase "of Bolsheviks" indicated membership in the new type of party, the party of Leninists, which waged an irreconcilable struggle against the Mensheviks and other parties and groups hostile to the proletariat, a struggle for the victory of the socialist revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat.

After the October revolution, when our party was renamed the Communist Party at the Seventh Congress, the additional words "of Bolsheviks" were retained in its title because they had acquired a recognized status not only in the political life of our country but also beyond its borders.

Thus arose the dual name of the Party—Communist and Bolshevik. But essentially the words Communist and Bolshevik, as I have already said, express the same meaning. And, Comrades, although all of us have grown used to calling Communists Bolsheviks, there is no longer any need to retain the dual designation in the name of the Party and in the Party Statutes.

Further, it is proposed to give the following brief definition, in Section I, of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and of its chief tasks:

"The Communist Party of the Soviet Union is a voluntary, militant union of Communists holding the same views, formed of people of the working class, the working peasantry and the working intelligentsia.

"Having organized the alliance of the working class and working peasantry, the Communist Party accomplished, through the October revolution of 1917, the overthrow of the rule of the capitalists and landowners, the organization of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the liquidation of capitalism, and abolition of exploitation of man by man, and ensured the construction of a socialist society.

"The chief tasks of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union now are to build a communist society by gradual transition from socialism to communism, to bring about a constant rise in the living standards and cultural level of society, to educate the members of society in internationalism and establishment of fraternal bonds with the working people of all countries, and to strengthen in every respect the active defense of the Soviet country against aggressive actions of its enemies."

Although Section I of the Statutes is extremely compact, it profoundly reflects the majestic results of the path traversed by our party and defines its chief tasks for the future.

For more than half a century our party has headed the revolutionary movement, tirelessly cementing its ranks. Joined by clarity of purpose and unity of will and action, the Party now represents as never before a united, militant union of Communists holding the same views, a union such as is set forth in the proposed draft Statutes.

Under the guidance of the Party the great October socialist revolution was accomplished, which overthrew the rule of the capitalists and landowners in our country; the alliance of the working class and peasantry was formed and grew strong. The Communist Party created the world's first socialist state of workers and peasants and achieved the construction of a socialist society. These world-historic achievements are reflected in Section I of the draft Statutes.

All the work of the Communist Party is directed toward a great aim—the building of communism in our country through creating the necessary preliminary conditions for a radical transition from the economy of socialism to another, higher economy, the economy of communism. The building of a communist society has become the practical task of the peoples of the Soviet Union. The tasks set by the Communist Party inspire the Soviet people in the struggle to overfulfill the Fifth Five-Year Plan, to achieve new triumphs in building communism.

Who Can Be a Party Member.—The Communist Party attaches great importance to the question of Party membership, which is a basic question in building the Party. The leaders of the Party, Lenin and Stalin, have always shown great concern for the purity of the Party ranks, for elevating the title of Party member and the significance of Party membership, for organizing and unifying the Party ranks. The Party is strong through the Communist's high awareness and

his responsibility for carrying out the ideas and decisions of the Party.

In order to raise still further the title of Communist Party member and the significance of Party membership, it is proposed to reformulate the article in the draft Statutes on eligibility for Party membership:

"Any working person who is a Soviet citizen not exploiting anyone else's labor, accepting the Program and Statutes of the Party, taking active part in effecting them, working in one of the Party organizations and carrying out all the decisions of the Party may become a member of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

"Members of the Party pay the established membership dues."

As a result of the victory of socialism, exploiting classes have been abolished in our country; exploitation of man by man no longer exists. Soviet society consists of friendly classes. The moral and political unity of the Soviet people has been consolidated.

The statement in the Statutes that any working person who is a Soviet citizen not exploiting anyone else's labor may become a member of the Party consolidates the achievements made by the Party and reflects the proposition that the Communist Party is formed of people of the working class, the working peasantry and the working intelligentsia.

The new tasks facing the Party in the building of a communist society demand of each Communist a greater responsibility for the cause of the Party. Therefore, the proposed section on Party membership points out that a member of the Party can [only] be one who not merely accepts the Party Program and Statutes but also takes active part in effecting them and carries out all the decisions of the Party.

On the Duties of Party Members.—In order further to raise the vanguard role of Party members in the building of communism, it is necessary to give a fuller definition in the Statutes of the duties of Party members and to add new articles to this section.

It is proposed, first of all, to record that it is the duty of a Party member to guard the unity of the Party in every way, as the prime condition of the Party's strength and might.

Concern for guarding the unity of the Party is the cardinal duty of a Communist. Therefore, it will be perfectly correct to begin the exposition of the duties of Party members with this basic requirement.

The inviolable unity and monolithic character of the Party's ranks always have been and will be the source of our party's might and of its great victories. It is not accidental that the enemies of the Party, the Trotskyite-Bukharinist traitors and betrayers, tried more than once to split the Party's ranks and to shake its unity. Under Stalin's guidance our party has completely routed all attempts of the enemies of Leninism to disrupt the unity of the Party ranks.

The Communist Party came to its 19th Congress monolithically united, firm and mighty as never before, closely rallied around the Central Committee and its brilliant leader and teacher Comrade Stalin. (Prolonged applause.)

In the years which have passed since the 18th Congress the Party has grown and become steeled in the struggle against the difficulties of the war and the postwar period. The current period is marked by a further strengthening of Party organizations and by the development of Party democracy.

However, the level of Party political work still lags behind the requirements of life, of tasks advanced by the Party. There are shortcomings and errors in the work of Party organizations.

In his report on the work of the Central Committee, Comrade Malenkov disclosed shortcomings and errors which exist in the work of Party organizations—negative and at times unhealthy manifestations—and pointed out ways to overcome and eliminate them.

It is necessary to center the attention of all Party organizations and all Communists on persistent efforts to carry out Party and state resolutions and directives which embody the policy of our party. It is necessary to increase the effectiveness of every Party organization in every way, to strengthen Party and state discipline, to improve organizational work, and to increase the activeness of Communists in the struggle

against shortcomings in the life and work of Party organizations.

The need has arisen to stipulate in the Statutes that it is the duty of a Party member to be an active fighter for the fulfillment of Party decisions.

It should be noted that we have many Party members who have a formal and passive attitude toward fulfilling Party decisions. Unfortunately there are Communists who express their agreement with Party resolutions in words but actually pigeon-hole them, regarding with indifference the matters entrusted them and manifesting little concern or effort for ensuring fulfillment of tasks set. These persons are not disturbed by the fact that the Party and government decisions in the sector entrusted to them are not satisfactorily fulfilled. They take their time, work without energy, and do not manifest initiative or persistence. These officials put off to tomorrow what can be done today, and frequently tie up vital matters in red tape.

Some leaders of Party organizations do not wage an adequate struggle against those who have a formal attitude to Party directives; they do poor work in training cadres in high responsibility for matters entrusted to them.

A formal, passive attitude to Party decisions is a great evil which the Party must resolutely fight. Such an attitude toward Party decisions on the part of Communists weakens the Party's effectiveness. Therefore it is necessary to record in the Statutes that a passive and formal attitude toward Party decisions is incompatible with membership.

Another evil existing in our Party is that some Communists wrongly suppose that there are two disciplines in our party—one for the rank-and-file and another for leaders.

There are quite a few officials who consider that laws are not written for them. Conceited enough to think they can do what they like, these officials turn the enterprises or institutions under their control into their own domain, where they introduce their own "order" and their own "discipline," casting state discipline aside. They do not take into consideration the decisions of Party organizations or the opinion of the Party masses. There are many scandalous practices of all kinds wherever such bureaucrats with a Party card in their pockets are active.

It is understandable that the Party cannot countenance such a lordly, anti-Party conception of discipline. This evil, too, must be decisively eradicated, since it undermines Party and state discipline and thereby does serious harm to the interests of the Party and the state.

The interests of the Party and state require a heightened sense of responsibility in every Communist for the job entrusted to him, whatever office he may hold, and the strictest observance of Party and state discipline, which must be the same for all members of the Party irrespective of their services and the offices they hold. It is necessary to record in the Statutes that violation of Party and state discipline is a great evil harming the Party and hence incompatible with membership.

Comrades! The Party has always attached great importance to the development of criticism and self-criticism, especially to criticism from below, to the exposure of shortcomings and the fight against a show of well-being and against being carried away by successes in work. The strength of our party lies in the fact that it is not afraid of criticism and derives energy for further advance from criticism of its shortcomings.

However, it should be recognized that an underestimation of criticism and self-criticism in the life of the Party and state still exists even now in Party organizations. Some officials who are invested with the Party's trust and placed in responsible positions do not draw conclusions for themselves from the repeated Party directives on the necessity of developing criticism and self-criticism; they gloss over mistakes and shortcomings and create an atmosphere of ostentatious self-satisfaction and complacency. Criticism and self-criticism is frequently met with obstinate resistance by some "humbug" Communists.

It has been disclosed that a great deal of harm is done the Party by Communists who shout unceasingly about their devotion to the Party while actually not permitting criticism from below but stifling it.

Suppressors of criticism employ the most diverse forms and methods of persecuting critics. One can find instances of

honest people, good workers, being dismissed from their jobs merely because they have spoken out against shortcomings, instances of intolerable conditions created for people who criticize certain officials. There are even cases in which comrades who make correct critical comments are pressured into recanting and promising not to criticize shortcomings again.

It must be noted that sometimes such ugly incidents occur before the eyes of the Party organizations, the duty of which is to combat the slightest suppression of criticism. This is evident from the example of certain Party organizations in Rostov Province where self-criticism was underestimated and the necessary conditions not created for developing criticism from below. This resulted in the fact that bureaucratic officials in some Party organizations dealt highhandedly with Communists who criticized shortcomings; this was the case, for example, in Railroad Borough of the city of Rostov.

Although the Rostov City and Province Party Committees had received reports that various officials of the Railroad Borough Party Committee were connected with thieves and bribetakers and were persecuting Communists who were uncovering abuses, they did not take the necessary measures in good time and the criminals went unpunished for a long while. By a resolution of the Party Central Committee, those to blame for the suppression of criticism and other abuses have been expelled from the Party and prosecuted.

The most decisive struggle must be waged against those who hinder the development of criticism and self-criticism. Only by thorough development of self-criticism and criticism from below can we succeed in overcoming and sweeping aside all obstacles in the path of our advance to communism.

Comrade Stalin teaches that we need self-criticism as we need air or water, that without it, without self-criticism, our party could not advance; it could not eliminate our shortcomings. Self-criticism is the foundation of our party. The Communist Party is the directing and organizing force of Soviet society; it is the ruling party in our country. Comrade Stalin points out that we ourselves must disclose and correct our errors if we want to advance, that no one else can disclose and correct them. Self-criticism must be one of the most important motive forces in our progress.

Experience shows that mere explanation of the importance of criticism is not enough. It will be perfectly correct to stipulate in the Statutes that it is the duty of a Party member to develop self-criticism and criticism from below, to expose and seek to eliminate shortcomings in work and to remove them, and to fight against a show of well-being and against being carried away by successes in work. The Statutes must guard Party members who criticize shortcomings in work, and protect them from suppressors of criticism. He who hinders the development of self-criticism, who silences criticism and substitutes bragging and boastfulness in its place, is unworthy of the lofty title of Party member.

It must be said in this connection that the harmful opinion exists among some Communists that Party members do not have to report shortcomings in work to leading Party bodies. One frequently encounters cases in which responsible officials prevent Communists from disclosing an unfavorable state of affairs to leading Party bodies, on the grounds that this allegedly hinders them in their work. Bosses and bureaucrats still exist who consider that lower officials do not have the right to and should not report shortcomings in work to higher bodies. Some officials even take the path of persecuting persons who report shortcomings in work to leading Party bodies, to the Party Central Committee. It is plain that the Party must wage a merciless struggle against such dignitaries.

The Statutes now record that a Party member has the right to take any statement to any Party body, right up to the Central Committee. As is seen, this is not enough. The Statutes must state that a Party member not only has the right but the duty to report to leading Party bodies, right up to the Central Committee, shortcomings in work, irrespective of the persons involved, and the Statutes must state that those who hinder a Party member from carrying out this duty must be severely punished as violating the will of the Party.

Another great evil which has gained currency among some Communists is concealing the truth from the Party and dishonest and untruthful . . . and the Party.

Some officials, as is shown by facts uncovered by the Central Committee and the government, try to be cunning with the Party and state, take the path of deceit, of concealing from the state material resources at their disposal. This shows that the anti-state practice of placing narrow departmental interests above the interests of the state and the interests of the Party has not yet been completely eradicated.

Some officials try to sweeten the state of affairs, engage in window-dressing, in padding reports on plan fulfillment.

One encounters officials who violate or circumvent Soviet laws and produce unfinished products or low-quality goods and pass them off for first-grade, thereby doing great harm to the state and the interests of the consumers.

It is plain that the Party cannot tolerate deceivers in its ranks, because such persons undermine trust in the Party by their criminal actions and morally corrupt the ranks of the Communists. It is not without reason that the saying goes: "He who lies cannot be a friend." We must expose deceivers, bring them out into the open, punish them severely and rid ourselves of them. At the same time it is the duty of Party organizations to train Communists in the spirit of truthfulness, honesty and strict observance of the interests of the Party and state.

In view of the above, it is proposed to record in the Statutes that it is the duty of a Party member to be truthful and honest before the Party and never permit concealment or distortion of truth and that untruthfulness of a Communist to the Party and deception of the Party are grave misdeeds incompatible with Party membership.

It must also be stipulated in the Statutes that it is the duty of a Party member to keep Party and state secrets and to display political vigilance, that disclosing Party or state secrets is a crime before the Party and incompatible with Party membership.

The necessity for adding this is dictated by the fact that manifestations of political carelessness and gullibility and instances of disclosing Party and state secrets have become fairly widespread among Communists. Many persons, carried away by economic successes, forget the Party's instruction on the necessity of taking every measure to increase vigilance. We must always remember the capitalist encirclement, remember that the enemies of the socialist state have tried and will try to send their agents into our country for subversive work. In order to achieve their foul purposes, hostile elements try to make their way into offices in the Party, state and economic organizations and to take advantage of careless, talkative individuals who do not know how to keep Party and state secrets.

It is the duty of Party organizations to put a decisive end to political carelessness, to train Communists in the strictest guarding of Party and state secrets. Greater political vigilance on the part of Communists, an implacable struggle against any intrigues whatsoever by hostile elements, are important requisites for further strengthening our party and the Soviet state. Every Communist must remember that vigilance is necessary on every sector and under all circumstances.

A decisive condition for successful fulfillment of political and economic tasks is the correct selection, placement and training of cadres on all sectors of Party and state work. As a result of work done by the Party, the composition of executive personnel has improved considerably. But it would be a mistake to assume that there are no shortcomings in this important matter. It must be recognized that a great evil in many Party, state and economic organizations is an incorrect approach to the selection of cadres, selection not on the basis of political or work qualifications but on the basis of friendship, personal loyalties, local allegiance or kinship.

Wherever there is a little family group gathered—friends, relatives or neighbors—there is inevitably created a quiet backwater, a mutual desire to cover up one another's shortcomings; mutual protection is established.

There are instances of directors of some organizations and offices who, in deference to family ties and friendship, protect officials who have failed and shift them from job to job to the detriment of the interests of the work. Some officials display unprincipled behavior by handing out favorable, eulogistic references to persons who have failed in their work and been removed from office, and thus help them find other responsible work.

Violation of Party principles in the selection of cadres leads to sprinkling the machinery of certain enterprises and institutions with unworthy personnel, crooks and scoundrels, and creates the soil for all kinds of abuses.

Some directors of organizations, instead of strictly observing the Party's demand for correct selection of cadres on the basis of political and work qualifications, try to surround themselves with obsequious persons, flatterers, persons of no ability, while they get rid of honest workers who put heart and soul into their work and combat shortcomings.

It is plain that such selection of workers has nothing in common with the principles established by our party and does harm to the Party.

The task is to place the work of selecting cadres in all sections of the Party, state and economic apparatus on a higher level, to increase the responsibility of directors of enterprises, organizations and institutions for the correct selection of workers.

The Statutes must point out that it is the duty of a Party member to carry out without fail the Party directives on correct selection of cadres with regard to political and work qualifications and must record that violating these directives, [that is,] the selection of workers on the basis of friendship, personal loyalties, local allegiance, or kinship, is incompatible with Party membership.

The inclusion in the Party Statutes of the new points on the duties of Party members reflects the growth in the political maturity and activeness of Communists and testifies to the broad development of Party democracy which is a distinguishing characteristic of the development of our party. These additions are aimed at further promoting the initiative of the Party masses. They will evoke greater activity on the part of Communists and will be an important means of improving all the organizational and political work of Party organizations, so that the material and spiritual forces and means at the disposal of the Party and state may be used with maximum effectiveness for speeding the pace of our country's advance to communism.

It is further necessary to dwell on additions made concerning the procedure for considering questions of expulsion of Communists from the Party if they are members of elected Party governing bodies. It is proposed to set forth that a primary Party unit cannot adopt a resolution to expel from the Party any Communist who is a member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of a Union republic or a territory, province, region, city or district Party committee.

The question of expelling a member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of a Union republic or of a territory, province, region, city or district Party committee from membership in the committee or the Party is decided at a plenary session of the committee concerned by a two-thirds majority.

It is proposed to set forth that the question of expelling a member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union from the Central Committee or from membership in the Party is decided by the Party Congress or, in the interval between Congresses, by the plenary session of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union by a two-thirds majority. A person expelled from the Central Committee is automatically replaced by a candidate for membership in the Central Committee in the order established by the Congress in electing candidates to the Central Committee.

These additions testify to the fact that the responsibility of Party members elected to Party governing bodies, responsibility to both the Communists who elected them and to the Party committees concerned, is being increased.

As a measure of Party discipline, Party organizations may transfer a member of the Party to the status of candidate, but this measure of discipline is not specified in the Statutes. It is proposed to include in the Statutes that, when it is necessary as a measure of Party discipline, a Party organization may transfer a member of the Party to the status of candidate for a period of up to one year.

On the Rights of Party Members.—Our party has always attached and does attach great significance to consistent realization of Party democracy. In its inner life the Communist Party strictly combines the principles of centralism with the principle that all Party governing bodies are elected, accountable and removable.

The existing Statutes state in the first article of the section on rights of Party members that a Party member has the right to participate in free and businesslike discussion at Party meetings and in the Party press of political questions of Party policy.

The Party member's right to free and businesslike discussion of questions of Party policy, as set forth in the Statutes, is an inalienable right of each Party member, a right which stems from inner Party democracy. It should be said that in this connection the above-mentioned formulation somewhat restricts and imprecisely defines the rights of Party members, limiting them to participation in discussion of practical questions of Party policy. Therefore it is proposed that the article in the Statutes on rights of Party members be put as follows:

"The Party member has the right:

"(a) To take part in free and businesslike discussion, at Party meetings and in the Party press, of matters of Party policy.

"(b) To criticize any Party functionary at Party meetings.

"(c) To elect or be elected to Party bodies.

"(d) To insist on personal participation in all cases when decisions are adopted concerning his activities or behavior.

"(e) To address any questions or statements to any Party body, at any level, right up to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union."

On Candidates for Party Membership.—I will dwell on additions to the section of the Statutes on candidates for Party membership. According to the Statutes, all persons wishing to join the Party pass through a candidate stage, which is essential in order that the candidate may acquaint himself with the Program, Statutes and tactics of the Party and that the Party organization may verify his personal qualifications.

Many Party organizations do not fulfill these demands satisfactorily; they do not adequately help candidates prepare for entry into the Party and are not concerned with checking on their personal qualifications. Therefore the candidature is frequently turned into an empty formality and, for a considerable number of the candidates, is dragged out for a number of years.

Some Party organizations neglect Party candidates, do not draw them into active public and political life, leave the candidates alone and, in fact, decline all responsibility for their training.

There are quite a few comrades who have been candidates a long time, who work well at their jobs in industrial enterprises, collective farms or offices, who take part in public life, attend study circles on the history of the Party and raise their ideological level. But because of the Party organizations' lack of attention to these people they continue to remain candidates for a long time.

On the other hand, there are quite a few instances of Party organizations becoming convinced that a candidate cannot join the Party on the basis of his personal qualifications, but nevertheless not settling the matter.

The Party cannot countenance these shortcomings. It is necessary to improve Party organizations' work with candidates and to increase the responsibility of the candidates themselves for passing the candidate stage, so that the candidate stage may be a school of Party training and steeling for those entering the ranks of the Party.

In this connection it is necessary to indicate in the section of the Statutes entitled "Candidates for Party Membership" that the Party organization is obliged to help candidates to prepare to become Party members. On the expiration of the candidature the Party organization must take up the question of the candidate's Party membership at a Party meeting. If the Party candidate has been unable to prove himself for reasons which the Party organization considers valid, the primary Party organization may prolong his candidature for a period not exceeding one year. In case it has become clear during the course of the candidature that the candidate's personal qualifications do not justify admission to Party membership, the Party organization adopts a decision to expel him from Party candidature.

This addition will help improve work with candidates.

On the Supreme Bodies of the Party.—I turn to the question of the supreme bodies of the Party.

On Periods for Convocation of Party Congresses and Plenary Sessions of the Party Central Committee.—It is expedient to

establish the following periods for convocation of Party Congresses and plenary sessions of the Party Central Committee: it is proposed to convene regular Congresses not less than once every four years and plenary sessions not less than once every six months.

On All-Union Party Conferences.—Provisions concerning all-Union Party conferences are not included in the proposed draft Statutes.

In present conditions there is no need to convene all-Union Party conferences, since topical questions of Party policy can be discussed at Party Congresses and at plenary sessions of the Central Committee.

On Reconstitution of the Politburo as the Presidium of the Party Central Committee.—It is proposed in the draft revised Statutes to transform the Politburo into a Presidium of the Party Central Committee, organized to direct the work of the Central Committee between plenary sessions.

This change is expedient because the title "Presidium" better accords with the functions which the Politburo actually performs at the present time.

It is expedient, as experience has shown, to concentrate the current organizational work of the Central Committee in one body, the Secretariat, in which connection the Organizational Bureau of the Central Committee is to be eliminated in the future.

On Reorganization of the Party Control Commission into the Party Control Committee under the Party Central Committee.—In the Statutes adopted by the 18th Congress, the Party Control Commission was charged with the tasks of checking on the implementation by Party organizations and Soviet economic agencies of resolutions of the Party and the Party Central Committee, checking the work of local Party units, calling to account those guilty of violating the Party Program and Statutes and Party discipline.

Checkup on the implementation of Party resolutions and the work of local Party organizations is concentrated in the Central Committee, since checkup and verification are an inalienable and most important part of Party guidance. It is necessary to increase the role of Party control bodies in the struggle against violations of Party discipline and against instances of Communists unsatisfactorily fulfilling their duties. Therefore it is expedient to reorganize the Party Control Commission as the Party Control Committee under the Party Central Committee. It is also necessary to establish the office of representative of the Party Control Committee in republics, territories and provinces independent of the local Party bodies.

The Party Control Committee is to be charged with verifying observance of Party discipline by Party members and candidates, and calling to account Communists guilty of violating the Party Program and Statutes or of breaches of Party and state discipline, as well as violators of Party ethics (persons guilty of deception of the Party, dishonesty and insincerity in relation to the Party, slander, bureaucracy, moral turpitude, etc.)

It is also proposed to charge the Party Control Committee with examination of appeals against decisions of the local Party bodies on expulsions from the Party and Party disciplinary measures.

On More Precise Stipulation in the Statutes of the Tasks of Local Party Organizations.—Comrades! The period which has elapsed since the 18th Congress is characterized by the further strengthening of local Party organizations and by an improvement in all their work.

Success in accomplishing new tasks in the building of a communist society is indissolubly linked with further improvement of all Party organizational and political work, with intensified ideological training, arming Party members with theory and educating the working people in the spirit of lofty communist consciousness.

Taking into consideration the heightened standards set for local Party organizations and also bearing in mind that their tasks and functions, as experience has shown, are not fully reflected in the existing Statutes, it is necessary to make additions to the appropriate articles of the Statutes.

First of all it is necessary to record that the Central Committees of the Communist Parties of Union republics, the territory committees, province committees, regional committees, city committees and district committees see to undeviating fulfillment of Party directives and guide the activity of local Soviet

and public organizations through the Party groups in them.

The fulfillment of Party decisions and directives has been and remains the cardinal duty and obligation of Party organizations, the basis of their work. It is necessary for these tasks to be reflected in the Party Statutes.

Further, it is necessary for the Statutes to reflect the tasks of Party organizations in the matter of developing Party criticism and self-criticism and of educating Communists in an attitude of intolerance of shortcomings in the work of the Party and state.

The Party imposes on every Communist the duty of developing self-criticism and criticism from below, of exposing shortcomings in work and removing them. This places heightened demands on Party organizations. In the development of criticism, as in every matter, things cannot be left to drift: Party organizations must direct the increasing activity of Communists, educate the Communists so that they will wage an uncompromising struggle to remove shortcomings and in this way achieve comprehensive improvement in the work of all Party, state, economic and public organizations.

The stipulation of these tasks in the Statutes stems from the necessity of putting an end to the underestimation of criticism and self-criticism, which is a most important means of developing Party democracy and strengthening the bonds of Party organizations with the masses.

Work on the communist upbringing of working people and the Marxist-Leninist education of Party members occupies a large place in the life of Party organizations.

Party organizations are faced with the task of ensuring a decisive upswing in all ideological work, of systematically improving and perfecting ideological-political training of cadres in all sections of the Party and state apparatus. This is all the more necessary since many Party organizations underestimate ideological work and still do not satisfactorily organize Marxist-Leninist propaganda.

Underestimation of ideological work must be done away with rapidly. The Statutes should record that it is the task of local Party organizations to supervise the study of Marxism-Leninism by Party members and candidates, to see that they acquire the minimum knowledge of Marxism-Leninism, and to organize work on the communist upbringing of the working people.

It is further proposed to provide in the Statutes for the formation of secretariats in province and territory committees and the Communist Party Central Committees of the Union republics. Experience shows that it is expedient to form secretariats in the interests of more effective examination of current questions and better organization of checkup on fulfillment. In order to prevent the secretariats from supplanting the bureaus, the number of secretaries should be reduced to three and the secretariats should be directed to report the decisions adopted by them to the bureau of the province committee, territory committee or Party Central Committee of the Union republic, as the case may be.

It is also proposed to record in the Statutes that the province committee, territory committee or Union republic Party Central Committee keep the Party Central Committee regularly informed of its activity and, at specified times, submit to the Central Committee reports on its activity. This is necessary so that shortcomings in the work of local organizations may be corrected in good time and positive experience in their work may be appraised and studied.

On Periods for Calling Plenary Sessions of Committees of Local Party Organizations.—It is recommended that the Statutes stipulate that plenary sessions of the Union republic Communist Party Central Committees and of the territory committees and province committees be convened not less than once in two months, that plenary sessions of regional Party committees be convened not less than once in one and one-half months and that plenary sessions of city or district Party committees be convened not less than once a month.

The establishment of these periods is due to the necessity of bringing the leadership of the local Party bodies closer to the life of the Party organizations. It will increase the role and activeness of Party committee members in resolving the tasks facing the Party organizations and will promote the further development of Party democracy, development of self-criticism and criticism from below and intensification of check-up on the fulfillment of Party directives and decisions of local Party organizations.

These are the principal changes and additions to the Communist Party Statutes which the Central Committee submits for consideration by this Congress.

The draft revised Statutes have been widely discussed in the primary Party units, at conferences and at Congresses of Communist Parties of the Union republics.

The discussion has taken place everywhere with great participation of the Party masses and full freedom of criticism. The draft revised Statutes have been greeted with deep satisfaction and have been unanimously approved by all Communists and all Party organizations.

The broad discussion of the draft Statutes and the amendments and additions put forward in this connection indicate that all Communists are imbued with great concern for further strengthening the Party and increasing its effectiveness.

The introduction in the Party Statutes of the changes and additions proposed by the Central Committee will contribute to improving the organizational work in all Party organizations and the Party as a whole.

Comrades! Our Communist Party has traveled a glorious path of struggle and victory. Under its guidance the peoples of the Soviet Union have built a socialist society and are demonstrating to the whole world by their world-historic victories the superiority of the socialist economic system over the capitalist; this has tremendous effect in strengthening the camp of peace, democracy and socialism, in rallying all the peace-loving peoples against the instigators of a new war.

By its selfless service to the motherland our party has won the boundless trust, love and devotion of the Soviet people. The strength of our party is in its indissoluble link with the broad masses of working people. From this life-giving source the Party draws energy for new victories. The ever-growing political and work activity of the workers, peasants and intellectuals of our country is an expression of the Party's deep bonds with the masses and of the boundless trust in the policy and guidance of the Party.

The Soviet people are carrying out with great energy the vast plans of further development of the industry, socialist agriculture, science and culture of Soviet society. Tremendous creative work is going on throughout the whole of our boundless country; new factories and plants and great power stations are being built; new canals and irrigation systems are being constructed. The work of transforming nature is taking on ever broader scope.

Our socialist state, which has withstood all tests with honor, has become even more firm and mighty. The moral and political unity of Soviet society and the friendship of peoples has become still stronger.

The Communist Party is mobilizing its forces and summoning the millions of workers, peasants and intellectuals to carry out the still vaster plans of economic and cultural construction.

The 19th Communist Party Congress, which has heard and discussed the report of Secretary of the Party Central Committee Comrade Malenkov on the work of the Party Central Committee, has unanimously approved the political policy and practical work of the Party Central Committee.

The 19th Congress of our party arms the Party and the Soviet people with a majestic program of work for building a communist society. The tasks set by the Party Congress open up broad perspectives of a mighty and new upswing in economy and culture and a considerable growth in the material well-being of the Soviet people. Accomplishment of these tasks is a great step on the path of our country's gradual transition from socialism to communism.

Success in accomplishing the tasks set forth demands great effort and energy. Comrade Stalin teaches that victory does not come by itself; it must be won in a stubborn fight, overcoming the obstacles and difficulties encountered in our path. The Party is uniting its ranks still more, raising still higher the title of Party member and the significance of Party membership and the role and responsibility of every Communist and every Party organization in the fight for the cause of the Party, the cause of communism.

The Party Statutes being adopted by the Congress are a document of great organizing and mobilizing force. They will be an important means of intensifying the ideological education of Communists, of Party and state cadres, in the spirit of

Leninism, and further developing Party democracy and criticism and self-criticism. The Statutes will raise the Party's organizational work to a new and higher level.

Armed with the all-conquering teachings of Marxism-Leninism, the Communist Party rallies the millions of working people of our country still more closely under the great banner of Lenin and Stalin. (Stormy applause.)

Long live the mighty Communist Party, truly leading the Soviet people to new victories, to the triumph of communism! (Prolonged applause.)

Long live the wise leader of the Party and the people, the inspirer and organizer of all our victories, Comrade Stalin! (Stormy, unabating applause, turning into an ovation. All rise.)

XI. DISCUSSION OF MALENKOV'S AND MOSKATOV'S REPORTS

Discussion of the Report of the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party (of Bolsheviks), delivered by Comrade G. M. Malenkov, and of the Report of the Central Inspection Commission of the All-Union Communist Party (of Bolsheviks), delivered by Comrade P. G. Moskatov.

SPEECH BY COMRADE V. V. GRISHIN, MOSCOW. (Pravda, Oct. 7, pp. 2-3. 2800 words. Excerpts:) Comrades, on Oct. 6 we listened with great attention to the remarkable report of Comrade Malenkov, which gives an exhaustive account of the struggle and victories of our party during the period since the 18th Party Congress, and which reveals defects in the work and defines the tasks of the Communist Party.

The report of the Central Committee arms the Party and the Soviet people with a magnificent program for the further growth of the might of the Soviet state and the building of a communist society. ...

Since the 18th Party Congress the Moscow Party organization has grown considerably, has become stronger organizationally and ideologically, has further strengthened its ties with the masses and has brought about greater activity on the part of the working people in the struggle to fulfill the tasks of communist construction.

The number of Communists has more than doubled during this period and now amounts to 706,000. The number of primary Party units has increased, especially in rural areas. In 1939, when we had 6556 collective farms, there were Party units in only 300 of them, 4.5% of the total number. There are now Party units in 1180 of the 1419 amalgamated collective farms, or 85% of the collective farms. ...

The composition of executive cadres has improved as regards education. At present 70% of the secretaries of city and district Party committees have a higher education, and the remainder have a secondary education.

The office of secretary of the Party unit at industrial enterprises is generally held by engineers and technicians who are familiar with production and know the ways of Party work.

Communists who are better trained in practical and political matters have been promoted to leadership in collective farm Party units.

Measures have been taken to strengthen the cadres of collective farms and Machine and Tractor Stations. Seven

hundred ten specialists and persons with practical experience were recently given jobs as collective farm chairmen. At present 410 collective farm chairmen, or 28%, have a higher or secondary education, while 74% of the collective farm chairmen are Communists.

The best trained and most experienced comrades have been promoted to work in the M.T.S. This is shown by the educational data on M.T.S. officials. At present the following have had a higher education: 74% of the M.T.S. directors, 60% of the assistant directors in charge of political work, 99% of the chief engineers, and 44% of the chief agronomists. ...

It must be recognized that some city and district [borough] Party committees still hold plenary sessions rarely. Many borough committees of Moscow and of other cities of the province have not convened a meeting of the Party aktiv for a long time; some primary Party units hold Party meetings irregularly, which deprives Communists of the possibility of expressing critical observations. ...

The Moscow Party organization is doing considerable work for the ideological and political training of Party officials and of all Party members and candidates. During the past study year about 550,000 Communists and more than 300,000 non-Party comrades studied in the Party educational system. ...

The success of Party propaganda depends largely on the correct selection and training of propagandists. More than 64,000 propagandists are on the job in Moscow and Moscow Province. The majority of them have the necessary theoretical training and experience in propaganda work and cope well with the work entrusted them. However, many city and district Party committees underestimate this work and do not discriminate sufficiently in the selection of propagandists.

Some Party organizations do not show the necessary alertness in the struggle against defects and mistakes in ideological work and do little to train Communists in Bolshevik vigilance and an uncompromising attitude toward attempts to drag in ... which are hostile to Bolshevism.

Comrade Malenkov pointed out absolutely correctly in his report that insufficient attention has been given to ideological work in the Moscow Party organization. Defects in ideological work were severely criticized at recent Party report-and-election meetings and conferences. The Moscow Party committee clearly and distinctly recognizes these defects and is taking steps to eliminate them more rapidly and to raise organizational and ideological work to the level of the tasks which the Party assigns us. ...

SPEECH BY COMRADE N. S. PATOLICHEV, BELORUSSIAN REPUBLIC. (Pravda, Oct. 7, p. 3. 3200 words. Condensed text:) ... The working people of Belorussia, together with all Soviet people, greeted with great joy and political and labor enthusiasm the decision on convening our 19th Party Congress. The documents of the Congress were carefully studied by the republic's working people and widely discussed in the Party organizations. Eighty-five thousand Communists took part in meetings held in primary Party units alone; they unanimously approved the documents of the Congress and made many proposals and observations. All these were transmitted to the Party Central Committee.

The Belorussian people greeted with particular warmth the new plans drawn up by our party for development of the Soviet national economy. There is the deepest basis for this. In the period between the 18th and 19th Party Congresses the Belorussian people endured the greatest trials. The recollection remains in the memories and hearts of millions of working people of Soviet Belorussia. Everyone knows the extent of the destruction in Belorussia during the great patriotic war and the temporary occupation. The Belorussian people are fully aware of the fact that such destruction of the economy under other conditions, under the conditions of capitalism, would reduce the people to complete impoverishment, to extinction. Due solely to the Soviet system, the concern manifested by the Party Central Committee, the Union government and Comrade Stalin personally, Belorussia in a short time has restored its economy and proceeded along the path of industrialization, of mighty progress in the entire socialist economy and culture.

Comrades! The rapid recovery of Belorussian economy after the patriotic war is a triumph of the Lenin-Stalin national policy and a convincing example of the correct solution of the national question and the problem of cooperation of nations in a multinational state.

Belorussian industry, which was razed to the ground during the war, has now been fully restored and further developed; industrial output in 1952 was 150% of the prewar level. The rapid development of Belorussian industry is indicated by the fact that in the five years industrial output had an average annual increase of 41% and the capacity of power plants has grown to two and one-half times the prewar level. Belorussia's prewar industry was based to a definite extent on utilization of the republic's own raw material resources. Food, light and local industries occupied chief place in its development. While thoroughly developing these branches of industry, which are based on local raw materials, the Belorussian Communist Party is devoting special attention to development of the machine-building industry, the output of which has increased to 15 times the prewar level.

On the initiative of Comrade Stalin, new industries, such as production of tractors, automobiles, machine tools, ball bearings, motorcycles, bicycles, etc., have been established in Belorussia; this is a tremendous achievement in the postwar development of Soviet Belorussia's economy. ...

During the war the communal economy of Belorussia's collective farms was completely plundered and destroyed. Everything had to be rebuilt. Now the Belorussian people can proudly state that, with the tremendous help of our party and of Comrade Stalin, Belorussian agriculture has not only been completely restored but has been developed even further. The collective farms' indivisible funds are now considerably larger than before the war. The area under grain and technical crops has been restored. The amount of tractors and agricultural machinery has increased to between double and triple. Collectivization has been carried out in the western provinces of the republic. ...

The republic has a stable fuel base; I have in mind the exceptionally large supplies of peat. At present about 75% of industry's needs is met by local fuel. These favorable

opportunities for further development of Belorussian industry must be more fully taken into account both by the republic's administrative organizations and by planning bodies and Union ministries. ...

Comrades! It was with great gratitude to our party and to Comrade Stalin that the Belorussian people received the news of the decision concerning drainage work in the Polesie lowland and they regard this as a fresh manifestation of Comrade Stalin's great concern for the Belorussian people, for the development and flourishing of Soviet Belorussia. ...

The solving of the Polesie problem means a fundamental transformation of nature over an immense area embracing more than 42,000 square kilometers. Solving the Polesie problem will mean the development of millions of hectares of the most fertile peat lands. In the Polesie lowland area of Belorussia alone more than 3,500,000 hectares of marsh and swampland are to be reclaimed. It is hard to overestimate the importance of the Polesie problem with which our party is grappling. It must be emphasized that under the conditions of Belorussia (which has a soil of normal moisture content), the highly fertile peat lands can be put on a par, as far as productiveness is concerned, with the irrigated lands in the south of the country. In order to solve the Polesie problem it is necessary to carry out a whole complex of hydrotechnical construction in the Pripet River basin, namely: dredging the Pripet itself and reinforcing its banks, regulating its tributaries by creating numerous reservoirs, and other hydrotechnical projects.

There are a great many rivers, large and small, in Soviet Belorussia. A considerable number of them, as well as some rivers of the Ukraine, flow into the Pripet, which cannot absorb the tremendous volume of water; there is created a bottleneck, so to say, which extends to all its tributaries. The river is slowed down, resulting in an inundation of the marshes, meadows and pastures for a considerable part of the year. The task is to eliminate this bottleneck on the Pripet by a system of hydrotechnical installations, to make the more than 400 rivers and streams in the Polesie lowland flow much more swiftly, freeing the Polesie lands of surplus moisture. ... Millions of hectares of the most fertile soil of the Polesie lowland will be put at the service of communist construction. The waters now flooding the Polesie lowland will be collected in reservoirs and their destructive force will be transformed into electric power.

I would like to add to this only that the immense deposits of potash fertilizer discovered in Belorussia in the Polesie area can be used very advantageously in the great expanses of peat lands, which need these fertilizers. Therefore, I consider it undesirable to postpone the exploitation of Belorussian deposits of potash fertilizer. Postponement would lead to serious lowering of the material benefits of development of the Polesie lowland.

I would like to speak further of the tremendous unused possibilities in the numerous peat massifs scattered throughout Belorussia and the whole non-Black-Earth Region of our country. The drainage and reclamation of these lands do not require particularly great expenditures and complicated hydrotechnical equipment. It is necessary to regulate water basins, primarily small rivers, and to erect a small-scale drainage network. There are a great many such peat massifs in Belorussia and, if one takes all the areas of the non-Black-Earth Region, it is a question of millions of hectares. Putting these lands to agricultural use would substantially change the very concept of the non-Black-Earth Region.

Many crops produce high yields on the peat lands. Experience shows that a sure harvest of 20 to 25 centners per hectare can be obtained. The country would obtain tens of millions more poods of grain. Carrying out the directives of the Party Central Committee and the Union government, Soviet Belorussia is doing considerable work to drain and reclaim peat lands. About 100,000 hectares were drained in 1952. This work will be increased in the coming years.

I wish to raise another urgent question concerning the development of agriculture in the central and northwestern parts of the country, which include Belorussia. The experience of advanced collective farms shows that the land in this part of the country can yield two to three times as much grain as it

does at present. The mechanization of basic field work, particularly in grain crops, has greatly increased and, in keeping with the 19th Party Congress draft directives on the Fifth Five-Year Plan, it will be completed by the end of the five-year plan. All the necessary conditions are now created for meeting seasonal deadlines in cultivation of the land. It is now time to deal just as actively with the improvement of fertilizer and liming for the fields. I think the question of fertilizing fields is belittled in the non-Black-Earth Region. One cannot but notice the gap in the methods of work in the agriculture of this area: On the one hand, there is first-class machinery for cultivating the land, for caring for the crops, gathering the harvest and introducing scientific discoveries in field work and animal husbandry; on the other hand, there are imperfect methods of collecting and applying fertilizer. Under the conditions existing in the central and northwestern regions, it is very important to make broad use of peat as a fertilizer. In 1952 Belorussian collective farms hauled 12,000,000 tons of peat to the fields. This is two to three times as much as in past years, but it is still far from enough. ...

For a long time scientific institutions have been concerned with the narrow circle of questions of immediate importance to development of the republic's economy. There can be no doubt that the Academies of Sciences must first of all solve the fundamental problems of developing their republics' economies. But can they really be allowed to limit themselves to these problems and be detached from the general problems of science which are being dealt with in our country? There is no doubt that the republic Academies of Sciences (the Union Academy of Sciences should manifest more initiative in the matter) should have closer ties with the scientific centers of our country, should take more active part in solution of the scientific problems placed before science by communist construction.

Further. The Belorussian Academy of Sciences has 17 institutes, but until last year it did not have a physics and mathematics institute or institutes of physiology, linguistics or energetics. Until recently the Economics Institute did not have a department of political economy. It is clear that the absence of the above-mentioned institutes has narrowed the scientific work of the republic Academy of Sciences and its scientists. ...

The Belorussian people are filled with deep and sincere gratitude to Comrade Stalin for helping Soviet Belorussia to overcome the consequences of the war, to emerge onto the broad road of mighty over-all development of the economy and of culture national in form and socialist in content. ...

SPEECH BY COMRADE L. G. MELNIKOV, UKRAINE REPUBLIC.* (Pravda, Oct. 7, pp. 3-4. 3600 words. Condensed text:)

Comrades! The report by Comrade Malenkov, Secretary of the Central Committee, on the work of the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party (of Bolsheviks) sums up the world-historic victories won by the Communist Party and by the Soviet people under the guidance of our brilliant leader and teacher Comrade Stalin. ...

A number of new branches of industry have been set up in the Ukraine since the war and production of many new items of machinery and equipment has been mastered. Radical changes have taken place in the composition of the working class. More than 1,100,000 persons have entered industry as graduates of the factory and trade schools, set up on Comrade Stalin's initiative. An important achievement of our Bolshevik party since the war has been a substantial raising of the cultural and technical level of the working class.

Industrialization of the western provinces of the Ukraine is being carried on at a rapid pace. Oil, gas, coal, machine-building, electrotechnical, lumber and other branches of industry are being successfully developed here. More than 2500 large and middle-sized industrial enterprises have been restored and rebuilt in the western provinces. These provinces did not have and could not have had such rapid industrial development in former times.

Great qualitative changes have also taken place since the war in the socialist agriculture of the Soviet Ukraine. Small collective farms have been amalgamated; the material-tech-

nical base has grown considerably; the role of Machine and Tractor Stations in collective farm production has been considerably increased. At present the M.T.S. do more than 80% of all field work. The prewar yield of important crops has been surpassed. Year after year the collective and state farms are fulfilling their pledges to the state ahead of schedule. The collective farms greatly increased their communal wealth and improved the material well-being and culture of the collective farmers. A great army of pace-makers—innovators in socialist farm work—has grown up in the republic. Since the war 58,000 collective farmers, equipment operators and state farm workers have been awarded Orders and medals and more than 1000 persons have been granted the lofty title of Hero of Socialist Labor. One of our cardinal tasks is broad dissemination and wide application of the experience of advanced workers.

The republic's Party organizations are giving particular attention to expanding the sown area and increasing the gross harvest of all crops, primarily technical crops but also wheat, the basic food crop. The area under winter wheat has increased almost 2,000,000 hectares over that of 1940. Collective and state farms delivered 182,000,000 poods more wheat to the state this year than in 1940. This autumn the republic's collective farms increased the area under winter wheat another 1,000,000 hectares.

As is known, the leading technical crop in the Ukraine is sugar beets. Forty-six million poods more sugar was refined from last year's beet harvest than in 1940. There are grounds for supposing that we will obtain as much sugar this year as last, and perhaps even more. The Ukraine Communist Party organization is taking every measure to increase considerably the harvest of this important technical crop.

The most important task of the Ukraine Party organization is further mastery of the cultivation of nonirrigated cotton, corn, cereals and leguminous crops, potatoes and vegetables, the achievement of a dependable harvest and an increase in gross yield of these crops.

The collective and state farms of the Ukraine Republic fulfilled the three-year plan for the development of communal productive animal husbandry. In the past three years the number of cattle almost doubled, while the number of other kinds of livestock rose two to three times. Low productivity is still a serious shortcoming in the development of communal animal husbandry. The attention of Party organizations and state and agricultural agencies is now turned to removal of this serious shortcoming. We will unquestionably eliminate this lag. ...

The substantial achievements in the development of industry and agriculture have ensured a steady growth in the people's standard of living. Since the war, more than 72,000,000,000 rubles have been spent on the needs of public education, public health and social insurance in the Ukraine Republic. The population of the Ukraine has received a net gain of about 50,000,000,000 rubles from the five successive price reductions. The restoration of many cities has been completed and new settlements built. The total of socialized housing already exceeds its prewar size.

Here is one of the numerous examples showing how the well-being of our working people has risen through the tireless concern of the Party and of Comrade Stalin. In the past three years 101 houses and buildings, a hospital, kindergarten, secondary school, public baths, a stadium and seven shops have been built at the Rumyantsev mine in Gorlovka alone. Many miners have built their own houses. The average monthly wage per worker in the mine increased from 1107 rubles to 1500 rubles in one year. The average earnings of a coal cutter now amount to 2570 rubles per month while an operator of that beautiful new machine, the coal combine, earns up to 7000 rubles per month. Last year the miners received 986,000 rubles in group awards and 4,500,000 rubles in individual bonuses and wage increases for long and meritorious service. Four hundred twenty-seven of the mine personnel visited health resorts, sanatoriums and rest homes during the year. The mine personnel acquired 65 Pobeda and Moskvich automobiles, 507 motorcycles, 570 bicycles, many pianos, radios, etc. ...

Major successes have been achieved in the development of

* [See also Melnikov's speech at the Ukraine Communist Party Congress, pp. 53-58.]

Ukraine culture, national in form and socialist in content. The republic has approximately 30,000 schools, in which some 7,000,000 children now study. The task of giving all children in rural areas a seven-year education and all children in the cities a ten-year education is being successfully fulfilled. We have 158 higher educational institutions, in which more than 165,000 students study, or 28% more than before the war. More than 40,000 young specialists graduate annually from the higher educational institutions of the Ukraine. More than 376,000 young people, considerably more than before the war, are now studying in higher educational institutions and technical schools in the republic.

An Academy of Sciences, Academy of Architecture and 490 scientific research institutions function in the Ukraine, with a great army of scientific workers. On the initiative of Comrade Stalin, a branch of the Ukraine Republic Academy of Sciences has been set up in Lvov. Scientists have solved a number of problems of great importance to science and the national economy.

Ukraine writers and artists have produced many remarkable works which have won high praise and have become widely known to the Soviet people.

We know full well that the chief requisite for further successes in our economic and cultural work lies in the Marxist-Leninist training of cadres, their ideological tempering, the communist education of the working people and an uncompromising attitude toward all manifestations of alien ideology, especially manifestations of Ukraine bourgeois nationalism.

The organization of Marxist-Leninist education of Communists has been improved in the republic's Party organizations. The desire of Party members and candidates and the broad masses of working people to master Marxist-Leninist theory is constantly growing. The number of those studying in the Party educational system during the past study year reached 1,400,000 including more than 700,000 non-Party workers, collective farmers and intellectuals. ...

But we still have major shortcomings and errors in ideological work. The principal shortcoming is that there are cadres working on a number of sectors of the ideological front who have not had adequate theoretical training.

The Central Committee of the Ukraine Communist Party and the Party organizations see these shortcomings and errors and are taking every possible measure to remove them rapidly.

Comrades! There is not and cannot be a tinge of complacency or dizziness with success in our ranks. The Soviet Ukraine Party organization is clearly aware of the fact that we have many defects in work, many shortcomings and many unsolved tasks. Communists spoke with full Bolshevik sharpness and an uncompromising attitude about these unsolved tasks and shortcomings in the work of Party organizations at report-and-election meetings, conferences and the 17th Congress of the Ukraine Communist Party. More than 500,000 Communists took part in the meetings and conferences. They sharply criticized the shortcomings still existing in Party organizational and Party political work and made many valuable suggestions for improving all Party work.

In his report, Comrade Malenkov quite correctly disclosed and criticized serious shortcomings in the work of industry and agriculture and their guidance by our Party organizations and economic managers.

Actually our republic's industry still has large reserves and resources which have by no means been utilized; their utilization would make it possible to increase industrial output greatly. ...

The victory of the Soviet people in the great patriotic war and Stalin's wise foreign policy have ensured a just settlement of the questions of the frontiers of our Soviet state, as Comrade Malenkov, Secretary of the Central Committee, stated Oct. 6. The Soviet Ukraine no longer borders on hostile states on the West, as was the case before, but on friendly people's democracies which are building socialism.

All Soviet people unanimously approve the wise foreign and domestic policy of the Communist Party. The whole Party and all Soviet people will greet with great unanimity the Stalinist program, set forth in Comrade Malenkov's report, of further struggle by the Communist Party for the triumph of the great cause of Lenin and Stalin.

Allow me to assure the 19th Congress of the All-Union Communist Party (of Bolsheviks) and our great leader and teacher, Comrade Stalin, that the Ukraine Party organization, which has still more closely rallied its ranks around the Leninist-Stalinist Central Committee of the Party, will decisively remove the shortcomings and errors in its work, and will rouse the Ukrainian people to fight for further successful fulfillment of the Stalin program of building communism in our country.

SPEECH BY COMRADE M. D. BAGIROV, AZERBAIDZHAN REPUBLIC. * (Pravda, Oct. 7, pp. 4-5. 3700 words. Condensed text:) ... Comrades! In the period since the 18th Congress of the All-Union Communist Party—both during the great patriotic war and in the postwar period—the Azerbaidzhan Communist Party organization, under the leadership of the Party Central Committee, has successfully coped with the tasks placed before it. The level of industrial production set for 1950 by the Fourth Five-Year Plan was achieved in the third quarter of 1949. Oil extraction increased 28% during the five-year plan. The generation of electric power was 112% of the 1950 assignment under the five-year plan and exceeded the 1940 level by 59%. The five-year plan assignments in other branches of industry were fulfilled and overfulfilled.

During this period enterprises of the oil-refining, machine-building, light, fishing, food, meat and dairy, and local industries and producers' cooperatives of the republic were fundamentally reconstructed and expanded.

In addition to the oil industry, new branches of heavy industry—mining, ferrous and nonferrous metallurgy, the chemical industry, etc.—are being established and developed in Soviet Azerbaidzhan on the initiative of Comrade Stalin, on the basis of the rich ores and raw material resources which have been prospected and discovered.

The republic's workers in socialist agriculture have achieved substantial successes in fulfilling the five-year assignments. The area sown to cotton has increased; the cotton crop has increased by 1.8 times; and the five-year plan assignment for increasing communal cattle has been overfulfilled.

The republic did not cope badly with its assignments in 1951. The plan for gross industrial output was fulfilled 102.3%. The enterprises of the Ministry of the Oil Industry in the republic fulfilled the gross output plan 101.5% in 1951, including oil output 100.1%. Despite unfavorable climatic conditions, the republic fulfilled the basic agricultural tasks, except in cotton growing. ...

On Comrade Stalin's initiative, the Union government adopted a number of decrees in recent years directed to further improvement in the economy and culture of Soviet Azerbaidzhan. These decrees provided for strengthening the material and technical base of the republic's oil industry.

On the personal instruction of Comrade Stalin, a great deal of work is being done in prospecting and industrial development of the rich oil deposits at the bottom of the Caspian. Advanced Soviet techniques made it possible to set up oilfields and well-built workers' settlements in the open sea, tens of kilometers from shore, on artificially built foundations and islands. Tide-water oil extraction is increasing month by month.

Suffice it to say that, despite the fact that drilling plans were not fulfilled, tidewater oil production was 34.1% higher in 1951 than in 1950 and 25.2% higher in nine months of 1952 than in the corresponding period of 1951.

As the favorable results of deep prospecting drilling showed, the deep-lying levels at Apscheron are a reserve for increasing oil production on land. Using new, powerful Soviet drilling equipment, Baku oil workers are successfully coping with the drilling of deep wells of approximately 3000 to 4000 meters.

Our unforgivable mistake, as yet not eliminated, is the lag in geological-exploratory work, as a result of which not all the rich oil resources in the republic have been placed in the service of the country's economy. ...

On the initiative and with the aid of Comrade Stalin, vast work has been launched in the republic on the construction of big hydrotechnical installations. The completion of the

* [See also Bagirov's speech at the Azerbaidzhan Communist Party Congress, pp. 78-81.]

Mingeaur water power complex and the continued development of the Kura-Aras lowlands, envisaged by the draft directives of the 19th Party Congress on the Fifth Five-Year Plan, provide for a sharp advance of the entire economy and a fundamental reorganization of agriculture in the republic. The Mingeaur water power complex will not only provide cheap electric power for the economy but, together with the Kura-Aras irrigation system, will make it possible to plant wheat and cotton and other technical crops on hundreds of thousands of hectares of land that is now barren and to create a stable fodder base for communal livestock. Connected with this is the 1950 decree of the U.S.S.R. Council of Ministers, adopted on the basis of Comrade Stalin's proposal, for increasing the wheat and cotton harvests on collective and state farms in Azerbaidzhan.

The timeliness and practical nature of this decision is indicated by the early results already achieved in the republic's agriculture. In the past two years the area under wheat and cotton alone has been increased 205,000 hectares, of which 175,000 hectares is the increase for land under wheat. As in the past, the plan for grain deliveries was considerably overfulfilled this year; moreover, more than twice as much grain has already been delivered to the state this year as in 1950. This year, according to the plan, we must give the state more than one-and-one-half times as much cotton as in 1950. The condition of the cotton plants at this time gives grounds for reporting that the state plan for deliveries of raw cotton will be overfulfilled this year. The tea plan has also been overfulfilled. More than twice as much green tea has been delivered to the state as in 1950. ...

The Azerbaidzhan Communist Party organization, carrying out the decisions of the 18th Congress of the All-Union Communist Party, has done considerable work on improving the material and cultural level of the republic's working people and training and educating cadres. During this period much housing and many schools, hospitals, palaces of culture, clubs and other cultural-educational institutions have been built; new higher educational institutions have been opened; a republic Academy of Sciences was created. Numerous national cadres, devoted to the cause of Lenin and Stalin, have grown up; they are working successfully on all sectors of economic and cultural construction. Suffice it to say that, whereas the republic had 12,143 specialists with a higher education in 1939, the number is now 36,373.

Comrades! Experience shows that mastery of the Russian language, the language of our elder brother, the great Russian people, the language of Lenin and Stalin, is of great importance to raising the cultural level, to training highly skilled cadres. It is the Russian language, that mighty means of communication among nations, which makes it possible to spread the achievements of the culture of the fraternal peoples of the Soviet Union among all the nations inhabiting our great motherland.

We have set up teachers' colleges for training teachers of the Russian language. Eleventh-grade studies have been organized in a number of secondary schools in Baku and other cities in the republic for this purpose. A pedagogical institute of Russian language and literature was set up at the beginning of the current academic year, as an outgrowth of the teachers' institute, to train teachers for secondary schools in Soviet Azerbaidzhan. ...

The Azerbaidzhan Communist Party organization, guided by the decisions of the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party and the directives of Comrade Stalin, has disclosed serious shortcomings on certain sectors of ideological work and has taken the necessary measures to eliminate them. The work of scientific research institutions has been improved; ideological standards have been raised in the teaching of social sciences in higher educational institutions; the preparation and defense of dissertations and the awarding of academic degrees and titles have been put in order. Relapses into bourgeois nationalism in literature and the arts and attempts to distort the history of the Azerbaidzhan people, to belittle the progressive, fruitful significance of the annexation of Azerbaidzhan by Russia, have been exposed. These measures are having a noticeable effect on the training and ideological tempering of our cadres.

The establishment of provinces in the Azerbaidzhan

Republic is of great importance in improving our work with cadres and in the selection, placement and training of cadres. The staffing of the apparatus of province organizations and in this connection the reassignment of people gave us an opportunity to study personnel more closely and to disclose a rich reserve of young, capable cadres. ...

The most serious shortcoming is the poor selection, placement and training of cadres, the lack of regular, painstaking work to create a large reserve of cadres trained in all respects. We speak a great deal about work with the aktiv, but we do very little toward organized, constant selection from this aktiv of the best, most capable comrades. The lack of a thoroughly trained reserve must be explained by instances, frequent among us, of unsatisfactory promotion and appointment of people to positions. The lack of the necessary reserve of cadres must also be explained by the fact that, after the amalgamation of our collective farms, many of them were not strengthened by tested and capable officials. The root of this evil lies in a lack of understanding by many of us of the necessity of organizing work with the aktiv so that each individual aktiv member is the center of attention, so that we know well all his positive and negative qualities and, in keeping with this, organize his education, tempering and preparation in the reserve for the next promotion. These and many other shortcomings in the work of the republic's Party organizations explain the fact that a number of enterprises of industry, transport and construction and many collective farms cope poorly with their tasks.

But in speaking of our shortcomings one cannot but note the poor assistance we get from some Union organizations.

Comrade Stalin teaches that the main, the fundamental things in the work of all our organizations are selection of cadres and checkup on fulfillment. In 1937 Comrade Stalin, referring to serious shortcomings in work with cadres, pointed out to the plenary session of the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party: "Usually they choose so-called acquaintances, friends, neighbors, personal followers, masters of eulogizing their patrons—regardless of their political or working qualifications." These words of Comrade Stalin can be applied to the selection and placement of cadres in certain sections of the Council of Ministers' Chief Administration of State Mining Supervision.

Matters do not stand too well with the comrades in the Ministry of Communications as regards checkup on fulfillment of decisions and particularly as regards the fulfillment of decisions. There are a number of decrees and orders of the U.S.S.R. Council of Ministers directing the Ministry of Communications to build a communications enterprise which is important to our republic and to put it into operation not later than during the first six months of 1953. Representatives and designers of the Ministry of Communications have been coming to Baku for many years, but the ministry has not begun practical implementation of the Union government's decision. The Ministry of Communications' stubborn unwillingness to carry out the government decree forced us to appeal to the U.S.S.R. Council of Ministers for a second time on this matter. In November, 1951, the U.S.S.R. Council of Ministers again directed the Ministry of Communications to begin construction of the above-mentioned enterprise. However, judging by the present state of the construction and by the Ministry of Communications' attitude in this matter, it apparently does not wish to carry out the Union government's decree this time, either. ...

It is time to demand of our comrades in the Union of Soviet Writers and the U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences that they acquaint themselves with local cadres and, guided by the teachings of Lenin and Stalin, help them in every way, particularly in the national republics, in studying, selecting and assimilating from the rich cultural past of the peoples of the Soviet Union all that is best, useful, valuable and dear to us Soviet people.

In 1948 the leadership of the Union of Soviet Writers, without analyzing the substance of the matter, conceived the idea of holding a broad discussion in Moscow on the question of the national ties of a number of writers and works of the past, including even such a reactionary, antipopular book, permeated with the venom of nationalism and pan-Islamism, as "Dede Korkut." With the aid of the Party Central Committee, we

ourselves, locally, disclosed and unmasked the reactionary, pernicious character of this book. After this, the Union of Soviet Writers and its organ, *Literaturnaya gazeta*, instead of drawing important conclusions for themselves, raised a clamor around this question, accusing each and every one but keeping silent about their own mistakes, thereby sheltering from responsibility the initiators of this harmful scheme.

One could cite other examples showing that the comrades in the Union of Soviet Writers frequently take a superficial, incorrect approach to questions of the history and culture of peoples of the Soviet Union. Matters are no better in this respect in the U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences' History Institute. Without dwelling on the work of the Institute itself, I want to say a few words about the magazine *Voprosy istorii*, which reflects the work of this institute, as its organ. The magazine *Voprosy istorii* not only does not help the historians of our national republics to gain an understanding of certain historical events, but often itself takes an erroneous position on these questions. Last year the magazine concocted a pointless, abstract discussion about the so-called "lesser-evil" formula in the question of the annexation of non-Russian peoples to Russia. It is not known what the magazine's aim was in this discussion, but at any rate it did not help our cadres in the national republics in their struggle against bourgeois nationalism in matters of history—to say nothing of actual harm done. This is what happened instead of a presentation of the full progressive and fruitful nature of Russia's annexation of non-Russian peoples on the basis of numerous historical data and archive materials and documents. Without underestimating in any way the reactionary character of Tsarism's colonizing policy, it should not be forgotten that for many peoples, in the concrete historical conditions—when they were threatened by the danger of complete enslavement and extermination by backward Turkey and Iran, backed by the Anglo-French colonizers—their annexation to Russia was the only way out for them and had a very favorable effect upon their later fate.

There is no sign that the magazine *Voprosy istorii*, guided by the statements of Comrade Stalin on the role of the great Russian people in the fraternal family of Soviet peoples, has worked out or elucidated the topical question, of vital importance to us and to further strengthening of the friendship of the peoples of our country—the question of the invaluable assistance which our elder brother, the Russian people, has afforded and is affording all the peoples of our country! (Applause.) ...

The Azerbaidzhan Communist Party organization—one of the tried and tested detachments of our party—will exert every effort to put the republic's Communists and all its working people in the front ranks of the Soviet peoples, building communism under the guidance of our party, under the leadership of our great leader and teacher Comrade Stalin!

Long live Comrade Stalin! (Stormy applause.)

SPEECH BY COMRADE L. P. LYKOVA, IVANOV PROVINCE. (*Pravda*, Oct. 7, p. 5. 2800 words. Condensed text:) ... The Ivanovo Province textile workers supply a substantial part of the country's textile output.

In recent years the Party Central Committee and the government have been doing considerable work on supplying the enterprises of the province with new machinery. In 1951-1952 alone 1750 new looms, spinning and other machines and more than 1700 various attachments, mainly for automatic operation, were installed in our mills. At the same time considerable work is being done on reconstruction of old textile enterprises. Mills in Furmanov and other cities in the province have been almost completely reconstructed.

The machine-building industry has been developed in Ivanovo Province in recent years. The province is now becoming not only a textile province but also a province of machine building.

The Party Central Committee and Comrade Stalin personally manifest great concern for the cultural and living conditions of Ivanovo textile workers, for their education and instruction. Seven higher educational institutions and two scientific research institutes have been set up and are functioning in the province; there are 34 technical schools. The province factories employ a large number of women, many of whom,

because of family obligations, cannot be sent to study in other localities. Therefore, at the direction of the Party Central Committee, the Party organizations of the province, together with the ministries, have developed a broad network of evening technical schools and correspondence departments within the local higher educational institutions and technical schools. All our large textile combines now have evening technical schools. In the past two years hundreds of women workers have completed correspondence courses in Ivanovo and other higher educational institutions, evening technical schools and schools for working youth. More than 1500 women textile workers study in the evening technical schools or in the correspondence departments of higher educational institutions without stopping work.

All this makes it possible to strengthen lagging sectors of the textile industry with technically educated workers who are experienced in work; there are many women among them.

Women now work as directors of 12 factories and mills in our province. They direct large enterprises such as the Great Ivanovo Mills, the New Ivanovo Mills, the Noin Factory, the Balashov Factory and a number of others. A considerable number of women have been promoted to heads of shops, directors of production and chief engineers of enterprises. ...

The supply of new machinery to our enterprises, the growth of technical knowledge, a raising of the general culture of the workers and extensive socialist competition have made it possible to fulfill the production plans and the socialist pledges made in a letter to Comrade Stalin. The most important branch of the province's economy—textiles—supplied more than 17,000,000 meters of finished cloth above plan in 1951. All textile enterprises in the province fulfilled the state plan last year. Almost 500,000,000 meters more finished cloth was produced in 1951 than in the prewar year of 1940.

By Sept. 28 the enterprises of the province's textile industry had fulfilled the nine-month plan for 1952 and supplied more than 10,000,000 meters of cloth above plan. The machine-building and chemical enterprises also fulfilled the production plan.

This year the Party Central Committee and the government set the textile workers the following task: to supply more cloth for the population of the country, to improve the quality of cloth and to learn how to make high-quality and beautiful cloth not only from high grades of cotton but also from low grades. ...

However, comrades, major shortcomings and oversights exist in the guidance of province industry by the Party bodies. Not all enterprises are fulfilling the production plan this year. Some plants have not fulfilled the program for labor productivity and have overexpended raw materials. There is also much waste and discard, for which Comrade Malenkov, Secretary of the Party Central Committee, seriously criticized industry in his report. A number of enterprises engage in production of below-standard goods and do not fulfill the production plan for established assortment of output. This refers particularly to the garment, local, cooperative and lumber industries in our province.

The necessary conditions for all workers to fulfill their socialist pledges have not been provided everywhere in Ivanovo Province. So far the questions of regular supply of raw materials to enterprises and radical improvement in the ventilation system in factories and mills have not been solved.

This year many enterprises are making poor use of funds allotted for capital construction work.

There is no doubt that the province Party bodies, primarily the province Party committee, bear responsibility for these shortcomings. Not all Party organizations of our province correctly conduct checkups on the work of management; all instances of formalism have not yet been eliminated in the organization of socialist competition; state discipline is still inadequate on a number of sectors of work.

There would be considerably fewer shortcomings in the work of Ivanovo Province enterprises if certain ministries would manage our enterprises more efficiently. The U.S.S.R. Ministry of Cotton Growing was set up by decision of the government. We had the right to hope that the supply of raw materials for enterprises would be improved. However, in recent years the quality of cotton supplied to textile mills

in our province by the Ministry of Cotton Growing has deteriorated. A large number of cotton-picking machines are used on collective farm fields of the Uzbek Republic and other Central Asian republics. This is definitely a very good thing. The problem is that the machine-picked cotton is sometimes of a lower quality and the Ministry of Cotton Growing and Minister Comrade Yusupov do not pay sufficient attention to improving the design of these cotton-picking machines. The Ministry of Cotton Growing has also failed to solve the question of combing cotton. There are many impurities in a large number of the consignments of cotton received from Uzbekistan.

The transportation of cotton has also been organized very unsatisfactorily recently. Despite the fact that there is a great deal of cotton in the country, the enterprises of our province have had long delays in receiving their supplies throughout 1952. We request that matters be remedied by the Ministry of Cotton Growing in regard to the quality of output, because successful work by the textile workers of the province depends largely on this.

Freight turnover has increased with the growth of the economy of the province. This requires improvement in transport. The province's main railroad trunk line—the Ivanovo-Alexandrov—is in an unsatisfactory state. Several times the province Party committee took up with Minister of Railroads Comrade Beshchev the question of the need for major repairs on this line. It cannot be said that Comrade Beshchev and the ministry's staff do not reply to the province Party committee's request. At the beginning of the year the ministry, as a rule, replies that major repairs will be made on about 60 to 70 kilometers of the line. In the middle of the year the figure is lowered to 30 kilometers and, consequently, a total of six to seven kilometers is repaired annually. And this has been the case for several years in succession. There is a rule among Communists: If you make a pledge, you carry it out; if you make a promise, you fulfill it. It would be well if this rule established in the Party were applied by Comrade Beshchev in regard to Ivanovo Province. (Laughter, animation.)

The U.S.S.R. Ministry of Light Industry also deals unsatisfactorily with a number of problems in the work of textile enterprises. In particular, new machinery for finishing cloth, which plays an important role in the struggle for high quality of output, is supplied very slowly.

The textile workers of our province have demands to make of the U.S.S.R. Ministry of Light Industry, the Ministry of Power Plants and the Ministry of Machine-Building Enterprise Construction concerning the necessity of improving the management of housing construction and construction of children's institutions. The Soviet government allots tremendous sums for construction work. But frequently these sums are not fully used. Inadequate training of cadres of builders and designers does much toward impeding the full use of funds allotted for construction work. An obvious discrepancy has arisen in our province between the scope of construction work and the training of these cadres. Therefore, we ask the above-mentioned ministries to solve the problem, together with us, of improving the training of cadres of builders and designers and to utilize for these ends the institutes and technical schools in the province. ...

SPEECH BY COMRADE A. J. SNECKUS, LITHUANIAN REPUBLIC. (Pravda, Oct. 7, pp. 5-6. 3200 words. Condensed text:) Comrades! Comrade Malenkov's report has shown us a majestic picture of the remarkable victories achieved by the Soviet people under the leadership of the glorious Communist Party, its Central Committee and its leader and teacher, Comrade Stalin. Our motherland is marching steadily forward on the road to communism blazed by the genius of Comrade Stalin. (Applause.) ...

During the years of bourgeois rule Lithuania was a semi-colony of the Western imperialists. The Anglo-American and other imperialists brazenly trampled the vital rights of the Lithuanian people. With the help of their trusted servants, the Lithuanian bourgeois nationalists, the imperialists held full sway in Lithuania. They wrenched from Lithuania her capital, Vilnius, and the port of Klaipeda, and enslaved the Lithuanian

people. Plundering and enslaving the Lithuanian people, the Western imperialists, with the help of their parasites, impeded industrial development in order to export cheap raw materials and to market their products at high prices. Lithuanian agriculture declined more and more. The working peasants were ruined, driven from their land, and, in search of crusts of bread, fled across the ocean, where they fell into servitude to American capitalists, Brazilian plantation owners or Argentine landlords.

This is why, when the Soviet Union protected the Lithuanian people from the highhandedness of the Western imperialists and extended a fraternal helping hand to us, the Lithuanian working people rose to the struggle for the overthrow of the venal bourgeois clique and established a Soviet regime. In the fraternal family of the peoples of the Soviet Union the Lithuanian people heartened to a new, free and happy life. ...

While the Anglo-American plunderers enslave peoples and trample on their statehood, the Lithuanian people have found freedom, independence and true statehood under the Soviet regime. The Lithuanian lands became reunited only by the will of the mighty Soviet Union.

The rulers of American imperialism dream again of turning Lithuania into their domain and the Lithuanians into slaves of American imperialism. Eisenhower recently disclosed these piratical intentions in one of his incendiary speeches. But this will never be. No one will succeed in turning the Lithuanian people from the path of development they have chosen—the Soviet path. The Lithuanian people are prospering and will further prosper in the fraternal family of peoples of the Soviet Union. The Lithuanian people are infinitely happy and proud of the fact that in the fraternal family of the peoples of our country they are participating in building a communist society as an equal among equals. ...

During the years of the Soviet regime industry's share in the republic's economy almost doubled and now amounts to 61%. The size of the working class has grown. In 1952 there are almost three and one-half times as many industrial workers as in 1940. ...

The collective farm structure has now fully and irrevocably triumphed in Lithuania. The socialist economic system now reigns completely in the Lithuanian countryside. The Lithuanian peasantry is forever liberated from kulak bondage and exploitation and has become the free builder of the new collective farm life. The times are forever gone when the Lithuanian peasantry used primitive tools. Thousands of tractors, combines and other complex agricultural machines are now in use in the Lithuanian countryside. ...

During the years of the Soviet regime great successes have been achieved in the development of Lithuanian culture, national in form and socialist in content. The doors of the schools have been opened wide to the children of working people. The number of pupils in the schools has almost doubled. While there were approximately 4000 students in Lithuania during the years of bourgeois rule and an average of about 100 specialists a year were graduated from higher schools, the republic now has 14 higher educational institutions with a total of about 15,000 students, that is, more than four times as many. Every year about 2000 persons graduate from the higher educational institutions, that is, 10 times as many as under bourgeois rule. The Lithuanian Republic Academy of Sciences was founded during the years of the Soviet regime. The Academy of Sciences is rendering greater and greater aid to the development of the republic's economy and culture. The Union government is affording constant aid to the Lithuanian Republic Academy of Sciences for improvement of its work.

These facts tell of the flourishing of Lithuanian national culture under the Soviet regime; they show with full convincingness that the Soviet regime has created all the necessary conditions for the participation of working people in culture and education. The republic's Party organization is also carrying on extensive cultural and educational work among the Polish population, in its native language, in parts of Vilnius Province.

In the light of all these achievements in the development of the national economy and culture, the Lithuanian people again and again turn their thoughts to the great Russian people. The Lithuanian people freed themselves from the yoke of Tsarism with the aid of the Russian people, and now, as great Russian people

helped the Lithuanians throw off the hated yoke of capitalism.

The great Russian people saved the Lithuanians from the threat of annihilation by the fascist cannibals. The Russian people generously aid us in developing the republic's national economy and culture.

This is why the Lithuanian people are filled with ardent love and gratitude toward their elder brother and friend, the great Russian people. (Applause.)

One of the conditions for successful development of the economy and culture of the Lithuanian Republic is an energetic struggle against bourgeois nationalist ideology and its specific bearers. The bourgeois nationalists have been unmasked as mortal enemies of the people, servants and faithful lap dogs of the foreign plunderers, traitors to their people and their country who do not stop short of any crime against the people for the sake of maintaining their class privileges or for the right to exploit the working people and to grow rich by their sweat.

The bourgeois nationalists have not justified the hopes of their imperialist masters. Their high card has been trumped. The years of the Soviet regime in Lithuania have been years of the triumph of Soviet ideology, the ideology of Marxism-Leninism, of friendship and brotherhood of peoples, the ideology of life-giving Soviet patriotism which joins all the peoples of our country in the united, fraternal Soviet family. ...

There would have been greater successes in the development of the national economy and culture of the Lithuanian people if there had not been serious mistakes, omissions and shortcomings in our work.

The Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party pointed out these mistakes to us; these mistakes and shortcomings were severely criticized in Bolshevik fashion at the Party report-and-election meetings, at conferences and at the Seventh Congress of the Lithuanian Communist Party.

The republic's Party organization is not fighting adequately for fulfillment by each enterprise of the production plan for established assortment; it is weak in disclosing unutilized capacity and reserves in enterprises and is not exercising sufficient Party direction of socialist competition.

The Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party justly pointed out to us the shortcomings in collective farming. Violations of the Collective Farm Statutes still occur in collective farms; there are instances of embezzlement of collective farm property and of illegal seizure of collective farm land; in some places kulaks have wormed their way into collective farms in order to harm the collective farms from within. The struggle for the solution of the chief task in agriculture—increasing crop yields and increasing the number of cattle and the meat and dairy yields—is not being waged adequately. The republic's Communist Party organization is taking the necessary measures to eliminate these shortcomings.

An important condition for further strengthening the republic's collective farms is liquidation of the isolated farmstead ("khutor") system—heritage of Tsarism and the Lithuanian bourgeoisie. This system hinders the use of machinery, lowers the productivity of collective farm labor, prevents the introduction of correct crop rotations and impedes the struggle for the further organizational and economic strengthening of the collective farms.

Along with the solution of the main production tasks in agriculture, the republic's collective farms have the opportunity to begin resettlement from the homesteads to collective farm settlements. The Central Committee of the Lithuanian Communist Party and the Lithuanian Republic Council of Ministers have worked out measures for resettling collective farmers from the homesteads and have submitted them for consideration by the U.S.S.R. Council of Ministers. We ask for help in solving this problem.

During the years of the Soviet regime, the ranks of Party, state, managerial and other personnel have grown. The Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party rendered us great and constant aid in this matter. However, we are still inadequately meeting the task set by the Party Central Committee for promoting and training Bolshevik national cadres in the republic. Party bodies were seriously criticized at the Party conferences for unsatisfactory work in this sphere.

The Party organization, fulfilling the Party Central Commit-

tee's instructions on creating its own Soviet intelligentsia, has done considerable work in providing the cadres of intelligentsia with a Bolshevik education. A great deal of work is also being done in re-educating the old intelligentsia, the overwhelming majority of which is actively participating in socialist construction.

Success in the training of national cadres of Soviet intellectuals would be inconceivable without a decisive overcoming and eradication of the vestiges of influence of the bourgeois nationalist ideology among certain groups of the Lithuanian intelligentsia.

The bourgeois nationals, unmasked as enemies of the people, do not come out openly now. They and their open and secret myrmidons are trying to advance their views through deceitful means, to disguise them so that it would be possible to poison backward elements with the venom of chauvinism. This is being done primarily through distortion of the Lithuanian people's past, idealization of feudal times and idealization of the so-called bourgeois national movement at the end of the 19th and beginning of the 20th centuries. This movement itself is falsely portrayed as classless and its leaders as progressive fighters for the people's cause. There is no mention in this connection of the revolutionary and workers' movement, its role and significance in the cause of liberation of the Lithuanian people, the influence of the revolutionary movement in Russia or the leading role of the Russian working class, of the party of Bolsheviks.

On the basis of Comrade Stalin's work on the national question, the Party organization is unmasking this false idealization of the past, this disguised propagation of bourgeois nationalism.

Views of a bourgeois nationalist hue, surreptitiously propagated by various individuals, were severely and unanimously condemned at the report-and-election meetings and the Lithuanian Communist Party Congress. The Communists correctly demanded that the Party bodies intensify the struggle against instances of bourgeois nationalist influence which still occur, that they not permit them, for wherever the work of Communists is relaxed, hostile influence may penetrate.

The republic's Party organization will continue to fight ceaselessly to wipe out any vestiges of bourgeois nationalism, however they may be disguised, and will intensify the communist education of the working people, which is an important condition for successful advance to communism.

In conclusion, permit me to make a few observations concerning some Union ministries which do not always adequately carry out the Union government's directives.

Communists criticized the Ministry of Higher Education at Party conferences in Vilnius and Kaunas, where the republic's higher educational institutions are situated, and at the Lithuanian Communist Party Congress. This ministry concerns itself very little with providing intensive, systematic aid to the republic's higher educational institutions or with improving the cultural and living conditions of the student body. The ministry has committed many mistakes in staffing our higher educational institutions. On more than one occasion the ministry has sent out unsuitable and even politically questionable workers. The U.S.S.R. Ministry of Agriculture and the U.S.S.R. Ministry of State Farms devote much attention to the republic's agriculture; but it must be said that the important decree of the Union government on amelioration work has been very poorly carried out by these ministries, although this amelioration work means a further increase in yields and enlargement of the feed base for livestock.

The Ministry of the Electrical Equipment Industry and the Ministry of the Automobile and Tractor Industry concern themselves little with the needs of their factories.

The above-mentioned shortcomings in the work of the Union ministries must be eliminated in future.

Comrades! We recognize that there would be many fewer shortcomings in our work if we conducted Party organizational and Party political work better.

There are still instances of Party bodies taking the path of petty tutelage of and substitution for Soviet and economic agencies; they let Party guidance slip out of their hands and weakly carry out Party checkups and verifications of fulfillment of decisions.

Criticism and self-criticism, particularly criticism from

below, have not yet been sufficiently developed in the republic's Party organization. Party organizations and the press pass over serious shortcomings, do little to disclose them and fight inadequately to eliminate them.

Comrade Malenkov's report directs Party organizations to a further improvement in Party work, to greater effectiveness of each Party organization, each Communist. This is particularly important for our young Party organization—the Lithuanian Communist Party—which was accepted into the glorious party of Bolsheviks after the establishment of Soviet rule in Lithuania.

SPEECH BY COMRADE N. A. MIKHAILOV, MOSCOW. (Pravda, Oct. 7, p. 6. 3100 words. Condensed text:) Comrades! ... The Leninist-Stalinist Young Communist League is striving in every way to justify its name of true assistant and fighting reserve of the Communist Party. ...

Comrade Stalin teaches that one of the conditions for preparing the transition to communism is achievement of a cultural growth of society that would ensure all members of society thorough development of their physical and cultural potentialities.

Directly connected with this is the program worked out by the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party for the further advance of public education and for polytechnical instruction in schools. Soviet youth has fully realized that it is impossible to build a new society successfully without knowledge and science. The overwhelming majority of young people are studying in schools, technicums, higher educational institutions and in various evening and correspondence courses. The tremendous successes of our schools are well known. But there are also shortcomings in their work: a large number of pupils who must repeat entire grades and a considerable number who fail to pass certain subjects; poor organization of instruction and upbringing in some schools, and a shortage of school buildings in a number of cities and districts—all this cannot but be cause for concern to Party, state and Young Communist League bodies.

The teacher plays a decisive role in the school. Some teachers do not have a suitable education. Yet the work of raising their qualifications, the organization of correspondence courses and the work of methodological organizations sometimes suffer from great shortcomings. Great demands are made on the Soviet educator; but there is an obvious lag here. There are no well-written textbooks on education. The experience of leading teachers is poorly studied and generalized. The Academy of Pedagogical Sciences does not provide answers to many important problems, does not publish solid works, does little in the matter of rewriting certain textbooks. Party and state bodies must assign to public education as much personnel and equipment as this extremely important matter deserves.

Unfortunately, not all Party bodies are seriously interested in the problems of the school. Let us cite an example. The Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party drew the attention of the Central Committee of the Kirgiz Communist Party to vital shortcomings in the work of schools, but these shortcomings are being corrected slowly. There are poorly educated people in the republic; the plan for universal education is not being carried out; one finds pupils, particularly girls, dropping out; many evening schools for working and rural youth are poorly run.

At the republic Communist Party Congress Comrade Razzakov, Secretary of the Central Committee of the Kirgiz Communist Party, had to acknowledge that Party and state bodies in the republic do not satisfactorily direct public education. It is to be assumed that this criticism will contribute to greater attention to the schools and teachers, primarily on the part of the Kirgiz Communist Party Central Committee.

In light of the new tasks, the Young Communist League must center its attention on questions of young people's education and raising of their cultural level. It is our duty to ensure a leading role to Young Communists and Young Pioneers in studies, to give constant assistance to directors of schools, teachers and class leaders in all their work of instruction and upbringing and to take an active part in all work for carrying out universal secondary (ten-year) education, promoting polytechnical instruction in schools, training new teachers and strengthening the pedagogical and material situation of the schools.

Each social epoch has created the heroes of its time. And the

epoch of socialism has created such a hero. The hero of our time is the Soviet patriot, the active builder of communism, wholeheartedly devoted to the cause of Lenin and Stalin. The young Soviet person is being given a rounded and thorough education and upbringing. High moral qualities, untiring labor for the good of the people, constant striving for knowledge, science and culture, regular engagement in sports and active participation in community life—these are the characteristics of the young Soviet person of our day.

But we cannot fail to note facts which show attempts at alien influence on young people. Survivals of the past in people's minds make themselves felt. In some enterprises instances have been noted of violation of labor discipline by young workers. Both in the city and in the village slackers and violators of the rules of the socialist community are found among the youth. Some boys and girls are falling under the influence of religion.

There are serious shortcomings in the guidance of ideological work among youth by the Central Committee of the Young Communist League. Ideological work is frequently done superficially and pro forma, and does not attract young people. This work is extremely neglected in many Young Communist League organizations. The communist education of youth has always been basic in the Young Communist League. The importance of people's education is greater now, in the period of the gradual transition from socialism to communism. The task is for the Young Communist League, guided by the directives of the Party Congress and of Comrade Stalin, to improve ideological work among the masses of youth in every way and to educate the younger generation in the spirit of communism. It is our duty to put a decisive end to shortcomings in ideological work and to raise it to the level of the new tasks. Party organizations will surely render every kind of aid to the Young Communist League in this matter. ...

The Soviet theater produces few good works devoted to our socialist life. The award of only two Stalin Prizes for plays published last year bears eloquent witness to the unfavorable situation which has arisen in the drama, the duty of which is to help educate the younger generation. The board of the Union of Soviet Writers and the U.S.S.R. Council of Ministers' Committee on Affairs of the Arts have held dozens of conferences and meetings to discuss the causes of the lag in Soviet playwriting. A great number of articles have been published on this subject. But sometimes the impression is created that some playwrights have entirely ceased to write plays and write mainly articles in which they explain why there are no plays on Soviet life. (*Stir in the hall.*)

Correct criticism is often heard among youth of the fact that the U.S.S.R. Ministry of Cinematography has serious shortcomings in its work and produces few good pictures about Soviet life. The directors of the U.S.S.R. Ministry of Cinematography and the Union of Soviet Writers not only admit these shortcomings but are constantly discussing how to correct the situation. The Ministry of Cinematography complains to the board of the Union of Soviet Writers that there are not enough good scenarios. In turn, the board of the Union of Soviet Writers criticizes the Ministry of Cinematography. The arguments go on, but few good films are made.

The Party teaches that it is not enough to admit shortcomings; it is necessary to know how to correct them. It is time for the Ministry of Cinematography, the board of the Union of Soviet Writers and the Committee on Affairs of the Arts to meet the criticism. ...

It must be said that valuable initiative by young innovators does not always receive the necessary support. I will cite examples. Young workers and now Stalin Prize Winners Comrades Dikov, Chikirev and others, with the active help of engineers and technicians, have greatly increased the speed of cutting metal. The high-speed methods disclose tremendous potentialities of machine tools. But some ministries, such as the U.S.S.R. Ministry of Agricultural Machine Building, do not give this matter real support. Year after year this ministry fails to carry out the program for introducing high-speed methods. It seems that officials of the ministry have now decided to dispense with this program completely, wrongly supposing that their lives will be more peaceful without it. ...

New circumstances place before us the task of further raising the level of work within the Young Communist League, of improving guidance on the part of the Young Communist League Central Committee. The criticism of shortcomings in work with cadres, given in Comrade Malenkov's report, also applies directly to the Young Communist League. Some Young Communist League officials have taken the unworthy course of misrepresentation, deceit and slurring over of shortcomings. Although these are isolated cases, we cannot tolerate them. ...

Comrades! The basis of the Young Communist League's successes is the guidance of the party of Lenin and Stalin. As a living being cannot live without light and air, so the Young Communist League cannot live without the guidance of the Communist Party of Lenin and Stalin. Leading Party bodies constantly give tremendous aid to the Young Communist League. But sometimes we find district, city and province Party committees which forget their duty to give constant guidance in the communist education of the younger generation. There are instances in which guidance of Young Communist League organizations is exercised not by the bureau of the province Party committee, not by its first secretary, but by one of the secretaries, as a so-called patron. One can see where this leads from the example of the Irkutsk Province Party Committee. Taking advantage of the absence of supervision, the Irkutsk Province Young Communist League Committee has violated Bolshevik principles of selection of cadres. Chance people sometimes make their way into Young Communist League work. Criticism and self-criticism has been kept in the background. Instead of decisively revealing these shortcomings, the bureau of the province Party committee glossed over and took a tolerant attitude toward defects. The Young Communist League Central Committee and the province Party committee succeeded in correcting these shortcomings only with the help of the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party.

The Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party and Comrade Stalin personally constantly direct the work of the Young Communist League and render it tremendous, invaluable help. Nowhere is there such concern for youth as here in the Soviet land. The Young Communist League and all Soviet youth express heartfelt thanks to the Communist Party and to Comrade Stalin for this concern and for the happiness and joy of our life. (Applause.)

The Party Central Committee is occupied with all aspects of the life, work and education of Soviet youth. Before the 18th Party Congress the Young Communist League had 8,000,000 members. Now there are approximately 16,000,000 Young Communist League members. More than 4,000,000 Y.C.L. members joined the Party from the ranks of the Young Communist League during the period under review.

The Young Pioneer organization has also grown. Before the 18th Congress of the All-Union Communist Party the Young Pioneer organization had approximately 11,000,000 members. Now there are approximately 19,000,000 in the Young Pioneer detachments. ...

Soviet, Stalinist youth burns with a desire to devote all its strength, mind and will to the service of the homeland, the Communist Party, the cause of communism—the great cause of Lenin and Stalin. ...

SPEECH BY COMRADE A.M. PUZANOV, KUIBYSHEV PROVINCE. (Pravda, Oct. 8, p. 2. 2700 words. Condensed text:) ... The machine-building, oil-processing, food and light industries are widely developed in the city and province of Kuibyshev, and extensive new capital construction is under way. On the whole, industry in the city and province of Kuibyshev is successfully fulfilling the state plan for gross output and has a great annual increase in output. Thus, during 1950-1951, the volume of industrial production increased 70% in comparison with 1949, and during the eight months of the current year it increased 19.5% in comparison with the same period last year. The productivity of labor is steadily increasing. However, not all of our enterprises are fulfilling the state plan. Many enterprises work unevenly and have low qualitative indices in their work.

The Kuibyshev Party organization, guided by the directives

of the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party as set forth by Comrade Malenkov in the report of the Central Committee, will take all possible measures to speed the elimination of serious shortcomings in the work of enterprises and to ensure fulfillment of the state plan by every enterprise.

At the 18th Party Congress Comrade Stalin posed the task of creating a new, large oil base for the country—a "second Baku"—between the Volga and the Urals. The Party and the Soviet people carried out this directive of Comrade Stalin. In 1952 the extraction of oil in Kuibyshev Province—one of the most important new oil regions of the country—will be many times greater than in 1940.

Thanks to the concern of the Party and the government, the oil industry of the province has been enriched by the most advanced and perfected Soviet technology; great prospects of further technical progress have opened up before oil workers. The oil industry of our province has rich potentialities for further rapid growth.

Comrades! On the initiative and instructions of the great Stalin, vast hydroelectrical construction work has been launched in the Kuibyshev area. With a feeling of justified pride in our glorious motherland, with a feeling of deepest thankfulness and gratitude to our own Comrade Stalin, the working people of the province, like all Soviet people, welcomed the historic resolution of the U.S.S.R. Council of Ministers on construction of the Kuibyshev Hydroelectric Station—the largest in the world—and the irrigation system in the Volga area. ...

The Bolsheviks of Kuibyshev Province and the large group of hydroelectric construction workers and builders of the irrigation system have asked to report to our leader and teacher Comrade Stalin that the task set up by the Party and the government will be fulfilled in the established period and that in 1955 Moscow, the capital of our motherland, will receive the first current from the Kuibyshev Hydroelectric Station. (Applause.)

Comrades! Noticeable successes have also been achieved in the agriculture of our province in recent years. In 1952 the sown area was increased 12% in comparison with 1940, including a 20% increase in the planting of the basic food crop, spring wheat, and a 150% increase in the sowing of fodder crops. There has also been a considerable increase in the number of communal cattle on collective and state farms and in the gross output of field work and animal husbandry; the proportion of marketed agricultural products has also increased. ...

But we are aware of the fact that, along with successes in the agriculture of our province, we still have all the serious shortcomings which Malenkov mentioned in his report. Yields are still inadequate and the productivity of communal animal husbandry low. The task of establishing a stable feed base is being met very slowly; gross violations of the Collective Farm Statutes have not been completely eliminated.

The province Party organization, fulfilling the resolutions of the 19th Party Congress, will struggle persistently for the removal of existing shortcomings and will see to the further advance of agriculture in the province.

The rapid development of the economy of Kuibyshev Province is accompanied by a steady rise in the material well-being and culture of the working people. New cities—Zhigulevsk, Novokuibyshevsk and settlements for oil workers and builders—have grown up in the province in recent years. In 1949-1951 alone enterprises and institutions completed about 400,000 square meters of housing [floor space], while this year it is planned to complete another 290,000 square meters. ...

The decree of the U.S.S.R. Council of Ministers on the construction of the Kuibyshev Hydroelectric Station on the Volga envisages the supply of 2,400,000,000 kilowatt hours a year in areas of the cities of Kuibyshev and Saratov. This requires a timely solution of the problem of complex development of power-consuming branches of industry in the Middle Volga. Certain measures have already been taken in this direction. But this is far from adequate for full utilization of the cheap electricity of the Kuibyshev Hydroelectric Station. Furthermore, it seems to us that the U.S.S.R. State Planning Committee is slow in solving the problem of locating industry in the area of the hydroelectric center. This circumstance requires faster solution of the question of which factories

should be located in the area of Kuibyshev so that construction may begin on them in the near future.

The prospects of further development of one of the most important economic areas in the country—the Volga area—during the Fifth Five-Year Plan urgently dictate the need for a sharp increase in volume of freight handled by the V. V. Kuibyshev Railroad. In connection with this the U.S.S.R. State Planning Committee and the Ministry of Railroads should particularly consider the question of electrification of this railroad and rapid development of its Syzran-Batraki junction.

The construction of irrigation systems in the Volga area is one of the chief projects of the five-year plan. Two years have passed since the government charged the U.S.S.R. Ministry of Agriculture with formulating an irrigation plan. However, the ministry has been extremely slow in this matter, while Minister Comrade Benediktov is not exacting toward officials on this important government assignment. As a result, the ministry has not yet completed its examination of the irrigation plan; this is holding up work on the construction of trunk canals and reservoirs. Neither does the Ministry of Agriculture show the necessary interest in working out problems of farming methods, particularly of mechanized irrigation. The Ministry of Agriculture should soon complete plans for irrigating the Volga area and should also strengthen construction organization for the building of irrigation systems and, beginning next year, should allot funds for constructing irrigation systems large enough to ensure the fulfillment of this important assignment within the established time.

In order to prepare in time for the utilization of a large volume of water, the ministry, together with the V. I. Lenin Academy of Agricultural Sciences and local organizations, should work out an individual approach toward local problems of irrigating crops and principles of large-scale irrigation farming. It is very important to select, develop and test new varieties of wheat—primarily hard wheat—sunflower and other crops, to work out methods and build machines for mechanized irrigation and to organize mass training of personnel for irrigation farming. For the purpose of studying the utilization of electrical machines under the conditions of irrigation farming, it will be necessary to set up, as early as 1953, several experimental electric Machine and Tractor Stations on the base of existing M.T.S. ...

SPEECH BY COMRADE J. E. KALNBERZINS, LATVIAN REPUBLIC. (Pravda, Oct. 8, pp. 2-3, 3100 words. Condensed text.) ... The Communist Party of Soviet Latvia comes to the 19th Party Congress with great achievements. The Latvian Communist Party was admitted to the All-Union Communist Party (of Bolsheviks) at the end of 1940, after the Latvian people, under the leadership of the Communist Party, had overthrown the antipeople's, fascist government and established Soviet rule in Latvia. Consequently we Latvian Communist Party delegates are participating in the work of a Congress of the All-Union Communist Party for the first time. With all our hearts, we bring our affectionate gratitude to the dear and beloved leader and liberator of the Latvian people, Comrade Stalin. (Applause.)

For all their victories, the working people of Soviet Latvia are indebted to the party of Lenin and Stalin, which has shown the Latvian people the road to victory and is confidently leading it to the shining heights of communism. The Latvian Republic's achievements in socialist construction are a living, vivid example of the power of Leninist-Stalinist friendship of peoples. The great Russian people have helped the Latvian workers to win freedom. The entire family of fraternal Soviet peoples is giving the Latvian people invaluable help in building a new life.

During the 20 years of its rule, the reactionary, nationalist bourgeoisie turned Latvia into an appendage of the West European imperialist countries, supplying them with food and raw materials. Foreign capitalists were the country's real masters. In 1939 foreign capital's share in Latvian industry amounted to about 52%. This percentage was higher in some branches of industry. The bourgeois magnates retarded the development of the country's productive forces. Industry largely depended on imported raw materials. Dozens of enterprises were shut down every year in bourgeois Latvia

and thousands of workers were thrown on the streets. In some years there were as many as 70,000 unemployed in Latvia.

The situation of the working peasantry of bourgeois Latvia was extremely difficult. During only the five last years of the fascist clique's rule, 25,000 peasant families were ruined and their property was put up for sale. The army of farm laborers reached 200,000.

In bourgeois Latvia, science, literature and the arts served the capitalists. All kinds of reactionary theories flourished in science, which was oriented toward the imperialist West. The department of theology played a leading role in the university.

In the very first days of the establishment of Soviet rule in Latvia great constructive work began under the leadership of the Communist Party, with the help of all of the fraternal republics. Thanks to the Soviet system, the Latvian Soviet Socialist Republic advanced rapidly along the path of economic and cultural development. The increase in industrial output in 1940 alone was 21%. Unemployment was completely eliminated. Farm laborers and peasants with insufficient land received land from the Soviet government. The first Machine and Tractor Stations and Machine and Horse-Rental Stations were organized. Peasants were also aided with mineral fertilizers, seed and funds.

The Hitlerite invaders' perfidious attack temporarily interrupted the Latvian people's peaceful work. Together with all of the peoples of the Soviet Union, the Latvians rose in defense of their socialist motherland. Our people's best sons and daughters fought heroically in the Soviet Army's ranks and in partisan detachments, and those who were evacuated to the country's rear toiled selflessly in industrial enterprises and on collective farms.

The war and the three-year fascist occupation caused enormous damage to the republic's national economy. The losses inflicted on the republic's national economy amounted to 20,000,000,000 rubles.

After the heroic Soviet Army defeated the German fascist invaders, the working people of Latvia, under the leadership of the Communist Party, undertook the restoration of their war-torn economy and extensive development of socialist construction. The industry of the republic was restored in less than three years, and the working people of the republic, depending upon the industrial might of the Soviet Union, did not simply restore the industrial enterprises destroyed by the war, but reconstructed them completely on the basis of installation of the newest Soviet equipment and advanced methods of production. A great quantity of machines, machine tools and other equipment was received by Latvia from the Russian Federation and other Union republics. A number of large enterprises completely renewed their equipment.

Along with restoration, new industrial construction has been widely developed. In place of small, scattered industry there has grown up large-scale industry, some branches of which have acquired all-Union importance. The level of industrial production established by the Fourth Five-Year Plan for 1950 was attained by 1948. How great the pace of Soviet Latvia's industrial development was during the postwar years is evident from the fact that the average annual increase of industrial output amounted to more than 45%. The total volume of industrial production increased more than five-fold during the five-year plan and the prewar 1940 level of production was more than tripled. During this time the number of industrial workers in the republic increased by one and one-half times.

The structure of industrial production of Soviet Latvia has changed sharply during the years of the postwar Stalin Five-Year Plan. Heavy industry has taken first place. Machine building and the metal-working industry have become its leading branches. Their share in the total volume of the republic's industrial production has risen to 48%.

The industrial development of the Latvian Republic has made it possible for our industry to organize new kinds of production, never carried on before: cars for electrified railroads, powerful motors for electric rolling stock, streetcars, portable power plants, river dredges, universal woodworking machines, inspection instruments for motor vehicles, harvesters for various crops, armatures for electric lighting installations for Moscow's tall buildings and other manufactured articles. ...

The republic's Party organizations are educating the working people in a truly socialist attitude to work. The workers of our enterprises realize that they are working not for exploiters, but for themselves, for the good of their own people, for the good of the socialist fatherland. Having become the real masters of their country, the workers, engineers and technical workers are concerned with making full use of the internal reserves of their enterprises. During the past three years alone, the republic's industry has produced profits of more than 1,200,000,000 rubles. ...

Nevertheless, it must be admitted that there are numerous serious shortcomings in the work of the republic's industry. In his report, Comrade Malenkov, the Secretary of the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party, sharply criticized shortcomings in the work of industry and agriculture, in Party organizational, Party political and ideological work. The shortcomings cited are to be found also in our republic and in our republic Party organization. The Latvian Communist Party Central Committee has taken measures to eliminate these shortcomings and omissions, but these measures are obviously still inadequate. The Central Committee of the Latvian Communist Party and the Latvian Republic Council of Ministers were sharply criticized for this at the 12th Congress of the Latvian Communist Party. ...

Great prospects open up before us for further development of the electrical machine-building, machine-tool and ship-building industries. Of the greatest importance to industrialization of Soviet Latvia is the increase, which the 19th Party Congress draft directives envisage, to approximately double or 2.5 times in generation of electric power in our republic. The republic is in great need of a substantial expansion of the power station base; industrial enterprises, particularly in Riga, are now insufficiently supplied with power, and there are great irregularities in the supply. For a fundamental solution of the power problem it is necessary to include in the Fifth Five-Year Plan projects for large new hydroelectric stations on the Daugava River.

The development of Latvian agriculture during the postwar years has been closely tied to its socialist reorganization. Following the liberation of Latvia from the Hitlerite occupiers, one of the Soviet government's first measures was to complete the agrarian reform which had already been begun in 1949. As a result of this reform, 75,000 landless peasants and peasants with inadequate land received land.

Having become convinced of the advantages of collective farming, having grasped the rich experience of the collective farms of the fraternal republics, the working peasantry of Latvia voluntarily have firmly taken the road of socialist reconstruction of agriculture. Slowly at the beginning, in a stubborn class struggle with the kulaks and bourgeois nationalist elements, and then at a rapid tempo, the number of collective farms grew; 1949 was the year of the final turning-point of the Latvian peasantry to a socialist path of development, and at the present time more than 98% of the peasant farms have been united into collective farms.

The progress in agricultural construction has created broad opportunities for mechanizing agriculture, and there are now in operation in Latvia more than 100 Machine and Tractor Stations, which have become the principal and decisive base of agriculture and have played an important role in collectivization. The Machine and Tractor Stations are equipped with a great number of tractor-drawn sowers, cultivators, flax pickers, harvesters and other machines. Combines for harvesting grain, flax and sugar beets have appeared on Latvian fields for the first time. The Soviet government has given the collective farmers enormous help. Latvia received a great many combines and tractors in 1951 alone. Thanks to this, the sown acreage of collective farms increased 107,600 hectares in 1952 as compared with 1951. The area under spring wheat increased 48% under technical crops 11%, and under vegetables 42%.

On the opening day of the 19th Party Congress, the republic reported to Comrade Stalin fulfillment of the state plan for grain deliveries. This year the republic has delivered almost 1,000,000 more pounds of fodder crops than by this date last year.

Putting into practice the Party and government decrees on the three-year plan for development of communal animal husbandry, each of the republic's collective farms has built up four five-stock units and each has five apiece. The republic's

collective farms have fulfilled the three-year plan for developing livestock raising, besides which they have met the goals for numbers of livestock of improved strains. Much work has been carried on in the collective and state farms to improve strains and increase meat and dairy yields. The basis has been laid for the development of thoroughbred horse-breeding. Further achievements in developing animal husbandry hinge on thorough expansion of the fodder base.

Our successes in agriculture would have been greater if there had not been serious defects in the guidance of agriculture by the Party, Soviet and agricultural agencies. Some local Soviet and Party bodies for a long time overlooked instances of gross violations of the Collective Farm Statutes, failed to unmask in time the intrigues of enemies of collective farming who stole collective farm communal property, tolerated violations of the Collective Farm Statutes and did not bring the violators to book. The Party and Soviet agencies have still not succeeded in overcoming the harmful traditions of the old countryside which prevent the timely performance of farming work on a scientific basis. On many collective farms the technique of farm work is still on a low level. Crop rotations have been devised only on 927 out of 1500 collective farms.

An extensive program for further development of agriculture in our republic has been planned for the coming five years. The gross harvest of grain is to be doubled, which will enable the Latvian Republic to meet its grain needs. The gross harvest of the major technical crops, flax and sugar beets, will be more than doubled. By the end of 1955 the number of cattle is to be increased twofold, the number of pigs threefold and poultry tenfold.

It is necessary to carry out soil improvement projects for the further development of agriculture. Great areas of swampland of agricultural value—about 700,000 hectares—are in need of drainage. Moreover, a substantial part of the top soil of the republic has too much moisture, and thus not only swamplands but also large areas that are already cultivated need drainage.

Just as in Lithuania, we are faced with the great and complicated task of organizing collective farm settlements in place of isolated farmsteads. The existence of numerous farmsteads creates serious difficulties in the way of organizational and economic strengthening of the collective farms and of carrying out measures for rapid and comprehensive development of socialist agriculture. In order to carry out this work we need aid from the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party and the Union government. ...

Comrades! Comrade Stalin teaches that economic achievements, their effect and their duration, depend entirely upon the level of Party organizational and Party political work. During the years of the Soviet government, the republic Party organization has grown approximately tenfold and it comes to the 18th Party Congress organizationally strengthened, ideologically matured and closely rallied around the Leninist-Stalinist Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party, around the great leader and teacher Comrade Stalin. (Applause.) ...

SPEECH BY COMRADE I. T. GRISHIN, STALINGRAD PROVINCE. (Pravda, Oct. 8, p. 3. 2500 words. Condensed text.)

... In his report Comrade Malenkov spoke with justification of cases of slackening of inner Party work in individual Party organizations. Such cases existed in our Stalingrad Province Party organization. We had serious errors in the province Party committee's methods of leadership in socialist construction. We were carried away by economic problems and permitted Party political work to be forgotten. We were poor in combining Party political and mass agitation work with the solution of concrete tasks of economic construction. All of this led to a weakening of the work of primary Party organizations, to a reduction in Communist activity.

The Party Central Committee and the province committee right. The Party Central Committee's guidance helped our province Party organization to strengthen its effectiveness and activate the Communists and to mobilize the workers of the province for the solution of the tasks set before the province by the Party, government and Comrade Stalin personally.

It is well known that during the war the city of Stalingrad, together with its industry, was razed. The economy of the province suffered extremely. Nevertheless, thanks to the efforts of the workers, people of Stalingrad and the province,

with the daily assistance of all of the Soviet people, the Party, the government and Comrade Stalin, the enormous job of restoring the ruined economy was accomplished in a short time. All of the factories were completely reconstructed and considerably expanded, which permitted a great increase in the output of tractors, steel, rolled metal, barges and ships and also organization of the production of excavators, powerful dredges for the great construction projects, and oil machinery. As early as 1949 we had surpassed the prewar level of gross output.

During the postwar period many residential buildings, with a total area of 1,340,000 square meters of floor space, have been erected. Ninety schools, hospitals, theaters, clubs and seven higher educational institutions have been opened.

Marked improvements have also taken place in agriculture. The province now has 900 amalgamated collective farms, served by 180 Machine and Tractor Stations and 46 Forest Shelter Belt Stations. Improvement in working the land and the application of advanced agrotechnology have enabled the province's collective and state farms to increase the harvests even under unfavorable climatic conditions. As a result, the province's collective and state farms have begun to fulfill the plan for state grain delivery punctually and to provide fully for their own seed and feed requirements, and they have begun to distribute more grain to the collective farmers per workday.

During the current year improvements in the province's farming have been particularly marked. The collective and state farms have gathered one and one-half times last year's harvest of grain and have given the state more than 25,000,000 more poods of grain than last year. Moreover, grain deliveries have been met largely with wheat.

But it is well known that farming in our province has often been subject to the ruinous effects of drought and dry winds. In order to do away with this familiar enemy of farming in the country's southeastern districts and to obtain high, dependable harvests of all crops and increases in the meat and dairy yields of communal livestock, a plan was adopted at Comrade Stalin's initiative to transform nature by means of a network of water projects. Through this plan for vast transformation work in Stalingrad Province, not only the economy but also nature and the climate are being reformed and completely changed. The plan envisaged the construction of the Volga-Don Navigation Canal with reservoirs and an extensive irrigation system and also the Stalingrad Hydroelectric Complex, which should irrigate 675,000 hectares of land and supply 2,000,000 hectares with water on the territory of our province alone.

In addition to this, we are building and must continue to build thousands of ponds and reservoirs and must plant completely or in part six state forest shelter belts of the eight which are projected in the Stalin plan for transforming nature. In the province as a whole afforestation is to be carried out over an area of 700,000 hectares. ...

The Stalin plan for transforming nature is being carried out very swiftly. The Russian people's ancient dream of joining the Volga and the Don has come true. The construction of the Lenin Volga-Don Navigation Canal was completed in the time set by the government. The canal has entered the ranks of operating enterprises.

Construction of the second giant—the Stalingrad Hydroelectric Power Station, with the automatic-flow Volga-Ural Canal—has begun. Last year the builders of the Stalingrad Hydroelectric Complex, fulfilled two years of the plan. By developing socialist competition in honor of our 19th Party Congress, the power station builders are striving to complete the plan ahead of time this year, too.

Great work is being carried on in forest planting. Before adoption of the Stalin plan for transforming nature, forest belts had been planted in the province over an area of 22,000 hectares; now planting has been carried out over an area of 170,000 hectares. Planting 250 kilometers in length has been finished ahead of time in the Kamyshin-Stalingrad state shelter belt. ...

However, I should like to point out that there are some shortcomings in this great work. Above all, it appears to us that preparatory work for complete utilization of the great economic capacity being created by the construction projects of communism is still unsatisfactorily conducted. Some ministries and

planning and research organizations are clearly lagging behind the tasks placed before them by the Party and the government.

The 19th Party Congress draft directives on the Fifth Five-Year Plan devote a great deal of attention to the construction projects of communism. But problems connected with the great hydrotechnical construction works and the enhanced prospects for developing all branches of the economy in the area of these construction projects are so important and exciting that it is necessary to deal more fully with them in the decisions of the Congress.

The hydroelectric power stations will permit industry in the Southeast to develop on a broad scale. Apart from the considerable expansion of enterprises already in existence, the opportunity is appearing to create large new plants and whole branches of industry. Agriculture is also gaining new and unprecedented scope. This obliges all the ministries concerned, the State Planning Committee and scientific institutions to consider beforehand drawing up a complex plan for developing the economy of the country's southeastern districts. It is necessary to look to this in advance so that all of the favorable conditions which will be created here for the growth of industrial and agricultural production may be correctly and fully utilized. Unfortunately, these problems are being solved slowly thus far.

In order to study and prepare economic bases for developing the productive forces in the area of the Stalingrad Hydroelectric Complex there must be created a body of workers of scientific research organizations, academies and interested ministries to outline a more efficient program and deadlines must be set for them to present their proposals to planning bodies.

It would be good for the best study of the productive forces of this economic region to organize in the Southeast a branch of the Academy of Sciences, located, let us say, in the city of Stalingrad. (*Stir in the hall.*)

The large scale of the construction work has demanded a significant increase in output of electric power, an increase in freight shipment and in output of construction materials. Unfortunately, these things are being developed slowly.

Transportation of freight for industry and for construction of power stations is poorly coped with by the railroads. Construction materials, particularly bricks, are sometimes sent from the right bank of the Volga to the left bank by the circuitous route through Saratov. The Ministry of Railroads is too little concerned with the development of the Stalingrad Junction and the improvement of ferrying across the Volga.

Three hundred million bricks are now being produced in Stalingrad but 150,000,000 are needed for construction of the power station alone. Brick is needed for construction of new factories and housing, in addition to the hydroelectric stations. We are already short about 130,000,000 bricks. It is impossible to view such a serious problem as a purely local one. The ministries concerned must provide full assistance to the local organizations in expanding production of building materials.

Some deficiencies exist also in the matter of irrigation of lands in the zone of the Volga-Don Canal. The Ministry of Agriculture and the Ministry of State Farms are to blame for delaying the drafting of plans for the necessary measures in both Rostov and Stalingrad Provinces.

In the coming year we are to receive water for irrigating the first 25,000 hectares of land. Irrigation canals are being built, but the irrigation diagram has not yet been approved. Moreover, the high-voltage line which is to feed power to the pumping stations from the Tsimlyanskaya Hydroelectric Station has not been completed. The Ministry of Agriculture and the U.S.S.R. Ministry of Power Plants cannot seem to come to agreement on cooperative work and on mutual deadlines for construction of the power line.

The great construction projects will make it possible to irrigate and water a huge area. Hence it is necessary to mechanize in every way the tilling of the irrigated lands. This problem is urgent. Yet the Ministry of Agriculture is slow in meeting it. It seems to us that there can be no putting off the need for establishing a special agency—if not a ministry then a chief administration under the U.S.S.R. Council of Ministers—for construction of irrigation systems and development of irrigated lands. It is impossible to handle important matters as a side-line.

Comrade Malenkov's report described major achievements of agriculture, especially in grain. Comrade Malenkov also noted serious defects in leadership in agriculture—stereotyped farming methods, ignorance of remote districts on the part of ministries and local administrative bodies. This is a completely correct charge. In this connection I would like to make one additional complaint addressed to the Ministry of Agriculture. It knows little about the true state of agricultural affairs on the spot and deals with remote districts without differentiation; it is committing a mistake in the Volga region in not conducting a struggle for expanding the sowing of winter wheat.

Our country now needs not grain generally, but the most valuable food crop—wheat. But in the Volga region disputes are now going on among the agricultural specialists as to whether or not to sow winter wheat. And they are hardly sowing it at all, busying themselves more with rye. The experience of our province in the sowing of winter wheat during recent years is viewed skeptically, though winter wheat in our conditions yields high harvests.

In 1945 we sowed only 45,000 hectares of winter wheat, in 1949 215,000 hectares, last year 394,000 hectares, and, despite the unfavorable climatic conditions, the wheat yielded a high harvest; and it is impossible to compare rye, food for poor, with wheat. Our collective farms came to love winter wheat, and last year they sowed about 500,000 hectares. The question arises, what further proof is needed? Yet in the Volga region insufficient winter wheat is still being sown this year. This is a state task, and it is necessary to solve it boldly. ...

SPEECH BY COMRADE A. P. YEFIMOV, Khabarovsk. (Pravda, Oct. 8, p. 3. 1500 words. Condensed text:) ... With the help of the Party Central Committee and our government and with the constant paternal concern of Comrade Stalin, immense work has been accomplished in economic and cultural development in the Far East during the years which have elapsed since the 18th Party Congress. Scores of large industrial enterprises have been built and placed in operation in Khabarovsk Territory; a number of new industries, including coal mining and metallurgy, have been established, and such branches as the machine-building, lumber, fishing and other industries have been greatly expanded. The number of workers employed in industry has greatly increased; the gross production of all industry of the territory has been more than doubled. Rail, water and especially air transport facilities have increased. The length of the trunk railroads has been increased. The city of Khabarovsk is now linked by rail with the new town on the coast of the Gulf of Tatar—Sovetskaya Gavan. The territory is covered by a dense network of new airlines, in consequence of which the former isolation from the mainland of the politically and economically very important areas of Kamchatka, Kolyma, Chukotka and the Okhotsk coast has been ended.

The period between the 18th and 19th Party Congresses and especially the postwar period have been characterized by the further development of capital construction in the territory. During the past two years alone the total of capital investment in various branches of the economy has more than doubled. This is clear evidence of the immense attention which is constantly bestowed by the Party and government on the economic development of the Far East. The working people of Khabarovsk Territory rightly consider their territory to be a huge new Stalinist construction project.

During the years of the Stalin five-year plans, especially in the postwar period, very rich sources of raw material and of power have been discovered in the territory, new deposits of a number of minerals have been found. Great progress has been made in study of the fishing grounds and timber lands. Possessing very rich natural resources, the Far East has great potentialities for considerably increasing its contribution to the Soviet economy in the near future.

In view of all this, I should like to make some comments regarding the further development of the economy of the Far East. It seems to me that some important questions are being tackled with insufficient energy.

The first of these questions is that of further development of the metallurgical base to meet the requirements of all branches of machine building. It is known that precisely this task was set

before the Far East at the 18th Party Congress; this task arises out of the instructions of Comrade Stalin on the development of metallurgy.

The Fifth Five-Year Plan envisages a great increase in the capacity of existing enterprises and the construction of new machine-building plants and shipbuilding and ship repair yards. This will greatly increase the requirements of the Far East for metal products. The development of a home metallurgical base will permit us greatly to promote the economic development of the Far East.

The second question which demands more energetic treatment is that of further development of the lumber industry in the Far East. The fact is that the lumber industry still lags considerably behind the general pace of the development of the economy of the Far East and does not satisfy all its lumber requirements. The Ministry of the Lumber Industry has until now accounted for a relatively inconsiderable share of the total of timber deliveries in the East. The lag in the work of this ministry in developing timber supply has led to a great increase in the number of industrial plants and agencies which act as their own suppliers of timber, thus splitting up the lumber industry among many ministries and departments.

There are serious defects in the distribution of the lumber industry. Up to now not a single province of the Far East meets its needs for lumber, in spite of the fact that in view of their timber resources they could all fully meet their lumber needs through home production. The consequence is irrational and unnecessarily long hauling of timber and heavy additions to cost. For example, every year a great amount of timber is conveyed from the southern districts of Khabarovsk Territory to the Okhotsk coast, to the lower reaches of the Amur, to Kamchatka, Sakhalin and even to Maritime Territory. What this leads to can be seen from the example of Maritime Territory. Although there exist huge local timber resources, imports of lumber by this territory constantly increase. Between 1935 and 1950 total imports of lumber by Maritime Territory increased to more than eightfold and presently comprise more than 1,000,000 cubic meters.

The U.S.S.R. Ministry of the Lumber Industry does not take sufficient measures to eliminate defects in the distribution of lumbering. We consider that in the Fifth Five-Year Plan, together with an increase in lumbering in Maritime Territory, Sakhalin and Khabarovsk Territory, it is necessary to develop the timber industry rapidly on the Okhotsk coast, in the lower reaches of the Amur, in Kamchatka, and also in the region of the Urgal River and the Komsomolsk-Sovetskaya Gavan Railroad.

The Soviet Far East has very rich and varied timber resources. The total reserve of mature timber amounts to more than 8,000,000,000 cubic meters, and the reserve of deciduous timber exceeds 1,500,000,000 cubic meters and constitutes almost a third of the deciduous timber of the U.S.S.R. In such valuable woods as oak, ash, maple, walnut, lime, elm and others, the share of the Far East is even greater. However, these valuable woods, on the cultivation of which immense sums are spent in the European part of the Union, are scarcely used in the Far East. The Ministry of the Paper and Wood Processing Industry has not a single enterprise in Khabarovsk Territory for the processing of deciduous timber. We consider that the lumber industry of Khabarovsk Territory should provide the economy not only with raw materials but also with manufactured articles of wood. For this purpose it is necessary to build prefabricated housing combines, large plywood factories and furniture mills and to organize workshops at the sawmills of the Ministry of the Lumber Industry for processing timber for the production of parquet flooring, parts for machine building and cabinet work for housing. For maximum increase in the output of processed wood and the industrial use of timber scrap it is necessary to provide in the Far East for the building of hydrolysis and chemical works on a big scale.

The decision of these questions is of great importance for the further economic and cultural development of the Far East. Accordingly, we ask the Central Committee and our government to obligate the appropriate ministries and departments to accelerate decision of these questions.

The Communists and working people of the Far East con-

stantly remember that not far from the Far Eastern borders of our great fatherland are American imperialists, thirsting for world domination and trying, to this end, to kindle a new world war. The working people of the Far East, like all the Soviet people, are persistently and by tireless labor for the welfare of the fatherland daily strengthening the might and power of the Soviet state and, together with the soldiers of the heroic Soviet Army and the glorious Soviet Fleet, are vigilantly guarding the Far Eastern borders of the U.S.S.R. from enemies. The Communists and working people of the Far East, under the leadership of the Leninist-Stalinist Central Committee and the great leader and teacher Comrade Stalin, are putting all their strength into fulfilling with honor the tasks assigned by the Party and government in economic and cultural construction, and in this way making their contribution to building communism in our country.

Long live our great Communist Party and our mighty Soviet people, headed by the great leader and teacher Comrade Stalin! (Applause.)

SPEECH BY COMRADE A. I. MGELADZE, GEORGIA.* (Pravda, Oct. 8, pp. 3-4. 3000 words. Condensed text) ... Lenin and Stalin, the leaders and organizers of the Communist Party and of the world's first socialist state, saw the howling of communism's enemies as only a proof of the rightness of the Party and the rightness of its work. The malicious howling of our enemies today, too, is an acknowledgment that we stand on the right path to new victories of communism. It is a fact that the Soviet people, under the leadership of the Party, have converted our land in an unprecedentedly short time from a backward and poor country into the richest and mightiest. As a result, our people have begun to live a free, prosperous and cultured life. It is in our country, the Soviet Union, that for the first time in man's history the new socialist society has been built in which exploitation of man by man has been wiped out and the working people are the complete masters of all the material and cultural benefits. ...

During the period under review Soviet Georgia has taken big strides forward and has radically changed its appearance. ...

On the initiative of Comrade Stalin the Rustavi Metallurgical Plant and the Kutaisi Automobile Plant have been built in Georgia. This has opened up a new page in the history of Soviet Georgia. Today Georgia provides the country with ever-increasing quantities of manganese, steel, rolled metal, coal, machine tools, machinery, articles of the food and light industries, and building materials.

Thanks to the assistance of the Party Central Committee, the Union government and Comrade Stalin personally, new hydroelectric stations have been built in Georgia. Nevertheless, the shortage of electric power in Georgia is still great. Even when the hydroelectric stations now being built come into operation, a shortage of electric power will still exist in 1955.

Questions of hydroelectric station construction are of exceptional urgency for us, for the shortage of electric power hampers the further development of the industry of the republic. Also, we do not fully meet the need for electric power of our municipal, service and trade enterprises and the public. At the same time, the potentialities for hydroelectric construction in Georgia, as is known, are exceptional. We ask the Party Central Committee and the Union government to take note of the serious lag of the power base of Georgia's economy and to help us rectify this situation in the coming years.

Georgia gives the country large quantities of canned foods, volatile oils, high-grade wines, brandies, champagne and mineral water. The output of the food industry will increase sharply in 1955. Thus, more than 69.5% more high-grade wines will be produced as compared with 1950 and 63.7% more brandy, and production of champagne will be increased to 4,000,000 bottles. The quality of the wines and champagne produced will be greatly improved.

The tea industry will receive especially great development. In 1955, 161,000,000 kilograms of tea leaf are due to be grown in Georgia, which means an increase of 66.6% as compared

with 1950. This will guarantee the output in 1955 of more than 41,000,000 kilograms of unprocessed tea.

In order to carry out this task within the coming years in Georgia 26 new tea factories are due to be built, with a total processing capacity of 78,000,000 kilograms of green tea leaf a year, and one tea-pressing factory. ...

Georgian agriculture has been set new and responsible tasks. By 1957 Georgia must finally solve the grain problem and satisfy her requirements with home-produced grain. This task was set us by Comrade Stalin, and the Communists of Georgia are doing everything to meet it. Tens of thousands more hectares of tea are due to be planted; by the end of 1955 the area under tea will amount to 71,591 hectares.

Tea yields must be sharply increased by improvement of the care of every tea plant. We are setting ourselves the task of gathering, within two to three years, from every hectare of fully harvested tea plantation no less than 3000 to 3500 kilograms of green tea leaf.

As is known, the severe frosts of the winter of 1949-1950 brought great losses to the subtropical economy of Georgia, in particular to the citrus plantations, as a result of which the majority of the citrus plantations were ruined. The Union government, on the initiative of Comrade Stalin, decreed measures for the rehabilitation and further development of citrus plantations in the Georgian Republic. Georgian Communists have energetically undertaken to carry out this decree, and already new plantations have been established over an area of 11,012 hectares, of which lemon plantings comprise 4984 hectares, oranges 3418 hectares and tangerines 2610 hectares. The rehabilitation of the citrus plantations on the instructions of Comrade Stalin is being carried out with the best strains of lemons and oranges. Special attention is being given to the growing of lemons, since the lemon is the most valuable of all the citrus fruits.

The new five-year plan provides for a fourfold enlargement in the citrus plantations in Georgia. By the end of 1955 citrus plantations in Georgia will cover 30,000 hectares.

The attention which Comrade Stalin bestows on the development of the subtropical economy puts us under great obligation. We understand very well that nowhere in the Soviet Union are there such wide opportunities for growing the best sorts of lemons, oranges and tangerines as here in Georgia. Carrying out the instructions of Comrade Stalin on further development of citrus-fruit growing, we undertake the obligation to guarantee the supply to the state of 400,000,000 citrus fruits in 1953, 500,000,000 in 1954, 700,000,000 in 1955, of which lemons will comprise 40,000,000 and oranges 25,000,000, and up to 1,000,000,000 in 1957, of which lemons will constitute 100,000,000 and oranges 40,000,000. The Georgian Communist Party organization regards fulfillment of this obligation as a matter of honor. We must place on the tables of Soviet citizens an abundance of tasty, juicy citrus fruits, rich in vitamins. ...

Our agriculture requires a great deal of fertilizer, which up to now has been transported to Georgia from other districts in the country. Now our studies have established that out of poor carbon ores, extracted as a by-product of manganese ores, one can obtain mineral fertilizer of a better quality than ammonium nitrate. If a plant were built to work these ores, about 100,000 tons of high-quality fertilizer could be obtained in a year. This would free the railroads from hauling fertilizer to Georgia. ...

Soviet Georgia would have had far greater successes in the development of the economy and culture, had it not been for the political mistakes and defects in the work of the Central Committee of the Georgian Communist Party. During recent times political heedlessness and obtuseness have been prevalent among a certain section of the Communists. This occurs primarily where there is no real Bolshevik method in the work, where the political training of personnel has been neglected, where there is a lack of self-criticism and criticism from below and thus the ground is made ready for a show of well-being and complacency. In such conditions some officials are infected by political blindness, lose their revolutionary vigilance and are turned into political philistines and dupes. As a result of this there have been instances in Georgia of the insinuation into leading posts of dishonorable, false persons, undeserving of political confidence.

* [For Mgeladze's report to the Georgian Communist Party Congress see pp. 60-70.]

The exceptionally great tasks which have been set us demand the further improvement and perfection of Party organizational and political work, a heightening of revolutionary vigilance, and the elimination of political shortsightedness, heedlessness and obtuseness.

The Georgian Communist Party organization, on the basis of the decision of the All-Union Communist Party Central Committee and the personal instructions of Comrade Stalin, is resolutely putting an end to these defects in its activity.

Comrade Stalin teaches us to develop revolutionary criticism and self-criticism so that the channels of criticism from below may be continuously open.

Comrade Stalin teaches us to be bold in revealing defects and in every way to strengthen the ties of the Party with the masses.

Comrade Stalin teaches us not to allow any negative phenomenon to develop, but to nip it in the bud, so that it may not develop into a serious danger. Punishing one in time saves a hundred. ...

Long live our Leninist-Stalinist Party Central Committee!

Long live the great leader, commander, our teacher, sincerely beloved and dear Comrade Stalin! (*Stormy applause.*)

SPEECH BY COMRADE A. A. FADEYEV, MOSCOW. (*Pravda*, Oct. 8, p. 4. Complete text:) Comrades! Soviet literature can, must and will be the Party's helpmate in the great and noble cause of educating and re-educating the people.

How well is it prepared today to carry out the great new tasks which stand before it? Its achievements are well known. They have manifested themselves particularly during the post-war years and they have been conditioned by the general advance of our socialist economy, by the improvement of the Soviet peoples' material well-being and the significant rise in their cultural level. But even under these favorable conditions, Soviet literature would not have achieved its successes if our party had not pointed out to Soviet literature the correct path of development, through the historic documents on ideological questions, the first of which was the Party Central Committee decree on the magazines *Zvezda* and *Leningrad*. Since this decree the guiding influence of all Party organizations over the development of Soviet literature and arts has risen.

The Party Central Committee and Comrade Stalin justly demand of us Soviet literary men that we study more in the ideological and artistic sense, they generously encourage our successes, patiently point out to us our errors and do everything to arm us politically and help us organizationally.

The great significance of the Party's guiding instructions in the field of literature and arts has manifested itself in particular in the fact that they have assisted in inflicting a crushing blow at manifestations of homeless cosmopolitanism and kowtowing before modern bourgeois pseudo culture, manifestations which have occurred in a certain section of our artistic—and not only artistic—intelligentsia; at each and every manifestation of bourgeois nationalism; at formalist influences, at thoughtless, spiritless creeping over the surface of life and around its back yards.

The Party has inspired literature with the most advanced ideas of the age—with the great ideas of communism. It has focused its attention on Soviet man, building a new society. The Party has united the multinational detachment of our Soviet literature, to which each nationality brings the beauty of its own national form, in one family. It has linked the lofty aims of our art with the most advanced, the highest traditions in national literature, above all, in the literature of the Russian people, with mankind's entire, centuries-long, artistic development, and has pointed the way to limitless improvement and originality on the path of socialist realism. Soviet literature owes all its best creations to these inspiring Party instructions.

The world-historic significance of our literary work is confirmed by the successes in the development of the literature of the people's democracies and of the great people's China. Our experience serves as an example and frequently as a model for the literature of these countries. Relying on what is best and loftiest in their national traditions, these literatures are ever more boldly overcoming the bourgeois influences of various kinds, discarding the formalist rattlings with which modern bourgeois art conceals its brutish,

inhuman substance. These literatures are confidently setting out on the path of realism, on the path of a revolutionary-democratic and socialist literature.

The experience of our literature serves also as an example and frequently as a model for progressive writers in the countries of capitalism—in Western Europe and on the American continent. Today it is they, these progressive writers, who voice the national interests of their peoples, expose the warmongers and enslavers of the working people, and glorify the best sons of their peoples. Our friends in Western Europe and in America are carrying on this noble work despite the malicious howling of the literary bondsmen of imperialism, despite the incomprehension, vacillations and doubts of that section of the intelligentsia which is still unable to overcome the views and customs instilled in it. The reactionary bourgeois governments trample on the progressive national literature of their countries and try not to let the advanced literature through to the people, but instead servilely open the way for American "reading matter."

We want to tell all our friends and brothers in the West and in America that our Soviet people highly esteem their ideological-artistic achievements. In our country we translate lovingly and with pleasure the works of the writers of the people's democracies and people's China, of the progressive writers of the countries of capitalism, and will translate them more and more extensively and in greater quantity. On Comrade Stalin's initiative, the best of these writers have been awarded Stalin Peace Prizes and Stalin Prizes for outstanding achievements in literature and art. We are proud that the Russian language has become the language in which all of the world's honest writers can now secure a universal platform and a just appreciation of their work. (*Applause.*)

In the light of the world-historic significance of our literary work, the shortcomings of our literature, of which Comrade Malenkov rightly spoke in his report, become even more distinct and inadmissible. As I have already had occasion to say at the Moscow Province Party conference, the old Russian proverb, "Easier said than done," is no longer applicable. Things are being done in the country at an unheard-of pace, but the saying is lagging by default of the writers (*laughter*), is lagging in the eyes of the whole people.

This lag is particularly manifested in such fields as the cinema, theater and opera. The lack of good scenarios, plays and librettos is considerably retarding development of these fields. Drama—works for the stage and screen—constitutes one of the most difficult kinds of literature, and it is not accidental that certain general weaknesses of Soviet literature have manifested themselves most strongly in this field. Comrade Malenkov was absolutely right in saying that, in showing the struggle of what is new and advanced with what is old and obsolescent, Soviet literature is by no means profoundly, fearlessly and honestly disclosing the contradictions, difficulties and shortcomings of our victorious advance. Without showing the clash of contradictions, without conflicts, there can be neither drama nor comedy.

A false theory took hold among some of our writers and critics and served to conceal and justify this weakness of Soviet literature or, rather, to draw Soviet literature away from exposing enemies of our cause within the country—all kinds of thieves, careerists, toadies, bureaucrats, deceivers, individualists and grabbers; this theory held that there should be no conflict in the plays and films of our country, where everything is advancing toward the better, so to speak—and this absence of conflict, it was claimed, is the new element which distinguishes Soviet drama from the old drama.

We in the Union of Writers did not realize the full harm of this theory and did not refute it in time. Meanwhile this theory took root among a number of officials of publishing houses, magazines, theaters, the Ministry of Cinematography, the Committee on Affairs of the Arts and the Union of Writers, and thereby exerted a baneful influence on the development of our literature, and particularly of all kinds of drama.

It was necessary for Comrade Stalin to intervene in order to bring about exposure of this theory in the press and in the Union of Writers.* But unfortunately by no means all of the

* [See Current Digest of the Soviet Press, Vol. IV, No. 11.]

deductions to be drawn from the Party criticism of this false theory have been carried to their full conclusion. It is our fault that the essence of the matter has not been sufficiently thoroughly explained to the writers. This, strictly speaking, accounts for the fact that although some change for the better is evident, although two or three dozen generally good plays and scenarios have been written and are already being prepared for production or are being screened, there are still very few outstanding works. Comrade Malenkov's report again disclosed this shortcoming in our literature with great profundity and this will help us to advance Soviet drama and screen writing more successfully.

Of great significance for all Soviet literature is the thesis developed in Comrade Malenkov's report on typical and characteristic phenomena in our life and on the weak depiction of the typical in our literature. Indeed, weakness in the portrayal of typical characters is almost the principal failing of Soviet literature. This manifests itself particularly disastrously in drama, because living contradictions must be expressed in drama and comedy as a struggle of characters. The writer who is unable to portray our people fully is also wary of portraying hostile and backward people fully. This, in particular, explains the feebleness of our satire. To present full-blooded characters in literature, typical advanced and backward people—this enormously important political problem is at the same time a high artistic problem. It is a matter of honor for Soviet writers to solve it.

The serious shortcomings discussed above, often multiplied by slipshod work, and the scornful attitude of some Soviet men of letters toward training and artistic craftsmanship are due to the low level of work on the ideological and artistic training of writers, particularly in the Union of Writers itself.

With the help of the Party and the Soviet public, tens and hundreds of writers of the younger and older generation have turned their faces toward life, toward the present, during the postwar years. But it cannot be said that we have yet succeeded in turning the entire multinational detachment of Soviet writers and critics toward a study of contemporary life. Many writers do not study life with sufficient depth or do not fully comprehend what they see. There are few among us who have actually studied Marxism-Leninism deeply, systematically and seriously in order to portray life with genuine understanding of the laws of its development. There are few writers with rounded knowledge, and this we rightly demand of Soviet writers. Even the leading cadres of the Writers' Union, both in Moscow and locally, are poorly equipped with theoretical and general knowledge. The need for cadres to study, of which Comrade Malenkov spoke, also applies in significant measure to the Writers' Union cadres. It is this shortcoming which explains the fact that we have not succeeded in profoundly applying to literature Comrade Stalin's brilliant work, "Marxism and Problems of Linguistics," have not succeeded in applying it to development of the language of literature.

Why hide our sins? Survivals of clique attitudes, clannishness and friendly personal relations among writers and workers of the arts still greatly influence the evaluation of literature and art. At the same time, the majority of Soviet writers and workers of the arts have amassed great ideological and artistic experience. It is necessary to pay greater heed to their voice, to their evaluation of works. Criticism from below, criticism of literary and art work and of the activity of all of our organizations by workers of literature and the arts themselves is a very important, very essential aspect of the criticism of us expressed by the Party and the people. It is a matter of honor for leaders of writers' and art workers' organizations to encourage criticism from below.

It would be a great mistake to think that the Writers' Union alone can cope with the problem of the ideological and artistic training of writers. This problem requires all Party organizations, all our Soviet press, all bodies dealing with various fields of the arts, first, to set more exacting demands for literature and the arts and to be more consistent in holding writers and workers of the arts to these standards, and, second, to help writers' organizations in their work on the ideological and artistic training of writers.

There is nothing surprising in the fact of criticism of one another by the Ministry of Cinematography, the Committee on Affairs of the Arts and the Union of Writers. They are now

bound by the same rope of a common effort, which thus far is not going well. (Laughter.) Incidentally, all these organizations are at fault in that they are guiding creative work bureaucratically, from above, and do not coordinate their activities. They do not see their common obligations in the ideological and artistic training of script writers and playwrights, do not encourage initiative from below, from the writers and workers of the arts themselves, in creative concord among theaters, film studios and writers. Yet living art can only develop in this creative fashion, if this process is skillfully guided.

Among local Party leaders are some who think of literature and the arts only when it is a matter of the awarding of Stalin Prizes or in connection with Party conferences at which, willy-nilly, certain manifestations have to be praised and others attacked.

One also cannot forget that the training of talented people begins in the school. In conjunction with the study of literature, it is necessary to cultivate esthetic taste and artistic knowledge in all young people, and, in order to do this, the methods of teaching literature in the schools, and especially in our teachers' training institutes, need a great deal of revision. We have many fine teachers, who love literature and know how to teach it. However, literature cannot, as so often happens in our schools and pedagogical institutes, be regarded as merely affording illustrative reading for history or for this or that sociological situation, without any allusion to the fact that literature is beautiful. We have many young and talented writers with artistic weaknesses for which the schools are to blame.

Thus, the task of the ideological and artistic training of writers is the task of the whole Party and the public as a whole.

Comrades! The criticism of the work of writers and their organizations, which we now hear more and more frequently, reflects the demands made upon our literature by the public. We regard the straightforward, just and inspired criticism which rang forth from this rostrum in Comrade Malenkov's report as a fresh expression of the Party's assistance in our work, and will make every effort to improve the state of affairs.

We Soviet writers are happy and proud of the fact that we are led by such a party as our great Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the party of Lenin and Stalin. We are grateful to Comrade Stalin for his aid and teaching, and assure him that we are devoting all our efforts to the cause of the creation of a literature of the new communist world, of a literature which will be a beacon for our free peoples and for all the peoples of the earth. (Prolonged applause.)

SPEECH BY COMRADE V. M. ANDRIANOV, LENINGRAD.

(Pravda, Oct. 8, pp. 4-5. 2900 words. Condensed text:) ... The historic decree adopted on Comrade Stalin's initiative by the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party on the magazines Zvezda and Leningrad has been a program of action for progress in all ideological work in the Leningrad Party organization. ... But it would be incorrect to delude ourselves and to underestimate the serious shortcomings which we still have in this very important sector of Party work. ...

The technique and plant and personnel of the Leningrad machine-building industry have reached a level where production of any machinery at all has become a feasible task.

This allows for improving the qualitative indices of industrial work, for raising the productivity of labor and for increasing the output of goods 50% in comparison with 1940 with a considerably lower number of workers (approximately 100,000 fewer).

Scientists are helping considerably in technological progress. ...

Comrades! Leningrad industry could operate much better if existing shortcomings were eliminated and the work was more efficiently organized. Many enterprises still operate irregularly and tolerate breakdowns and last-minute rush. ...

We have tried to find out what is the trouble here and what prevents normal operations in the machine-building industry. Serious shortcomings in planning, supply and coordination of production have an unfavorable influence on the work of enterprises and conceal shortcomings in the work of the enterprises.

Let us take the Stalin Plant under the Ministry of Heavy Machine Building as an example. This enterprise is one well known to the country; but it will be hard put to fulfill the program

for this year. Why? The chief reason is unsatisfactory planning and supply.

In the current year the plan for the plant has been augmented 80% without adding productive capacity or manpower. Such an increase in the program has not frightened the plant's staff, although without doubt the plant needs more equipment and manpower. The work is made more difficult by the negligence of the Ministry of Heavy Machine Building in providing the plant with supplies.

The government and the Party Central Committee charged the ministry to settle the problem of supply for the plant, but the task is still not met; very little has been done by the ministry. In nine months the Stalin Plant received 56,776,000 rubles less in semimanufactured goods than it should have under the supply system.

There are many great shortcomings in planning the metal supply. This can be seen from the following examples alone. Paradoxical as this sounds, about 100,000 tons of metal are being shipped from Leningrad, whereas Leningrad itself could use at least half of this metal and even more than that if the planning were reorganized.

A second example. Leningrad receives from 7000 to 7500 tons of nails, sent entirely from the South and the Urals, while there is a plant in Leningrad which produces 7000 tons of nails and ships its entire output to points outside Leningrad. A third example. There are two tool plants in Leningrad with annual output amounting to 130,000,000 rubles, but Leningrad enterprises—and, as you know, we have many machine-building enterprises—receive tools valued at a total of 7,000,000 to 8,000,000 rubles; the remainder is shipped to other cities. Moreover, tool manufacture not organized by special enterprises is done by outmoded methods and for some time has been costing the state a pretty sum. Therefore, in connection with the discussion of the Party Central Committee's materials for the 19th Party Congress, managers of enterprises have quite justly raised the question of the need for centralized production of standard tools.

Personnel have a decisive importance in the struggle to carry out tasks of technical progress and the even operation of enterprises. Despite the general rise in the cultural and technical levels and skills of workers and engineering and technical personnel, the job of training industrial personnel lags behind the tasks set in this area. Many engineers with diplomas have taken jobs, but at the same time a large number of engineering and technical positions at important enterprises are held by practical workers who do not have the theoretical training. For example, a large number of positions at the Kirov and Stalin Plants are held by practical workers. The situation is no better at a number of other enterprises. True, those holding these positions are the most experienced and it is undoubtedly necessary to keep them, but training must be organized for them. Accordingly, enterprises have made many proposals to restore study combines, if only at large-scale enterprises, such as there were before the war. At that time the enterprises' study combines not only had schools and courses to increase the workers' skills, but also evening technical schools and higher educational institutions. ...

Research institutions often waste money and efforts on problems which were worked out long ago, and there is unnecessary duplication of work.

Sometimes this occurs not only as the fault of the institutes themselves, but also as the result of poor information on technical developments and the absence of proper guidance. The work of research institutions is poorly directed within ministries and departments, one can say, and, there is no guiding hand from outside the departments. The State Planning Committee does not touch the research institutions. The research institutions need to be informed of technical developments and require qualified direction for their work.

There are also shortcomings in the work of introducing and using innovations and inventions in production. The Congress' directives on the Fifth Five-Year Plan should deal more fully with technical progress, with the participation of scientists in the struggle for technical progress and with increasing responsibility for introducing and using inventions and innovations in production. Administrative economic personnel must know about scientific and technical discoveries in their areas of work.

Comrades! The Party, the government and Comrade Stalin personally devote great attention to the development of agriculture and give constant guidance to Party organizations in working out the chief task in agriculture. The question of further agricultural development in the northwestern provinces must be raised. It is known that the northwestern provinces, including Leningrad Province, have adequate moisture; they can produce high and stable yields and can establish a good feed base for animal husbandry. But to do this land amelioration must be organized. The land in the northwestern provinces is quite swampy, rocky and covered with shrubbery. Suffice it to say that land reclamation and clearing potential agricultural land of stones and shrubbery in three provinces alone—Leningrad, Pskov and Novgorod—would permit us to increase considerably the amount of arable land, by up to 3,000,000 hectares and even more. The land which is considered suitable at present is actually of little use, particularly for the employment of machinery. The difficulty is that we have very little machinery for removing stones, for stump pulling and for clearing the land of shrubbery and underbrush, and a shortage of machinery for land reclamation. If the problems of mechanizing reclamation work are correctly met, the potential agricultural land in these provinces can be converted into broad expanses for tractors and combines, can bring high and stable yields and can establish a dependable feed base for animal husbandry.

Comrades, the tasks set in the Party Central Committee's report and in its materials published before the Party Congress call for raising the level of Party leadership, for improving inner Party ideological work and for furthering cadres' practical knowledge of the work entrusted to them. The Leningrad Party organization is doing everything to arm each Communist with wise Stalinist teaching and is mobilizing all its efforts and knowledge for fulfillment of the Stalin plan for a gradual transition from socialism to communism and for fulfillment of the tasks which will be set by the 19th Party Congress. ...

Hail to the great party of Lenin and Stalin, which is resolutely and confidently leading the Soviet people to communism!

Long live our great leader, whose brilliant genius lights up the path to communism, ardently beloved Comrade Stalin! (Prolonged applause.)

SPEECH BY COMRADE Zh. SHAYAKHMETOV, KAZAKH REPUBLIC.* (Pravda, Oct. 8, p. 5. 2600 words. Condensed text:) ... In the period since the 18th Party Congress the number of industrial enterprises in Kazakhstan has increased 24%, including 66% for enterprises of large-scale industry. The gross output of all industry has increased 3.8 times. During this period the extraction of coal and oil, the production of lead and blister copper and the generation of electric power have increased severalfold. The length of railroad lines has increased 61%.

Agriculture has also been further developed. The sown area has increased 42%; the number of head of livestock, the capacity of the tractor park and the volume of mechanized work done on collective farms have more than doubled. ...

The Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party has set the Kazakh Party organization a fighting task—to increase the gross output of agriculture twofold to threefold in the next few years. This task follows entirely and completely from the draft directives of the 19th Party Congress on the Fifth Five-Year Plan, and we shall take every measure for carrying out this fighting task.

In this connection I wish to dwell on certain problems in developing agriculture in the republic, particularly animal husbandry. The fulfillment of state plans for developing animal husbandry and for raising meat and dairy yields, aside from all other questions, depends primarily on a stable feed base. But our feed base lags far behind the rate of growth of the numbers of communal livestock. During the period under review the number of all kinds of livestock in the republic's collective farms increased 231.2%, whereas the feed supply increased only 14.5%.

* [For the speech by Zhumabai Shayakhmetov at the Sixth Congress of the Kazakh Communist Party, see pp. 73-77.]

The existence in the republic of tremendous areas of uninhabited or little-occupied seasonal pastures creates the illusion that the feed resources of Kazakhstan are unlimited. However, the dependable feed base is quite limited. The situation is particularly bad in supplying feed for livestock of collective farms in large-scale livestock-raising areas, where inadequate rainfall makes it difficult to build up even feed reserves for emergencies.

The sowing of grasses should play a decisive role in creating a dependable feed base; however, the U.S.S.R. Ministry of Agriculture takes an incorrect stand on this very important matter. For instance, the three-year plan for developing communal animal husbandry set our republic the task of sowing 550,000 hectares of perennial grasses in 1951, but the ministry approved [a task of] only 360,000 hectares. The draft of the Fifth Five-Year Plan envisages bringing 2,250,000 hectares under perennial grasses in the republic by the end of the five-year plan, but the U.S.S.R. Ministry of Agriculture has planned for 1,100,000 hectares. This not only does not promote establishment of a stable feed base but hinders the introduction and mastery of correct grass crop rotations.

The next essential condition for establishing a stable feed base is the organization of artificial irrigation of hay crops, particularly in livestock-raising areas. Taking this into account, the Council of Ministers and the Kazakh Communist Party Central Committee in the 1951-1952 period did a great deal of work on extending flood plain irrigation, which comprises 1,300,000 hectares in the collective farms and 230,000 in the state farms. However, the U.S.S.R. Ministry of Agriculture has not given the republic any assistance in carrying out this important measure. The U.S.S.R. Ministry of Agriculture knew about the great amount of work being done in the republic; but instead of supporting this initiative it planned flood-plain irrigation for an area of only 10,000 hectares in 1952.

It must be stressed that in the conditions of Kazakhstan further expansion of the irrigated area planted to cotton, sugar beets, tobacco and other crops and also increase in the irrigated land sown to pasturage and hay crops depend on widespread construction work to set up water and irrigation installations. Despite this, the U.S.S.R. Ministries of Cotton Growing and Agriculture are giving insufficient assistance in the construction of water resources installations. Such an important irrigation installation as the Kzyl-Orda Dam has been under construction for ten years, but its completion is still not in sight. The U.S.S.R. Ministry of Cotton Growing is also at fault for the impermissible delay in drawing up the plans for the construction of the Arys-Turkestan Canal and for extending the Kirov Canal, both of which are in the Zakh-Kanymsk system, and other installations.

Such very important water resources installations as the Ull, the Kargaly and the Irgiz in Aktyubinsk Province, the Char in Semipalatinsk Province, the Turpai in Kustanai Province, the Tokrau in Karaganda Province, the Baskan in Taldy-Kurgan Province and the flooding of land in the lower reaches of the Syr-Darya, Lepsa, Karatal and Aksu Rivers have decisive importance in establishing a stable feed base in regions of the republic where there is large-scale livestock raising. But, despite the government's instructions, the U.S.S.R. State Planning Committee and the U.S.S.R. Ministry of Agriculture have excluded these projects from the construction plan.

The republic's Machine and Tractor Stations do not concern themselves with any livestock work except hay harvesting. And as for hay harvesting they are not doing this work in full, either. For example, the republic's M.T.S. mowed 7,635,000 hectares of hay crops out of 19,000,000 in 1951, or 40% of the total area under hay crops. In addition, the most labor-consuming jobs, such as harrowing, were done over an area of 1,163,000 hectares, or 6%; hay rickling and stacking was done over an area of only 32,000 hectares in all. This situation leads to late gathering of mowed grasses and to a sharp reduction in the quality of feed stored.

Although there is high mechanization in other branches of the national economy, the basic and most labor-consuming processes in animal husbandry—feed preparation, the construction of livestock shelters, milking, watering cattle, etc.—are practically not mechanized. Despite this fact, the U.S.S.R. Ministry of Agriculture does not spread the experience of local organizations in mechanizing animal husbandry work and in establishing a stable feed base, and inhibits their initiative in these

matters. Thus the ministry lags behind the demands made on it.

The interests of further developing animal husbandry on the collective and state farms urgently require serious and more decisive work in mechanizing animal husbandry, as has been done in field work. Therefore, the following measures should be carried out.

First, all problems of animal husbandry should be entrusted to the M.T.S. For this purpose it is necessary to re-organize the M.T.S., bearing in mind that at present the M.T.S. staffs do not include a single zootechnician or veterinarian. It is essential to place the entire zootechnical and veterinary system under the control of the M.T.S. and the Animal Husbandry Machinery Stations since the district departments of agriculture do not direct the system and it actually operates without direction.

Second, the M.T.S., the Animal Husbandry Machinery Stations and the Amelioration Machinery Stations should be equipped with the machinery necessary for animal husbandry work. In this connection it must be said that the U.S.S.R. Ministry of Agricultural Machine Building scarcely concerns itself with the production of machinery essential to animal husbandry, while the U.S.S.R. Ministry of Agriculture does not fulfill its role of customer placing orders [for machinery]. Thus, the problem of mechanizing labor-consuming processes in animal husbandry are neglected.

Third, a reliable repair base for M.T.S. and Animal Husbandry Machinery Stations should be set up. At present a big discrepancy has arisen between the amount of equipment and tractors on hand and the number of well-equipped machine shops. The M.T.S. each year add complex agricultural machinery, but the repair base remains at its previous level.

Fourth, training and refresher training of machine operators of all levels of skill should be reviewed, since the machine operators lag in numbers and skills behind the production and distribution of complex agricultural machinery.

Thus, all problems of agriculture must be entirely and completely concentrated in the M.T.S. and the Animal Husbandry Machinery Stations; they must be made the centers for solving all the problems in developing the collective farm economy.

The Party organizations in the republic have done a great deal of work in strengthening collective farm primary Party units. There are now only 20 collective farms in which there are no primary Party units, whereas all the other 3125 collective farms have such units. There is an average of 18 Communists in the primary Party units of collective farms; a large number of Party units have 30 or more Communists. This has made it possible to form Party groups in field and tractor brigades, in livestock-raising and other sections of collective farm production. The Party groups are the mainstays of the collective farm Party organizations in their struggle to strengthen the collective farms organizationally and economically. One hundred fifty-seven of the republic's collective farm Party organizations have secretaries who have been released from other duties. ...

In my opinion, the question of having secretaries released from other duties should be considered by all the primary Party units in collective farms.

Comrades! The Party Central Committee has disclosed great shortcomings and errors committed by the Kazakhstan Party organization in ideological work, primarily in the historical sciences, in evaluating the Kenesary Kasymov movement. We do not intend to put the blame and responsibility for the mistakes on anyone else. Nevertheless, it must be said that the U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences' History Institute has not helped us acquire a correct understanding of these questions but, on the contrary, has compounded our errors by officially recognizing the Kenesary Kasymov movement as a national liberation movement, although it was reactionary and monarchic from beginning to end.

The Kazakh Republic Communist Party organization has made Comrade Stalin's inspired work, "Marxism and Problems of Linguistics," and the historic resolutions by the All-Union Communist Party Central Committee on ideological questions the basis of work by Party units and scholarly institutions and is doing a great deal to correct the errors made. In 1952 there were a number of discussions and conferences on urgent

questions of literature studies, linguistics and the character of the national movement in prerevolutionary Kazakhstan.* This enabled us to raise correctly and to interpret scientifically many critical problems in the history of language and literature and to treat them from a correct Marxist-Leninist standpoint. We will continue to wage a resolute struggle against all manifestations of nationalism, to strengthen friendship among peoples and to cultivate a high feeling of Soviet patriotism and internationalism among the working people in the republic. ...

SPEECH BY COMRADE L. I. BREZHNEV, MOLDAVIAN REPUBLIC. (Pravda, Oct. 8, pp. 5-6. 2900 words. Condensed text:) ... The years which have passed between the 18th and 19th Party Congresses have been marked by outstanding events in the life of the Moldavian people. Thanks to the wise domestic policy of the Bolshevik party and the Soviet government and thanks to Comrade Stalin's constant concern for the future of the Moldavian people, the working people of Bessarabia were liberated from the colonial yoke and the Moldavian people were reunited into a single national state in 1940. The Moldavian Soviet Socialist Republic was formed and entered the family of fraternal peoples of the Soviet Union. This historic event will never be erased from the Moldavian people's memory; from generation to generation through the centuries the Moldavian people will glorify and pass on the name of their liberator, the great Stalin. (*Prolonged applause.*)

It was not so long ago, under the Rumanian boyars and their masters, the American and Anglo-French imperialists, that Bessarabia was a devastated region under the sway of a colonial regime and feudal relationships.

Agriculture, the mainstay of the region, had been brought to a catastrophic state. Three-fourths of all the peasants' farms were of such little use that they could not support their families for even six months out of the year.

As regards industry, it was deliberately not developed in Bessarabia. More than 500,000 dispossessed farm workers wandered from district to district in Bessarabia looking for work. Thousands of Moldavians had to flee Bessarabia to save themselves from poverty, hunger and brutal political terror.

The well-known French writer and revolutionary Henri Barbusse, who visited Bessarabia in those years, wrote in his book "The Hangmen" that the occupation began a new era of suffering and want for Bessarabia. He called everything he saw there the Bessarabian tragedy.

The liberation of the Bessarabian working people from the colonial yoke aroused in the people mighty revolutionary initiative and creative drive toward a new life. But the treacherous attack by the Hitlerite invaders interrupted the creative labors of the Moldavian people. The fascist monsters brought disaster and misfortune again to the Moldavian working people.

Eight years have passed since the heroic Soviet Army drove the German fascist invaders from Moldavia. During this time the Moldavian people in the fraternal family of Soviet peoples depended on their aid, above all, on the aid of the great Russian people. Surrounded by the constant attention and concern of our Party Central Committee, of our Union government and of Comrade Stalin personally, the Moldavian people were able to attain considerable success in advancing the republic's economy and culture. The rapid growth of socialist industry in the republic is indicated by the fact that the capital assets of industry grew considerably in the postwar period and gross output increased severalfold.

During this period a number of enterprises of Union jurisdiction and importance have been established. A large-scale enterprise for producing cognac and champagnes is being built.

Moldavia has extensive gardens and vineyards and is an important region of the country for wine-making and for producing canned goods. This branch of industry is the primary one in the republic's industry.

It must be said that our collective farmers and canning industry workers have done well during these years. The output of canned goods has increased 21 times since the war. In 1951 the

canning industry produced approximately 115,000,000 tins of canned goods. This means that in 1951 the Moldavian Republic produced almost 50% more canned goods than the industry of Tsarist Russia.

During these years the processing of grapes has also increased significantly. In 1945 1,280,000 decaliters of grape mash were processed, while in 1951 7,540,000 decaliters were processed. ...

The collectivization of agriculture and the invaluable assistance our collective farms received from the government have made it possible to raise the gross yield of all agricultural output, including grapes, fruits and vegetables. For a long time this fact was ignored by the U.S.S.R. Ministry of the Food Industry; until recently the ministry took very few steps to utilize these raw materials more fully for the food industry. For instance, the existing canneries in Moldavia could produce an additional 50,000,000 tins of various canned goods per year with their present equipment if the Ministry of the Food Industry, taking into account the increasing raw material from the collective farms, were to make comparatively small expenditures on the canneries immediately and if it were to build simple installations, not requiring complex equipment, for processing and storing fruits and semifinished products.

This would not only supply us with additional output but would also lower its cost, improve the work of enterprises and eliminate the seasonal nature of this work, while equipment and manpower in the canneries would be utilized more efficiently.

It must be said that the Ministry of the Food Industry has not truly evaluated its factories' reserves. The Ministry of the Food Industry underestimates the discrepancy arising in the republic between the volume of capital investments in the food industry and the material-technical base of building organizations. Strong designing organizations have still not been set up in the republic. Therefore, we greatly need the help of this ministry and the U.S.S.R. State Planning Committee in planning and promptly drafting a number of projects for industrial enterprises, building trades enterprises and housing construction.

In 1952 the Party Central Committee, the government and Comrade Stalin studied the prospects for developing the republic's food industry. About 1,000,000,000 rubles will be invested in capital construction alone in this branch of the Moldavian Republic's industry. The construction of new factories and the reconstruction of existing enterprises to increase their capacity is envisaged; the electric power base is being enlarged and storage facilities expanded.

Before us in this five-year plan there stands the task of increasing the output of canned goods to 250,000,000 tins. ...

Today 98% of the peasant farms have been united in the collective farms. The collective farms own 99% of all the cultivated land. ...

Powerful machinery has already made it possible this year to do 70% of all agricultural work with Machine and Tractor Station manpower and equipment, and plowing and sowing has been 80% to 90% mechanized. Mechanization of agriculture has raised the productivity of collective farming, has improved farming standards, has increased the percentage of marketed output of collective farm fields and has increased the gross output of socialist agriculture.

During the first postwar five-year plan the yield of grain crops in the republic has increased by 1.5 times. Technical crops have been considerably expanded. The area sown to sugar beets has increased more than sevenfold during this period. In 1952 the republic's collective farms will deliver 1,000,000 tons of sugar beets to the state. To obtain a yield of not less than 265 centners of sugar beets per hectare by the end of the Fifth Five-Year Plan is a state task which Moldavian collective farmers will fulfill with honor.

The collective farm peasantry of the Moldavian Republic is interested in the cultivation of a new crop, cotton, which was introduced in our agriculture three years ago.

Communal animal husbandry is growing steadily. As a result of fulfillment of the three-year state plan for developing communal animal husbandry, the number of head of collective farm cattle increased seven times; sheep and goats five times and pigs 8.3 times.

The increase in deliveries of agricultural output to the state

* [For articles on the history of national movements in Kazakhstan, see Current Digest of the Soviet Press, Vol. II, No. 52, pp. 14-16; Vol. III, No. 17, pp. 11-12, 18; No. 31, pp. 3-6; No. 42, pp. 14-15.]

to the result of a growth in the commodity (marketable) output of our collective farms. In comparison with 1947, the 1951 delivery of grain to the state increased four times, of grapes eight times, of fruit 6.5 times, of sugar beets seven times, of tobacco 2.5 times and of meat 4.5 times.

The earnings of the collective farms are increasing annually and the level of well-being and culture of the Moldavian peasantry is being raised. The innovations of 1949 are our collective farmers' steadily growing incomes in money and in kind. In two years alone, from 1949 to 1951, the number of collective farms which earned incomes of more than 1,000,000 rubles rose almost tenfold. To day every third collective farm in the republic has an income of 1,000,000 rubles or more.

The achievements of the Moldavian people in cultural work are also great. Thanks to the consistent concern of the Soviet government and Comrade Stalin personally, illiteracy among the Moldavian population has been eliminated in this period and universal seven-year education for all children has been effected. Today there are 1574 schools in Moldavia, with an enrollment of 421,000 pupils. During these years the number of secondary schools has increased tenfold, while the number of students in the secondary schools has increased almost 25 times. There are 61 higher educational establishments and technical schools in the Moldavian Republic, with an enrollment of 17,500. A branch of the U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences, a state university and 12 research institutes have been set up. Great efforts are being made to improve health care. Cadres of the intelligentsia in the Moldavian Republic are growing. The people, who in centuries were deprived of the opportunity to enjoy the fruits of culture, are now enjoying a free education and are sharing the culture of the great Russian people, the culture of Lenin and Stalin.

SPLENOR BY COMRADE T. L. MURATOV, TATAR AUTONOMOUS REPUBLIC. (Kazan, Sov. Izv., pp. 6-7, 2008-2009. Reprinted text). ... Thanks to the consistent policy of the Party and Government and the paternal care of Comrade Stalin personally, the working people of Soviet Tataria achieved the greatest successes in the period between the 14th and 15th Party Congresses. During the years of the Fourth Stalin Five-Year Plan there was rapid growth of all branches of industry in our republic. In 1951 Tataria's industrial output came to 1,500,000,000 rubles, or 1.5 times as much as in 1946 or 1.1 times as much as in pre-revolutionary 1913. Besides Kazan, ten industrial centers have sprung up in Soviet Tataria and are developing from year to year—Chistopol, Zelenodol, Harsul'a, Na-Plumyanka, Yelabuga, Almetyevsk, Oljok and a number of others.

The Tatar oil industry, created on the initiative of the great Stalin, is developing rapidly. The delegates to the present Congress well know that as far back as the 17th Party Congress Comrade Stalin brilliantly foreseen the enormous possibilities for creating a "second Baku" in the eastern districts and set the concrete task of organizing an oil base in the area of the western and southern slopes of the Ural Mountains. Fulfilling this historic injunction of the great Stalin, Soviet Tataria will provide the country with more and more oil each year.

The plan for oil extraction in our republic for the nine months of 1952 was considerably exceeded. The level of average daily oil output attained in September of this year considerably exceeds the 1950 level. The oil workers of Tataria pledged in a letter to Comrade Stalin to provide 100,000 tons of oil above plan in 1952. They met this pledge with honor by the day of the opening of this Congress. ...

Many Union ministries participate in the development of Tataria's oil industry. First of all, we ask the Ministries of Power Plants, the Lumber Industry, Railroads and Trade to give their organizations in Tataria more effective help in meeting the tasks of developing the oil industry which the government has entrusted to them. We also call upon the U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences immediately to seek practical solution of a number of complicated theoretical problems connected with mastering contour flooding.

Comrades, as a result of the successful fulfillment of the post-war Stalin five-year plan and of the enormous assistance by the Soviet government, the agriculture of Tataria has also achieved

important successes. In town area, the prewar level for wheat has been exceeded 19.1%, for technical crops 3.1%, for vegetable and melon crops and potatoes 6.6%. The three-year plan for developing communal animal husbandry has been overfulfilled. The numbers of communal livestock now considerably exceed the 1940 level. ...

When construction of the Kulbykhev Hydroelectric Power Station is completed, more than 83,000 hectares of meadow land will be flooded. In this connection we ask the government to help the collective farms to compensate for the loss of pasturage due to flooding the meadow land; they plan to compensate for this loss by placing under fodder crops about 70,000 hectares of brush and swamp land and by creating appropriate irrigated areas. ...

Universal seven-year education has been introduced in the republic. More than 473,000 pupils are studying in 3770 schools. There are 13 higher educational institutions, in which 21,912 students, of whom 69% are Tatars, study. The pride of our republic, Kazan's V. I. Ulyanov (Lenin) State University, has grown a great deal. A large network of scientific research institutions has been set up in the republic, headed by the Kazan branch of the U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences. ...

A total of 1504 scientific works in Tataria, including 400 Tatars. In the period between the 14th and 15th Party Congresses the Tatar State Publishing House issued 4951 titles in a total of more than 24,000,000 copies. Publication in the Tatar language of J. V. Stalin's "Works" was a great event in the flood-tidal life of the republic.

The draft directives of the 15th Party Congress on the Fifth Five-Year Plan of development of the U.S.S.R. have placed greater tasks before the Tatar Republic. Suffice it to say that in the Fifth Stalin Five-Year Plan capital investments for development of the oil industry alone will considerably exceed the capital investments in all branches of the republic's industry during the first three Stalin five-year plans. Hundreds of millions of rubles will be invested in works connected with the construction of the largest hydroelectric power station in the world, the Kulbykhev, and a first-class port on the Volga, near the walls of the Kazan Kremlin; on reinforcing the banks of Kazan and other cities; and on preparing beds for future reservoirs. The new five-year plan likewise envisages construction of the Agryz-Penzha-Burgut trunk railroad, running north-south through the eastern part of Tataria. ...

The formation of two provinces in the Tatar Republic—Kazan and Chistopol Province—represents great assistance to our republic by the Party Central Committee, by Comrade Stalin personally. It brings Party and Soviet leadership closer at the lower levels and creates all the necessary conditions for making it living, concrete and effective leadership. ...

Comrades! The great Stalin teaches us not to let successes go to our heads, to see the darker sides of the achievements, to bring to light and decisively to eliminate shortcomings. We realize that there are still many oversights, shortcomings and errors in our work. The Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party, in its decree on the work of the Tatar Province committee, thoroughly revealed the deficiencies in the work of the republic's Party and Soviet organizations. There are still enterprises in Tataria which are not meeting plans, are poor in waging the struggle for profitability and have a great deal of idleness of equipment and manpower, as well as losses from spoilage. Capital construction and particularly housing construction are the most backward sectors.

The principal task facing agriculture—to increase crop yields and the meat and dairy yields—is being unsatisfactorily met in the republic. Party organizations in many districts are still fighting poorly for organizational and economic strengthening of collective farms, for development of their communal economy and for strict observance of the Collective Farm Statutes. As a result the republic still has many economically weak collective farms which fail to fulfill their pledges to the government and make low payments for workdays, especially money payments.

There are serious shortcomings in the organization of Party political and ideological work, and also in the work of professional organizations.

The recent territory Party conference severely criticized basic shortcomings in the work of the territory committee, province committees, city committees and district committees and demanded that these defects

SPEECH BY COMRADE I. G. KEBIN, ESTONIAN REPUBLIC.
(Pravda, Oct. 8, p. 7. 2400 words. Condensed text:)

... Liberated from the yoke of fascism, the Estonian people, under the leadership of the Party Central Committee and of Comrade Stalin personally, with the great help of all the Soviet people, and especially of the great Russian people, in a short period developed their economy and culture on a scale which has made possible the transformation of Soviet Estonia from an agrarian country of small farmsteads, a former appendage of the imperialist powers, into a republic of highly developed industry and large-scale socialist agriculture. Thanks to the constant concern of the Communist Party and of Comrade Stalin personally, Soviet Estonia in a short period achieved profound qualitative changes in industry and agriculture. On the initiative of Comrade Stalin the republic created a mighty shale gas industry which supplies Leningrad with gas; by the beginning of 1953 gas will also be supplied to the capital of the republic, Tallinn.

In an exceptionally short period the Estonian people have raised from the ruins such large-scale enterprises of the textile industry as the Krenholm and Baltic Mills. These enterprises had fallen into decline under the bourgeois regime. During the fascist occupation they were completely destroyed.

The republic's machine-building industry, equipped during the postwar five-year plan with the latest efficient, Soviet machinery, has mastered production of and is producing complicated equipment for the oil, gas and shale industries, electric motors for mines and rolling mills, electrical equipment for high-pressure boilers and a number of other kinds of complicated machinery.

With the growth of industry in the republic, output of electric power is increasing. By the end of the Fourth Five-Year Plan much more electricity was being generated in Soviet Estonia than in bourgeois Estonia. In 1951 the capacity of electric power stations had increased 43% as compared with 1950.

The republic's expanding industry requires more and more electricity. There are very favorable possibilities of further construction of power stations in Estonia to operate on shale gravel, that is, third-rate shale. We hope that the U.S.S.R. government will help construct a large new electric power station, which we need, to operate on shale and to satisfy the growing demand for electric power while at the same time solving the problem of using shale gravel, the accumulation of which will seriously hamper further development of the shale industry. Moreover, by burning third-grade shale in the boilers of electric power stations, it is possible with minimum further cost to obtain from the clinkers binding types of cement of 150 to 200 grade, for our building industry.

Having become convinced of the advantages of collective farming through the example of the peasantry of the fraternal Soviet republics, the Estonian peasantry have rapidly carried out the reorganization of agriculture along new, socialist lines, and have united in large collective farms. This reorganization took place amid furious opposition by the kulaks; remaining kulaks even now have penetrated some collective farms and are trying to undermine them from within. However, the rising vigilance of the collective farming peasantry of Estonia and the strengthened Party and Young Communist League organizations in the Estonian countryside are successfully suppressing these isolated manifestations of kulak opposition.

Amalgamation of the collective farms and also the constant aid granted by the Party and the U.S.S.R. government to the collective farms of the republic have secured a rapid growth of the communal sector. In 1951 the republic's Machine and Tractor Stations performed 45% of all basic work in collective farming and in 1952 the M.T.S. have already assumed 62% of this work. By the end of the five-year plan our farming will be 85% to 90% mechanized.

Could private farming introduce powerful agricultural machinery so quickly? Of course not. But without government help even collective farms could not do this, if one takes into account that we are speaking about the high, growing and improved technology which is replacing the old technology. ... We do not always cope with training cadres of machine operators for agriculture and we still have many shortcomings in this work in the Estonian Republic. ...

Animal husbandry is the leading branch of the republic's

agriculture, constituting the basic marketed output of our collective farms and providing them with large earnings. Construction of cattle barns, which will become future collective farm centers, has begun on a wide scale in the collective farms. However, we must build considerably more than are being built at present.

The fruitful influence of the collective farm system on the pace of development of livestock raising—this most important branch of the republic's agriculture—is clearly evident. Collectivization in the Estonian Republic was completed on the whole in 1950. While the collective farm herd had previously increased through socialization of the cattle of individual peasants entering the collective farms, during 1951-1952 the collective farm herd increased mainly through the raising of younger animals on the collective farms, and our collective farmers' achievements in this are unquestionable. There are now 43% more cattle on the collective farms, 58% more pigs and 65% more sheep than in 1950.

The meat and dairy yields of livestock on the collective farms are also increasing, particularly those of cows. While the average was 1600 litres of milk per cow in 1950, this year we shall obtain not less than 2000 litres per collective farm cow and we shall meet the plan for milk yield. Thus the growth of productivity amounts to 20% as compared with 1950. By the end of the Fifth Five-Year Plan we must and will have a milk yield of not less than 5000 litres average per collective farm cow.

The rapid growth of the herd and growth in its yields require a dependable fodder base. The republic's collective farms are looking after this, as is evident from the following facts. In the past two years the total sown area on the collective farms increased 24%, but in the same period sowings of fodder crops, particularly sowings of perennial grasses, increased more than 33%. The area under potatoes, which in our circumstances are largely a fodder crop, has increased almost 34%. This increase is inadequate, however, for it does not keep up with the rapid increase in the livestock and does not ensure the necessary advance in its meat and dairy yields.

Moreover, the yield of fodder crops is still growing very, very slowly in our republic. In order to provide the herd with pasturage and also to increase the hay crop a great deal of reclamation work is being carried on in our republic. In 1951 and during the present year more than 20,000 hectares of shrub were cleared and meadows and pasture lands improved over an area of almost 42,000 hectares. However, the facilities afforded by the Soviet government are being poorly utilized and amelioration programs are not being fulfilled. In turn this affects the development of livestock raising, particularly its meat and dairy yields. It is a fighting task of Estonian Communists to expand the fodder base. In order to meet this task, amelioration must be conducted on a larger scale than at present. We have little good amelioration machinery. I subscribe to Comrade Andrianov's proposal concerning the necessity of organizing and producing improved amelioration machinery for the northwestern provinces and republics of the Soviet Union.

Along with the rapid development of the economy, the material well-being of the Estonian people is also growing. School buildings, institutes and hospitals destroyed during the war have been restored. Dozens of new schools and hospitals and thousands of homes have been constructed. Entire new cities have sprung up in the shale basin. It must be pointed out, however, that the Ministry of the Coal-Mining Industry is not showing sufficient concern for the cultural and welfare needs of the miners in the Estonian shale basin.

Culture is advancing rapidly in the republic; an Academy of Sciences has been established, and higher education is being rapidly developed. In 1951-1952 two new higher educational institutions were founded—the Agricultural Academy and the Pedagogical Institute. Under the bourgeois clique's rule, few people received higher education in Estonia and even these few sometimes failed to find work. Specialists had to do any kind of manual labor or remain unemployed. Things are different now. During the years of Soviet rule the republic's higher educational institutions have graduated about 5000 engineers, economists, doctors, agronomists and other experts. Yet there is a great lack of specialists. A great many of them are

needed, particularly for our growing agriculture. But the Ministry of Higher Education is not showing sufficient concern for providing higher educational institutions with school buildings and dormitories. For more than three years now it has been choosing a site for the building of the polytechnical institute in our spacious city, but nothing is happening.

In his report Comrade Malenkov pointed out that in some organizations there have been instances of underestimation and even suppression of criticism and thus there was absent a struggle with the various unhealthy phenomena in the work. This observation pertains also to our Estonian Party organization, where the leaders of the Estonian Central Committee and Council of Ministers for quite a long time had fundamental shortcomings and mistakes in work. These were manifest in the absence of a necessary struggle with bourgeois nationalism. Bolshevik principles of selection of personnel were not observed; there were instances of suppression of criticism.

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union opportunely disclosed these serious deficiencies and mistakes, helped our Party organization eliminate them and improved all the Party work. Carrying out the decision of the Party Central Committee, historic for our Party organization, on the deficiencies and mistakes in the work of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Estonia, the Party organization of the republic achieved significant advances in the development of the economy and culture. However, it is impossible to say that we have already ended all the deficiencies in the development of criticism and self-criticism, especially criticism from below. There are many shortcomings in our work and only on the basis of criticism and self-criticism is it possible to end them. ...

SPEECH BY COMRADE L. P. BERIA. (Pravda, Oct. 9, pp. 7-8. Complete text.) Comrade L. P. Beria, in his report delivered by Comrade Malenkov sums up the results of our party's activities between the 18th and 19th Congresses. During this period there were two events which played a special role in the life of our party and of the Soviet people. I wish to dwell on them.

The first event was the great patriotic war.

In that war the fate of our homeland and of the states and peoples of Europe and Asia was at stake. It is clear to all that if the Hitler coalition had won this would have led to monstrous enslavement and extermination of the peoples of our country and of many other countries. Hundreds of millions of persons would have been reduced to slavery. The fascist barbarians would have destroyed modern civilization and would have set mankind back many decades.

That this did not happen is primarily because the peoples of the Soviet Union scored a complete victory in mortal combat with the fascist marauders. The suddenness of the perfidious attack on the U.S.S.R. created conditions favorable for the Hitler forces in the early stages of the war. But the Soviet Union battled for its independence, routed the enemy who had terrorized the armies of Europe, and saved mankind and its civilization through tremendous sacrifice and supreme exertion, mobilizing all the material and spiritual resources of the people.

The inspirer and organizer of the Soviet people's great victory was the Communist Party, led by Comrade Stalin. (Prolonged applause.) From the first days of the war, when our homeland was in a particularly difficult position, Comrade Stalin headed the State Defense Committee and the country's armed forces. With outstanding courage our wise and fearless leader led the Soviet Army and the entire Soviet people through the fire of battles, hardships and the trials of war to victory over the enemy. It was extremely fortunate for our party and for all the peoples of the U.S.S.R. that Comrade Stalin headed the Soviet state and its army during this difficult period. (Stormy, prolonged applause.)

The Soviet people's victory showed the world that the strength and might of our socialist state are invincible.

This is one of the most important lessons of the great patriotic war. True, not everyone has profited by the lessons of history. The American imperialists, who have grown fat on two world wars and have become drunk with the insane notion that they can dominate the world, are again driving the peoples into the abyss of a world war.

The present bosses of the U.S.A.—the Morgans, Rockefellers, Mellons, du Ponts et al.—who control the American state and military machine, are speeding the formation of new world monopolies such as the European Coal-Steel Community and the world oil cartel in order to take over the economies of other states and to subordinate them to their own interests as rapidly as possible. They want to establish their complete domination in all parts of the world in order to ensure superprofits for themselves through looting and enslaving the peoples of other countries. For this they must have war, and in order to prepare for war American big capital, in collusion with the American military, is assuming all the functions of a fascist regime to suppress in its own country the people's desire to maintain peace and to stifle all opposition to its adventurous policy. As they drive the country along the road to war, they calculate at the same time that an arms race and a war footing will enable them to ward off an economic crisis. But this crisis is advancing inexorably on the U.S. economy, and no stratagems or adventures by the financial tycoons will prevent it. They are accelerating the arms race and have shifted their entire economy to preparations for war, fearing peace more than war, though there is no doubt that by unleashing a war they will only hasten their own downfall and doom. (Applause.)

In spreading a network of military bases throughout the world and intensively forging all kinds of aggressive military blocs, they are feverishly preparing for war against the U.S.S.R. and other peace-loving states. They constantly send spies and saboteurs, picked the world over from the corrupt drops of humanity, into our country and other peace-loving countries. The vigilance of the Soviet people is a very sharp weapon in the struggle against enemy spies. There is no doubt that by increasing and heightening their vigilance the Soviet people will be able to render the imperialist warmongers' agents harmless, no matter how many are sent and no matter what disguises they may wear. (Applause.)

The demonstrative, brazen provocations and ventures by the American military against the U.S.S.R.—the numerous maneuvers by land, air and naval forces and the tours of "inspection" by military bosses of the Atlantic bloc to areas bordering on the Soviet Union; the activity of the American Air Force on the western and eastern borders of the U.S.S.R.—all this is evidently designed to upset the Soviet people's composure and maintain a war psychosis in America and its vassals.

Only hopeless idiots can think that Soviet people would be intimidated by provocations. (Prolonged applause.) Soviet people know what all the provocations and threats of the warmongers are worth. The Soviet people are continuing their peaceful, creative work with imperturbable calm. They are confident in the strength and might of their state and their army, which will deal a shattering blow to whoever dares attack our homeland and will discourage him once and for all from encroaching on the borders of the Soviet Union. (Stormy applause.)

The other major event in the life of the Party and of the Soviet people was the mighty, new advance in the national economy, an advance which made it possible to raise the level of our industry to 2.3 times that of the prewar period and to take a big step on the path from socialism to communism. The war forced on us by Hitlerite fascism, the most cruel and grim of all the wars ever experienced by our homeland, interrupted our peaceful development. The Hitlerite monsters inflicted heavy damage upon the Soviet economy by carrying out a "scorched earth" policy in occupied areas.

In these circumstances we were confronted at the end of the war with the very difficult task of reactivating the regions which had suffered from German occupation, of restoring the prewar level of industry and agriculture and then of surpassing this level in greater or lesser degree.

During this difficult period Comrade Stalin gave us a comprehensive program for rehabilitating the economy and pointed out ways of carrying it out. With his characteristically inflexible will and energy Comrade Stalin directly supervised all the work of the Party and state in organizing the working class, the collective farm peasantry and the intelligentsia to carry out the postwar five-year plan. As is known, the postwar five-year plan was successfully carried out. (Applause.)

Our country's industry, agriculture, and facilities

are now being developed with the most up-to-date equipment and are ensuring an increase in all social production on an unprecedented scale.

I shall cite some examples in order to give a graphic picture of the scale of our industrial production.

If one compares the volume of industrial output during the past two years with that during the entire First and Second Five-Year Plans, one finds that industrial output is 22% higher in 1951 and 1952 than during the two five-year plans together. (Applause.) Output of such major industrial items as electric power, ferrous metals, coal, petroleum products, cement and consumers' goods will be much higher in 1952 alone than during the entire First Five-Year Plan.

The machine-building industry, the basis of the entire economy's technical progress, is developing even more rapidly. Much more machinery and equipment is being produced in 1952 alone than during the entire First and Second Five-Year Plans.

The prosperity of all the Soviet people is growing and increasing steadily year after year with the growth of socialist production.

Economically, politically and in its defense capacity, the Soviet Union is now stronger than ever before and more capable than ever before of withstanding any tests. (Prolonged applause.)

If an enemy dares make war upon us, the Soviet Union, heading the camp of peace and democracy, will be able to deal a shattering rebuff to any grouping of aggressive imperialist states, to rout and punish the unbridled aggressors and warmongers. (Applause.)

Comrades! One of the decisive conditions for the victories won by the Soviet people, both in war and in peaceful economic and cultural construction, was our party's wise and farsighted national policy. More than 60 nations, national groups and nationalities live and work in the Soviet multinational state. Under these conditions adherence to a correct national policy becomes a matter of exceptional importance for the success of our common cause of increasing the might of the U.S.S.R. and building a communist society.

Our party's national policy is based on the concise and scientifically substantiated theory of the national question as a part of Lenin's teaching on the proletarian revolution. Lenin and Stalin are the authors of the program and policy of the Communist Party on the national question. This is why our national policy is called a Leninist-Stalinist policy. Our party's national policy is wholeheartedly approved and unanimously supported by the peoples of the Soviet Union.

Lenin and Stalin directly supervised the work of forming the Soviet multinational state. Since the great Lenin's death Comrade Stalin has directed all the Party's work in laying the foundations for fraternal cooperation among the peoples of our country, in strengthening the Union of republics and in developing the economy and culture of our peoples. Comrade Stalin played an exceptional role in developing the Marxist-Leninist teaching on the national question. He enriched the Marxist-Leninist theory of the nation, developed Lenin's teaching on the unity of the national and international tasks of the working class and on the strategy and tactics of the national liberation movement in the age of imperialism; he elaborated the theoretical principles of the Communist Party's national policy under the conditions obtaining in a Soviet multinational state, and he established the doctrine of socialist nations and their development in the struggle for the triumph of communism.

In overthrowing capitalism the great October revolution emancipated the peoples of Russia, ended national oppression and led the peoples to a true rebirth. After liquidation of the bourgeoisie and their nationalistic ways and after consolidation of the Soviet system in our country, new socialist nations arose, were developed and took shape on the base of the old, bourgeois nations.

Consistent application of Leninist-Stalinist national policy in our country resulted in elimination of the real inequality, inherited from Tsarism, between the peoples of Central Russia, who had moved ahead, and the peoples of outlying regions, who had lagged behind them in the past in economic and cultural development. Now we no longer have any backward peoples. The new socialist nations in our country have changed radically

during the years of socialist construction and have developed into advanced, modern nations.

What is the concept of an advanced socialist nation?

Proceeding from Comrade Stalin's classic definition of a nation, from his teaching on the new socialist nations and from the historical experience of our Soviet multinational state, it can be said that the main features inherent in an advanced socialist nation are the following.

First, the world's most advanced social and political system, in which there are no exploiting classes and all power belongs to the people.

Second, highly developed socialist industry and large-scale socialist agriculture.

Third, universal literacy, compulsory education for children, a highly developed system of higher education to ensure the training of national cadres of specialists for all spheres of the economy and culture; the flourishing of science and the arts.

Fourth, a steady rise in the living standards of the entire population through assurance of growth in the real wages of workers and employees and in the income of the peasants, through the development of trade and the growth and municipal improvement of cities, and through improvement in housing conditions; a broad network of medical institutions to safeguard the health of the people.

Fifth, triumph of the ideology of equality of all races and nations and the ideology of friendship of peoples.

Do our Soviet republics have these features of advanced socialist nations? Yes, they do.

Let us consider the facts.

It is known that Tsarism was the oppressor and executioner of peoples in Russia. The numerous non-Russian nations were denied all rights. They had no statehood of their own and were governed by Tsarist officials. The work in all institutions was conducted in Russian, which was not understood by the local nationalities.

Under the Soviet system all peoples in our country have acquired and developed their own statehood. Under Soviet rule the outlying national regions of Tsarist Russia have been transformed from colonies and semicolonies into truly independent states, into Soviet republics with their own territories, national autonomy, constitutions and legislation. In agencies of government, in agencies of economic management and administration, and in the courts of the Union and autonomous republics, national provinces, regions, districts and villages, popularly elected persons who know the customs and psychology of the local population administer affairs of state in the native languages, which are understood by the entire population.

There is no such genuine equality of nations in any bourgeois state. This is understandable, inasmuch as national oppression cannot be eliminated within the framework of the capitalist system. As is known, the entire system of state administration in bourgeois countries is based on the inequality of races and nations, on racial discrimination and on the use of nationalist prejudices to fan discord and enmity among nations.

Today two states, the U.S.A. and the Union of South Africa, stand out for their rampant racial and national discrimination.

Consistently following the Leninist-Stalinist national policy, the Communist Party and Soviet government have combined a high level of development of the entire U.S.S.R. economy with the most rapid development possible of the economically backward national republics. As a result, the economic and cultural inequality among peoples of the U.S.S.R., which was inherited from the past, has been eliminated, a fact which is undoubtedly one of the most important achievements of the Soviet regime's national policy.

Many convincing figures could be cited to indicate the gains scored in developing the Soviet national republics, but I shall limit myself to but a few examples.

During the Stalin five-year plans metallurgical, oil and chemical industries were established in the Soviet republics; large power stations, factories to produce farm machinery, tractors and automobiles, cement mills, large textile and food combines and many other industrial enterprises were built.

One can see from the example of the Soviet republics of the East—the Uzbek, Kazakh, Kirgiz and Tadzhik Republics—that

the industry of the national republics of the Soviet Union and large-scale industry in particular have developed more rapidly than that of the U.S.S.R. as a whole. The output of heavy industry in these republics rose 22 times between 1928 and 1951, whereas it rose 16 times in the U.S.S.R. as a whole.

It is known that in the not distant past the Eastern outlying regions of Tsarist Russia were about on the same level of industrial development as such of their neighbors as Turkey, Iran and Afghanistan. Under the Soviet regime our Central Asian republics have rapidly outstripped the Eastern countries bordering on the U.S.S.R. in industrial development and have moved far ahead of them. In comparing the above-mentioned Soviet republics with a number of Eastern countries for such an important index of industrial development as electric power, we see that in five Soviet republics—the Uzbek, Kazakh, Kirgiz, Turkmenian and Tadzhik Republics, with a total population of about 17,000,000—three times as much electric power is generated as in Turkey, Iran, Pakistan, Egypt, Iraq, Syria and Afghanistan combined, with a total population of 156,000,000. (Applause.) And in comparing one Soviet republic, the Azerbaidzhan Republic, for example, with Turkey, we find that Soviet Azerbaidzhan, with hardly one-seventh of the population, produces four times as much electric power as Turkey, which has fallen into the noose of American "aid." (Stir in the hall; laughter.)

In their development our Soviet republics have also greatly outstripped the old industrial countries of Western Europe.

For example, let us compare one Soviet republic, the Ukraine, with the two large bourgeois European countries of France and Italy. Naturally, not everything here is comparable. It is known that in the Ukraine Republic the exploiting classes were long ago liquidated; the plants, factories, land and all the products of labor belong to the people; unemployment has been wiped out forever, and all power belongs entirely to the people. In this respect France and Italy, where the capitalists are in power, were left far behind by the Soviet Ukraine more than 30 years ago. (Stir in the hall.) Hence we will compare only a few major figures on the economy of these countries.

The Soviet Ukraine, which in the course of its existence has twice had to rise from ashes and ruins after invasions by foreign invaders, now smelts much more pig iron than France and Italy combined (applause), produces more steel and rolled metal than France and more than three times as much as Italy; extracts 50% more coal, produces nearly three times as many tractors (in horsepower) and produces considerably more grain, potatoes, sugar beets and sugar than France and Italy combined.

Because of the advance in socialist industry and collective farm agriculture the people of the Ukraine live a prosperous life and enjoy all the fruits of culture of which the masses of working people in France and Italy are deprived.

No less indicative is the rapid economic development of the Soviet Baltic republics after they established the Soviet system in their countries. If one compares the Lithuanian, Latvian and Estonian Union Republics with Norway, the Netherlands and Belgium, one finds that the pace of industrial development in the Soviet republics is incomparably higher than in these European capitalist states.

By the beginning of 1952 the Lithuanian Republic had 2.4 times its prewar level of industrial output, the Latvian Republic 3.6 times and the Estonian Republic 4.1 times, whereas Norway, the Netherlands and Belgium had surpassed their prewar levels of industrial output only slightly by that date. This happened even though the Soviet republics emerged from the war with far more devastated economies.

It is not without interest to note that in old capitalist Latvia, even according to the embellished figures given by its former rulers, industrial production from 1913 to 1939, i.e., over a period of 26 years, increased 50%, whereas in the new, Soviet Latvia over a period of 11 years—from 1940 to 1951—industrial production increased by 2.6 times, despite the destruction caused by the war and enemy occupation.

Important gains have also been scored in the sphere of agricultural development.

With the triumph of the collective farm system in the U.S.S.R., agriculture in the Soviet republics embarked firmly on the

path of steady progress. The collective farm system was one of the greatest achievements of the Soviet regime, for it confronted the peasant masses with the task of building socialism, opened new and unprecedented opportunities for developing all branches of agricultural production and created the conditions necessary for constantly improving the material and cultural standards of millions of peasants.

As a result we now have in all the Soviet republics large-scale, highly productive socialist agriculture, which makes use of the very latest achievements in agronomy and is better equipped with modern machinery than any other country.

This can be seen in every republic of the Soviet Union. But again I shall dwell on the Soviet republics of the East, where, as is known, before the Soviet regime agriculture was most backward and where there was not a trace of farm machinery of any kind, not even the simplest.

There are now 121,000 tractors in terms of 15-horsepower units, 23,000 combines, 102,000 machines for sowing, cultivating and harvesting cotton, and hundreds of other agricultural machines and implements in the fields of collective and state farms in the Uzbek, Kazakh, Kirgiz, Turkmenian and Tadzhik Republics. The Soviet republics of the East are much better equipped with agricultural machinery than the most highly developed capitalist countries of Europe. (Applause.)

Consider tractors, for example. Soviet Uzbekistan has 14 tractors per 1000 hectares of sown area, whereas France has seven tractors and Italy has four of much lower power. It goes without saying that there is only an insignificant number of tractors in the foreign countries of the East. Where the Uzbek Republic has one tractor for each 70 hectares of sown area, Pakistan has one for each 9000 hectares, India has one for each 13,000 hectares and Iran has one for each 18,000 hectares.

The equipping of socialist agriculture with a great quantity of machinery has radically eased the peasants' labor and in conjunction with modern agrotechnology and the extensive development of irrigation has ensured high yields.

An example of this is cotton, one of the leading technical crops in the developed, diversified agriculture of the Eastern Soviet republics. The raw cotton yield in these republics averaged 21 centners per hectare in 1951.

Not a single cotton-producing country in the world has a yield such as Soviet cotton growers have attained. The 1951 cotton yield in Egypt was 11.5 centners per hectare, in the U.S.A. 8.3, in India 3.4, in Pakistan 5.2, in Turkey 7.2 and in Iran 4.5 centners per hectare.

It should be remembered that the high cotton yield of the Eastern Soviet republics has been attained over large areas, as can be seen from the fact that the above-mentioned Soviet republics produce as much cotton as India, Egypt, Iran, Turkey and Afghanistan combined. (Applause.)

These are examples from the sphere of economic development in the national republics of the U.S.S.R. They show that the economy of these republics is growing and developing steadily, free of crises and recessions. And these examples show what can be achieved by peoples who have rejected imperialism and freed themselves from domination by the landlords and capitalists. (Applause.)

In order to establish a developed socialist economy in the Soviet national republics, it was necessary to end the cultural backwardness of the majority of the republics, to develop cultural construction on as broad a scale as possible, to set up a broad network of primary and secondary schools in the native languages, to organize from scratch a system of higher education and to organize the large-scale training of qualified workers, engineers, technicians, agronomists, zootechnicians, teachers and physicians from among the indigenous nationalities.

Implementation of the Leninist-Stalinist national policy has resulted in a genuine cultural revolution by the peoples of the Soviet Union.

There are now more than 2,000,000 engineering and technical personnel in industry, construction and transport in the Soviet republics. Almost 400,000 agronomists, zootechnicians, forestry specialists, and other specialists are employed in agriculture, almost 2,000,000 teachers and instructors in the schools, technicums and higher educational

institutions, and almost 300,000 physicians and 900,000 fieldshers, nurses and other secondary medical personnel in medical institutions in cities and rural areas. Every Soviet republic now has tens of thousands of specialists with higher education.

A broad system of higher educational institutions and technical schools has been set up in the Soviet republics in order to train cadres of the Soviet intelligentsia from among the indigenous nationalities. When the Soviet regime was established our country had 96 higher educational institutions, virtually all of which were situated in the major centers of Russia. Enrollment in these institutions totaled 117,000.

The U.S.S.R. now has 887 higher educational institutions, with an enrollment of 1,400,000. There are 216,000 students enrolled in the Ukraine, 104,000 in the Central Asian Soviet republics, 80,000 in the Transcaucasus republics, 35,000 in Belorussia and 37,000 in the Baltic Soviet republics.

In terms of the development of higher education, the Soviet republics have far outdistanced not only the foreign countries of the East but the countries of Western Europe as well.

There are 58 students in higher educational institutions per 10,000 population in the Tadzhik Republic, for example, 60 in the Turkmenian Republic, 64 in the Kirgiz Republic, 71 in the Uzbek Republic and 93 in the Azerbaidzhan Republic, whereas there are three students in higher educational institutions per 10,000 population in Iran, nine in India, 12 in Egypt and Turkey, 21 in Sweden; 32 in Italy, 34 in Denmark and 36 in France.

Forty-eight nationalities have devised their own writing systems under the Soviet regime and are publishing textbooks, books and newspapers in the native languages. Approximately 90,000 well-built and well-equipped schools have been built in the republics of the Soviet Union in the past 30 years, two-thirds of which are in the national Union and autonomous republics.

The welfare of the population of the Soviet Union improves every year with the growth of the socialist economy. The real wages of workers and employees have risen considerably and the income of the peasants has increased greatly in all the Soviet republics. The total income of workers and the income of the peasants increased 78% between 1940 and 1951.

The Soviet state shows great concern for protecting the health of the people of our country. The provision of medical assistance to the public is an indication of this. I shall give some examples from individual Soviet republics.

Before the Soviet regime was established there was one doctor for each 31,000 persons in Uzbekistan. Today in Pakistan there is one doctor for approximately the same number of persons. There is now one doctor for each 895 persons in the Uzbek Republic. The Uzbek Republic is incomparably better provided with doctors than Egypt, for example, where there is one doctor for each 4350 persons, and better provided than such West European countries as France, where there is one doctor for each 1000 persons, or the Netherlands, where there is one doctor for each 1160 persons.

In the Azerbaidzhan Republic there is one doctor for each 490 persons. Its population is 8.5 times better provided with medical assistance than the population of Turkey and 23 times better than the population of Iran. As for the Georgian Republic, where there is one doctor for each 373 persons, and the Armenian Republic, where there is one doctor for each 483 persons, the populations of these republics are provided with medical assistance to a degree considerably greater than in any country in the world. But it is not only that the population of the Soviet republics is better provided with doctors. For a complete picture, one must bear in mind that all forms of medical service are available free of charge in the U.S.S.R. and that millions of working people go to the best sanatoriums and rest homes each year. In bourgeois countries medical assistance is provided primarily on a fee basis and at a very high rate, so that it is not available to the broad masses of the working people. The health resorts and sanatoriums there are exclusively reserved for the exploiting parasites.

The development of socialist nations under the Soviet social and state system, the elimination of actual economic and

cultural inequality among nations, and the lasting cooperation of nations, both in defending the Soviet state from external foes and in building socialism, have led in our country to the establishment and complete triumph of the ideology of equality of nations, the ideology of friendship of peoples.

The friendship of the peoples of our country has passed many tests. The war against the Hitlerite coalition was one of the most serious tests of the strength of the friendship of peoples.

After the great patriotic war the friendship of the peoples of our country was manifested with new force during the restoration of the socialist economy in the territory which had been occupied by the enemy. All the peoples of the Soviet Union participated with the greatest enthusiasm in restoring the economy of republics and provinces which had been occupied, for they regarded this as their own task and as a matter of immediate importance to the state as a whole. Where in any bourgeois state have the peoples been known to aid one another in such a manner?

Now, while the gradual transition from socialism to communism is taking place in the U.S.S.R., the friendship of the peoples of the Soviet Union is being enriched in its development by new content. The high level of economy and culture achieved by the Soviet republics has opened up opportunities for their still more active participation in the solution of important all-Union tasks.

The force which cements the friendship of the peoples of our country is the Russian people, the Russian nation, as the most outstanding of all the nations comprising the Soviet Union. (Stormy applause.)

The Russian working class, led by the party of Lenin and Stalin, accomplished a magnificent historical feat in October, 1917. It broke through the front of world imperialism, destroyed the power of the bourgeoisie and broke the chains of national and colonial oppression over one-sixth of the globe. There can be no doubt that without the help of the Russian working class the peoples of our country could not have defended themselves against the White Guards and the interventionists or have built socialism. As for those peoples who did not experience capitalist development in the past, without the continued and constant help of the Russian working class they would not have been able to effect the transition from pre-capitalist forms of economy to socialism.

During the great patriotic war, as Comrade Stalin has said, the clear mind, determined character and powers of endurance inherent in the Russian people were shown with special force. By their heroism, daring and courage the Russian people won general recognition in this war as the leading force of the Soviet Union among all the peoples of our country. (Prolonged applause.)

Following the example of the Russian people and shoulder to shoulder with them, all the peoples of our country fought the enemy selflessly. Together with the Russian people they forged our victory over Hitler Germany and imperialist Japan. The peoples of our country showed the whole world the mighty and indestructible force of the Soviet socialist multinational state based on the Stalinist friendship of peoples.

The friendship of the peoples of our country is based on the community of their vital interests. The peoples of the Soviet Union are united by their will and determination to defend against all enemies the freedom, independence and happy life they have gained under the Soviet regime; they are united by the common struggle to build a communist society. The peoples of our country are well aware that while welded together by their indissoluble Stalinist friendship in a single Soviet state—the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics—they are invincible and can successfully build communism and defend their achievements against all threats.

Our party and Comrade Stalin personally are constantly concerned about correct execution of Soviet national policy. In struggle against the enemies of Leninism the Party defended the Leninist-Stalinist national policy and ensured the complete and final overthrow of great-power chauvinism, bourgeois nationalism and bourgeois cosmopolitanism.

The great service of the leader of our party, Comrade Stalin, is that by his wise leadership he has ensured a genuine rebirth and an unprecedented upsurge of the physical and spiritual

forces of all the peoples of our country (applause), has welded them in indestructible, fraternal friendship and has directed their energies toward a single great goal—the strengthening of the might of our motherland and the triumph of communism. (Prolonged applause.)

The successes scored in developing the socialist nations within a single multinational Soviet state are of tremendous international importance.

From our example the working class in the capitalist countries sees the way to its own delivery from exploitation, poverty and unemployment, from the growing threat of fascism.

Our example shows the peoples of the colonies and dependent countries the path from oppression and the denial of rights to freedom and independence, from discord and enmity among nations to fraternal friendship among peoples, from hunger and poverty to a prosperous life, from illiteracy and cultural backwardness to the flowering of culture, science and the arts.

The entire course of history more and more confirms the words of our party's leader Comrade Stalin that "matters are now reaching a point where socialism can serve (and is already beginning to serve) as the banner of liberation for the millions in the vast colonial states of imperialism."

The ideas of freedom and national independence, the ideas of socialism have penetrated to the most distant corners of the enslaved countries.

The peoples struggling for their liberation know that the great camp of peace and democracy is on their side, that the Soviet Union, the Chinese People's Republic and the people's democracies are championing the cause of peace, freedom, independence and the real equality of all races and nations and that the very existence of these states serves to bridle the dark forces of reaction and assists the oppressed people in their struggle.

In their helplessness before the growing national liberation movement the ruling circles of the U.S.A. and other bourgeois states are howling to the whole world that the struggle of the oppressed peoples against their enslavers is the result of Soviet propaganda in the East.

The ill-starred bourgeois politicians were given the answer to this by Comrade Stalin years ago when he said:

"We are accused of carrying on propaganda in the East. We do not need propaganda in the East. All any citizen of a dependent country or colony has to do is to come to the land of Soviets and see how the people here govern the country, to see how black and white, Russian and non-Russian people of all colors and nationalities work as one team and carry on together the task of governing their great country in order to be convinced that this is the only country where the brotherhood of peoples is not a mere phrase but a fact. We need no written or spoken propaganda when we have such tangible propaganda as the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics." (Prolonged applause.)

The people's democracies, building a new life, are utilizing the rich experience gained in building and strengthening the Soviet multinational state.

A new type of relationship has been established among democratic states, one unprecedented in the history of mankind. The chief distinguishing feature of this relationship is that it is based:

On full and actual equality of all peoples, great and small; on safeguarding all sovereign rights and the independence of every state; on noninterference in the domestic affairs of other states, in contrast to the imperialist policy of dictation and enslavement of peoples;

On mutual respect for national interests and trust and friendship among peoples, in contrast to the policy of secret agreements, intrigues and open or concealed hostility pursued by imperialist states;

On close economic cooperation and mutual aid, ensuring the most favorable conditions for economic development in full accordance with the national interests of each country, in contrast to the harsh competitive struggle in the imperialist camp for raw materials and markets;

On the common desire of democratic states to safeguard peace, to establish and develop economic and cultural ties among all countries—regardless of their economic and social systems—in the interests of improving the lives of millions of people in all countries of the world, in contrast to the imperial-

ist policy of militarizing the economy, preparing and unleashing a new world war and attacking the living standards of working people.

A distinguishing feature of relations among the nations and states in the camp of imperialism is the rapacious desire of American capital for world domination. American imperialism, which, like an insatiable spider, has spread its web in all parts of the world, is draining the lifeblood from many peoples and states, not stopping short of any measures for their enslavement. The most widespread method is enslavement in the guise of so-called American "aid." Countries which receive American "aid" soon lose their sovereign rights and independence and are reduced to the status of vassals. The most that such countries can count on is the status of by no means equal partners.

Great Britain, which once bore the reputation of "Mistress of the Seas" and "Workshop of the World," is today just such an unequal partner of the U.S.A. Day by day American imperialism is crowding Britain out of sources of raw materials and markets and driving her out of Europe and Asia by every means, capturing one position after another from her. Matters have gone so far that the Americans have unceremoniously rejected the British government's very humble request to be allowed to send an observer to negotiations between the U.S.A. and the British Dominions of New Zealand and Australia concerning a so-called Pacific pact. Even the British Conservative press recently complained bitterly in this regard that Britain is being treated like a poor relation (laughter: stir in the hall) who is lectured, slighted or ignored. And one Conservative paper, the Daily Mail, declared outright: "If we lose our positions, now here, now there, we shall soon have nothing left to lose." (Laughter in the hall.) It must not be thought that the British ruling circles do not realize this; nevertheless, they continue to submit to American dictation, attempting to put a good face on matters. (Stir in the hall.)

The imperialist bosses of the U.S.A. are turning the countries they have enslaved into springboards for an aggressive war, and are condemning the young people of these countries to the role of cannon fodder. Thus, step by step, the countries which have become dependent on the U.S.A. are slipping onto the disastrous path of war.

Trying to save capitalism wherever it is threatened, struggling to maintain colonial domination and the most reactionary regimes wherever these are threatened by the national liberation movement and democratic revolution, American imperialism has become the bulwark and citadel of world reaction. It is following headlong in the footsteps of German fascism, forcing its own troops into the role of gendarmes and stranglers of freedom-loving peoples. It is entirely natural that the peoples in countries which have become dependent on the U.S.A. are organizing on a nationwide scale to resist American interference in their lives and to expel the uninvited masters from their countries, that they are repaying them with burning hatred for affronts to their national dignity and honor.

In their turn the American people, into whose heads the idea of an alleged foreign threat is being hammered day by day, are beginning to understand the complete absurdity of this propaganda. Under a heavy burden of increasing military expenditures they are showing their dissatisfaction more and more over the present policy of U.S. ruling circles.

Comrades! The chief accomplishment with which our party has come to the 19th Congress is the fact that the Soviet Union has achieved unprecedented might and international authority. We have achieved this through a policy of industrialization which has transformed our country from an agrarian country into a leading industrial power, through a policy of collectivization which has transformed our agriculture into large-scale mechanized agriculture, the most advanced in the world, through consistent adherence to the Leninist-Stalinist national policy, which has ensured the indestructible unity and friendship of the peoples of the U.S.S.R., and through consistent adherence to a Stalinist foreign policy, which is directed toward maintaining peace among nations.

The welfare and culture of the peoples of our country have greatly increased.

History shows that during 35 years of Soviet rule our country has made industrial progress which took the capitalist countries centuries. Where the U.S.S.R. has increased its industrial

production 39 times during the years of Soviet rule, Great Britain required 162 years (from 1790 until 1951) for a similar increase in industrial production, while France has increased her industrial production only 5.5 times in the past 90 years. As for the U.S.A., it has increased its industrial output only 2.6 times during the past 35 years.

The socialist state has achieved its successes in an historically short period because the Soviet system opened up previously unknown possibilities for the rapid economic and cultural development of the U.S.S.R., because the struggle of our people for socialism was directed by the Communist Party, which knows in what direction to move and is not afraid of difficulties. (Prolonged applause.)

The path to the triumph of socialism in our country has not been an easy one. There were many difficulties and obstacles, both internal and external, on this path, but our party was always mobilized and ready, and it surmounted them. At the present time, when great and complex tasks of communist construction confront us, our party, as the party which guides the Soviet state, must anticipate difficulties and be fully prepared to lead the people in overcoming them. We are confident that our party, founded and trained by Lenin and Stalin, will continue always to measure up to its great tasks. (Applause.)

Together with the great Lenin, Comrade Stalin built and strengthened our party, led the working class of Russia to overthrow capitalism in October, 1917, and established the world's first Soviet state. More than a quarter of a century after the death of the great Lenin, Comrade Stalin is leading our party and the Soviet people along unblazed trails in building a new, communist life. At every new stage of this path Comrade Stalin arms our party with theory, teaches it to foresee the future course of events and guides it toward the solution of basic tasks.

The further development of Marxist-Leninist theory by Comrade Stalin in his work "Economic Problems of Socialism in the U.S.S.R." is a tremendous event in the ideological life of the Party.

The propositions and conclusions advanced by Comrade Stalin in this work are of particular importance in that they open up a new chapter in the development of Marxist-Leninist science and are inseparably related to the main practical tasks of building communism in the U.S.S.R. It is known that Marx and Engels turned socialism from a Utopia into a science. In developing Marxism the great Lenin established the teaching on the socialist state and on the ways of building a classless socialist society in our country. In putting this teaching into practice our party, under the leadership of Comrade Stalin, has scored a world-historic victory: socialism has been transformed from the dream of mankind's best minds into a reality. The Soviet people have built socialism and our country has entered the stage of gradual transition from socialism to communism.

Under these conditions new questions of Marxist-Leninist theory confronted our party. What preliminary conditions must be created for carrying out the transition from socialism to communism? What must be done for this purpose? What are the principal features of this important historical period? We see how Comrade Stalin has provided clear and distinct answers to all these pressing, vitally important questions of the development of our socialist society, answers which light up the path ahead for the Party and the Soviet people.

There is no doubt but that our Congress and our entire party will take Comrade Stalin's statements on the conditions for and ways of accomplishing the gradual transition from socialism to communism as their program of struggle for building communism. (Stormy, prolonged applause.)

Our party and all the Soviet people have greeted this Stalin program with tremendous enthusiasm. It gives wings to the best dreams of the Soviet people and inspires them to new heroic deeds for the triumph of the great ideas of Lenin and Stalin. (Applause.)

Our victorious movement along the path to communism will serve as an inexhaustible source of inspiration for the working class and the working people of all countries in their revolutionary struggle for peace, democracy and socialism.

During these historic days of the 19th Congress the Soviet people, strong in their unity, are rallied as never before around their Communist Party and are ready to perform new feats of labor for the glory of their fatherland. (Applause.)

The peoples of our country may be confident that the Communist Party, armed with Marxist-Leninist theory and guided by Comrade Stalin, will lead our country to the cherished goal—to communism. (Stormy, unabating applause. All rise.)

SPEECH BY COMRADE V. Ye. CHERNYSHEV, KALININGRAD [KÖNIGSBERG] PROVINCE. (Pravda, Oct. 9, p. 3. 2700 words. Condensed text:) ... As is well known, our province was the scene of fierce fighting during the great patriotic war. Retreating under the staggering blows of the heroic Soviet Army, the fascists turned the territory which they left into a scorched wilderness. All industrial enterprises, transportation and communications facilities, sea and river ports were demolished, and cities and villages lay in ruins. Flood-control dams were blown up to flood vast areas. All irrigation systems were ruined, and livestock was driven away or killed. It would seem that decades would be required to bring this devastated, uninhabited territory back to life, but, at the call of the Party and government, workers, collective farmers and experts in various branches of the economy and culture came to the province from all parts of our country—came with a burning desire to transform this Baltic area into a flourishing Soviet territory.

The Soviet people brought with them to the new land the best traditions of the great Russian people: selfless love of the fatherland, patriotic pride in its glorious deeds, steadfastness and fortitude, persistence in achieving the goals set and the ability not to dread hardships but to overcome them through hard effort. The Party Central Committee, the government and Comrade Stalin made the Soviet citizens who came to build the new province the object of untiring attention, paternal concern and comprehensive day-to-day help in settling in a new place and carrying out the tasks involved in economic and agricultural construction.

This invaluable help and concern have inspired the workers, collective farmers and intelligentsia of the province to work persistently and selflessly, and this has borne rich fruit. Cities, villages, ports, factories, dams and canals have risen from the ruins. Transportation and communications facilities have been restored and a life which affirms new, socialist ways has forged ahead. Kaliningrad Province has achieved great successes in economic and cultural construction in a short time. Large-scale, socialist industry, equipped with advanced Soviet machinery, has been set up in the province. Hundreds of large enterprises have been restored, rebuilt, expanded or freshly built. A mighty fishing and fish-processing industry has been created and fishing enterprises and large fish canneries have been built. Atlantic herring and other valuable fish are being caught, and our province is supplying the country with hundreds of thousands of centners of fish and millions of cans of good fish.

Kaliningrad Province is being developed as an industrial province and a province of highly developed agriculture. Its enterprises are supplying the country with many kinds of industrial output, including amber and amber products, fish, meat, butter, fruit, canned vegetables, etc. A stubborn struggle is being waged at all enterprises for full use of production capacity and of reserves for increasing industrial production, for reducing the unit cost of output and raising labor productivity. ...

Radical changes have been made in agriculture. Tremendous collective and state farms, Machine and Tractor Stations, amelioration stations and centers have been formed, and powerful tractors, combines and other agricultural and reclamation machinery work in the province's fields. More than half of the collective and state farms have been electrified. ...

As a result of the tremendous concern of the Party, the government and Comrade Stalin personally, normal, good conditions have been created for Soviet people arriving in the province. More than 2,000,000 square meters of housing [floor space] have been built or restored; in the villages more than 45,000 houses have been built or restored for collective farmers and state farm workers. An extensive network of trade, service and cultural enterprises and public health establishments has been set up, and 13 sanatoriums and rest homes have been established on the Baltic coast and a sufficient number of schools, institutes, technical colleges and cultural enlightenment establishments. The working people of our province live a full political and cultural life. ...

The Party Central Committee's resolution, adopted in 1951, on the report by the Kaliningrad Province Party Committee was an important event in the life of the province Party organization. The Party Central Committee's instructions helped the province Party organization to analyze more deeply the shortcomings in our work. The Central Committee gave exhaustive instructions as to how to carry on the work of economic and cultural construction in the province. These instructions have been taken as the basis of all of the province Party organization's work in guiding industry, agriculture and cultural work. The instructions of the Party Central Committee have helped to improve Party organizational, Party political and ideological work. At present all activity of the province Party organization is directed toward removing as quickly as possible the serious defects in our work revealed by the Party Central Committee, in order to raise the Party organization's effectiveness, develop Bolshevik criticism and self-criticism more widely, mobilizing Communists and all working people of the province for successful fulfillment of the tasks set by the Party Central Committee.

Kaliningrad Province has great prospects for further industrial development, particularly in the fishing, amber and other branches, and also for agricultural development, especially in its leading branch pedigreed dairy cattle.

Our province is abuilding. Its young, rapidly growing economy needs unremitting attention and further help, especially from the Ministry of State Farms and the Ministry of the Meat and Dairy Industry, in improving the supervision of state farms, in electrifying them, in carrying on the urgent work of restoring irrigation systems, in draining and using the land. The Ministry of State Farms and the Ministry of the Meat and Dairy Industry are not giving sufficient attention to these problems, and, under the conditions in our province, it is impossible to farm well, to use the land efficiently and to obtain rich harvests without serious amelioration work and good maintenance of the irrigation and drainage systems.

In the new five-year plan the U.S.S.R. State Planning Committee must provide for fuller utilization of the production capacity available in the enterprises of our province and also for utilization of factory space for the organization of new enterprises, particularly the manufacture of measuring instruments, precision instruments, repair plants, knitwear concerns and other enterprises of the light, fishing and food industries.

SPEECH BY COMRADE N. V. KISELEV, ROSTOV PROVINCE. (Pravda, Oct. 9, p. 4. 2700 words. Condensed text:) ... During the past eight years the government has invested several billion rubles in the national economy of Rostov Province. With these funds dozens of mines and hundreds of industrial enterprises have been restored or newly erected in the province. Industrial output in the province surpassed the prewar level as far back as 1949. The province is now producing several times as much electric power, coal and steel and several times as many combines and other items as in 1940. Transport machine building and the chemical industry are being developed in the province. Production of new, perfected machines is being organized. The Taganrog Stalin Plant has started to manufacture a new, three-row, vacuum cotton picker. For the first time, the Rostov Agricultural Machinery Plant has begun to produce corn combines. The Red Boiler Plant is producing super-high-pressure boilers for mighty turbines. ...

Discussing the 19th Party Congress draft directives for the Fifth Five-Year Plan of development of the U.S.S.R. national economy, the Communists of Rostov Province unanimously urged wider use of the province's natural resources. The U.S.S.R. Ministry of the Coal-Mining Industry must considerably expand mining construction and double coal extraction in Rostov Province during the next three to four years.

Taking into consideration the high cost of hauling coal and the overloading of rail and water transport, it seems to us expedient to carry on wider construction of mighty electric power stations operating on coal in Rostov Province. The demand for electric power is increasing sharply in Rostov and neighboring provinces in connection with the enormous growth of industry.

The Taganrog Andreyev Steel Plant, one of the largest in the country, is still working on pig iron brought from the outside. Year by year the plant is increasing output of steel, rolled metal and pipes. Since Kerch iron ore is near the plant and it is comparatively easy to deliver it to the plant by sea, we are in favor of building a blast furnace mill at the Taganrog Steel Plant in the current five-year plan.

There has been further development of the province's agriculture during the postwar years. The collective farms, Machine and Tractor Stations and state farms have received from the government thousands of tractors, combines, tractor-drawn seeders and many other complicated agricultural machines. Farm machinery is increasing and the Stalin plan for transforming nature is being successfully realized. In the Salsk and Manich steppes, where in the past one could not have come across a single sapling for hundreds of kilometers, young forest plantings are now rising, the area of which will amount to 180,000 hectares this year. ...

Collective farm gardens and vineyards are green and flourishing along the banks of the Tsimlyanskaya Reservoir and the Lenin Volga-Don Canal. According to the calculations of economists, irrigation of the province's arid lands will make it possible for the collective and state farms, without increasing the sown area, to give the country an additional 40,000,000 poods of wheat each year, 6,000,000 poods of rice, 2,000,000 poods of raw cotton, 30,000,000 poods of potatoes and vegetables, and up to 1,000,000 poods of fruit and grapes.

The irrigation of the Don lands has only begun, but its results are already clearly evident. This year excellent crops have been raised everywhere on the irrigated fields. At the Stalin Collective Farm, Bagayevskaya District, the winter wheat yield amounted to 240 poods per hectare and at the Andreyev Collective Farm, Aksaiskaya District, to 294 poods. At the Malenkov Collective Farm, Vesvoly District, the rice yield was 302 poods per hectare. It is quite evident that when our collective farmers and agricultural experts will have accumulated the experience of working irrigated lands the yield will be still higher. ...

First of all, it is necessary to improve considerably the organization of the construction of irrigation systems. At present the U.S.S.R. Ministry of Agriculture is in charge of this construction. Its building organization, the Rostov-Don Water Projects Construction Trust, is slow and careless in its work. The ministry supervises the work of this organization poorly and does not give it the help it needs. Considering the magnitude of the projects, we consider it desirable to establish under the Council of Ministers a special administration for building irrigation systems. The U.S.S.R. Ministry of Agriculture must take more active part in putting irrigated lands under proper cultivation. The Rostov-Don Water Projects Construction Trust is now building irrigation systems only for surface watering strips and furrows, which requires great expenditure of manual labor. It seems to us that, along with this, other methods are also needed to spread irrigation widely in new areas: subterranean irrigation, watering with spraying machines mounted on tractors, etc. These methods will effect a great saving in the building of the irrigation systems and will considerably reduce the need for manpower.

Irrigated lands require more mechanization, the development of new machines and redesigning of some old ones. First of all, machines are needed for clearing weeds and mud from ditches and channel beds. Collective farms do not cope with this task by manual means. A new, more powerful combine is needed for harvesting grain in irrigated areas. Winnowing grain is a bottleneck in collective farm work. We sow and harvest with complex machinery and powerful tractors, but on many collective farms we continue to winnow with the old hand winnower from the time of private farming. This requires great expenditure of manpower. Thousands of collective farmers in our province are engaged in hand winnowing during the entire harvest period, and other important kinds of farm work are neglected because of a shortage of manpower. Collective farms need good, efficient grain-cleaning machinery. The province's collective farms, particularly those in irrigated areas, experience an acute demand for tractor pickups and stackers for gathering in hay and straw from the fields. When hay and straw are harvested by hand the work is dragged out and fodder rots.

The Ministry of Agricultural Machine Building and the Scientific Research Institute of Mechanization are behindhand in working out and producing a number of very important farm machines.

The selection and development of new high-yield varieties of non-flat-lying wheat and of early maturing rice and cotton constitute a very important task for irrigation farming. The old kinds of wheat, used very successfully on the dry lands, lay flat, even when still unripened, on the irrigated fields this year. This has caused great difficulties in harvesting and has led to large losses.

The agricultural scientific research institutes, above all the Lenin All-Union Academy of Agricultural Sciences, must help us in the selection and development of new species for irrigation farming.

The great tasks of irrigation require establishment in Rostov Province of a large scientific research institute of irrigation farming, which could work out, in coordinated fashion, problems of irrigation farming, correct organization of watering, mechanization of work in irrigated areas and agricultural techniques for high-yield irrigation farming.

In his report Comrade Malenkov pointed out serious errors and defects in the work of local Party, Soviet and economic organizations. These errors and defects are also to be found in Rostov Province. We still have poorly developed criticism and self-criticism. At the beginning of 1952 the Party Central Committee helped us to uncover cases of gross suppression of criticism and persecution for criticism in Railroad Borough of Rostov. These cases could have taken place only as a result of neglect of Party political work in the borough, of violation of Bolshevik principles of selecting personnel, and absence of check on fulfillment of Party directives by the Rostov city and province committees. Those who stifled criticism were severely punished.

Comrades, we have many serious shortcomings in industrial and agricultural work. Throughout the province, industry on the whole fulfills the state plan from year to year. But, for the past three years, this fulfillment by the province as a whole has hidden the fact that a number of enterprises are not fulfilling production plans. The province's largest enterprises—a locomotive repair plant and an electric locomotive plant—have not been fulfilling the state plans for more than five years. This is the fault not only of local Party agencies, but also of the Ministry of Railroads and the Ministry of the Electrical Equipment Industry, which regard with indifference the poor work of these plants.

There is still much spoilage in the output of our factories. At a number of enterprises labor discipline is low. On the province's collective farms there are cases of violation of the Collective Farm Statutes, pilfering of collective farm property. A number of collective farms are not fulfilling the plan for agrotechnical measures, they spread little fertilizer on the fields, they sow large areas with seeds of poor quality, they do not cope with the tasks for plowing fallow, and as a result our province every year fails to grow great quantities of grain which it should. There are also many shortcomings in the livestock sections of collective farms.

Guided by the tasks put forth in Comrade Malenkov's report, the Rostov Party organization will make every effort to eliminate rapidly the major defects in its work. In January of this year the Party Central Committee issued a decree on the work of the Rostov Province Party Committee. Serious errors and shortcomings in the work of the Party's province committee and city and district committees were revealed in the decree. Concrete action to correct defects has now been outlined by the Rostov organization. The decree of the Party Central Committee has been of great help to the Rostov Party organization. It has raised the activeness of Communists and encouraged the development of criticism and self-criticism. ...

SPEECH BY COMRADE A. I. NIAZOV, UZBEK REPUBLIC. (Pravda, Oct. 9, p. 4. 1900 words. Condensed text:) ... Pre-revolutionary Uzbekistan had almost no industry. Now large-scale industry has been created in the Uzbek Republic. In 1951 the gross industrial output was more than twice that of the prewar year 1940. Uzbekistan has its own steel, iron, coal and oil; its factories produce machine tools, cranes, excavators, machinery for cotton ginning and textile mills and, what is

particularly important, agricultural machines, mainly for cotton growing, are turned out in large numbers. The republic's enterprises are taking active part in filling orders for the great construction projects of communism. ...

The Uzbek Republic is the country's main base for cotton, silk cocoons, karakul, kenaf and jute. Thanks to the great help of the Party and the government, to the concern shown by Comrade Stalin, and to the devoted labor of the Uzbek cotton growers, the 1950 gross harvest of raw cotton considerably exceeded the 1940 level. More cotton was delivered to the state in 1951 than in 1940.

The economic strengthening of the collective farms and the advances in cotton growing in Uzbekistan have been considerably aided by the existence of product exchange contracts, introduced on the initiative of Comrade Stalin. The collective farms which have contracts with the government for product exchange and which receive grain, butter and manufactured goods from the government in exchange for raw cotton benefit, as Comrade Stalin shows, incomparably more than collective farms which do not have such contracts. Collective farm income for the past three years alone has more than tripled and in 1951 amounted to 7,500,000,000 rubles. ...

However, it must be acknowledged that the republic's Party organization has not taken full advantage of existing opportunities for increasing the output of cotton. We still have many collective farms which have low harvests and do not fulfill the plans for deliveries of raw cotton to the state. The wealth of machinery existing in agriculture is far from fully used.

This year the Party organization and all agricultural workers in the republic are striving to overfulfill the cotton delivery plan, to deliver 400,000 tons more cotton to the state than they did last year and to improve the quality of cotton delivered.

Comrade Lykova, Secretary of the Ivanovo Province Party Committee, correctly commented in her speech on the necessity of our improving the quality of raw cotton. We shall take measures to supply the textile mills of the Soviet Union with not less than 85% high-grade cotton in the current year. ...

Thanks to the wide use of machinery, many collective farms in the Fergana Valley have already learned to use their land intensively, have considerably increased the yield of cotton and, on this basis, have increased their communal incomes. Further expansion of cotton production and development of the collective farms' communal economy requires the development of newly irrigated lands in this valley. Therefore the collective farms and Party organizations of Andizhan, Fergana, Namangan and Surkhan-Darya Provinces made a proposal to the government: to reclaim tens of thousands of hectares of land in Central Fergana and Surkham-Darya Provinces by using communal funds of interested collective farms. In the next few years the Fergana Valley collective farms plan to spend hundreds of millions of rubles for this purpose. The irrigation and reclamation of desert lands of the Central Fergana will open up new prospects for the utilization of natural resources. The U.S.S.R. government and Comrade Stalin personally have approved this initiative of Fergana and Surkhan-Darya collective farms and Party organizations concerning improvement of newly irrigated lands.

Our republic has every opportunity for successfully carrying out the assignment of the new five-year plan for production of cotton, silk, karakul and other agricultural products. However, it must be noted that the U.S.S.R. Ministry of Cotton Growing and the Ministry of Agriculture do not give us sufficient help in solving problems of the further development of cotton growing and other branches of agriculture. The U.S.S.R. Ministry of Cotton Growing is slow in solving problems presented by republic organizations, especially those concerning irrigation and amelioration work, the transition to the new system of [temporary-channel] * irrigation and improvement in the work of Machine and Tractor Stations.

The Ministry of Agriculture is by no means sufficiently concerned with questions of the further development of karakul and silk production. After the formation of the Ministry of Cotton Growing, the Ministry of Agriculture greatly slackened its attention and help to our republic. ...

* [For a description of this irrigation system, see Current Digest of the Soviet Press, Vol. II, No. 32.]

The republic's Party organization recently disclosed a number of ideological distortions and manifestations of bourgeois nationalism in the work of certain writers and scholars. Nationalist survivals are reflected in idealization of the Uzbek people's feudal past, in concealing class contradictions which existed in prerevolutionary Uzbekistan, in the desire to overlook or underestimate the great role of the Russian people and their culture in the history of the Uzbek and other peoples of the Soviet Union, and in the attempt at any cost to weaken the inviolable friendship of the peoples of our country.

The Uzbekistan Party organization will continue to wage a merciless struggle against the slightest manifestation of bourgeois nationalism, will expose the reactionary essence of pan-Islamism and pan-Turkism, will increase political vigilance and educate our members and all the working people in the spirit of proletarian internationalism and friendship of peoples. ...

SPEECH BY COMRADE B. GAFUROV, TADZHIK REPUBLIC. (Pravda, Oct. 9, pp. 4-5. 2900 words. Condensed text:) ... The delegates to the Eighth Congress of the Tadzhikistan Communist Party sharply criticized the Tadzhikistan Communist Party Central Committee for not being sufficiently concerned with questions of ideology. Work on the Marxist-Leninist education of members is on a low level in our republic. The measures taken by the Tadzhikistan Party organization in the sphere of Party education still do not ensure further political and cultural growth or the ideological steeling of Communists, Young Communist League members and the Soviet intelligentsia. As a result of this, some of our officials are guilty of major shortcomings and errors in their everyday work in the guidance of industry, agriculture and culture, and also display elements of absorption with national and local interests and are guilty of other ideological lapses.

The Tadzhikistan Communist Party Central Committee's insufficient attention to ideological questions is particularly evident in the development of Tadzhik literature and art, which, in ideological and artistic level, seriously lags behind the demands of the Party and does not satisfy the growing demands of the Tadzhik people. Our weak work on the ideological front has also caused serious ideological errors in the works of Tadzhik scholars.

However, it should be noted that we are not the only ones guilty of shortcomings on the ideological front. Many Union organizations concerned with ideological questions do unsatisfactory work. Here is an example. Notwithstanding the fact that Soviet writers have written a number of outstanding works which are beloved and well known among the people, the heroic deeds of the Soviet people, which are of world-historic significance, have not yet found worthy reflection in Soviet belles-lettres. Few major works have been written on the leading theme of our time—the theme of the party which is transforming the world and creating a new man. The board of the U.S.S.R. Union of Writers has not been able to activate all writers. Many writers are afraid to write about contemporary life; they live entirely on their past merits.

One of the main reasons for the creative inertia of many writers is, in many opinions, the lack of genuine Party criticism among writers. Read Comrade Fadeyev's articles and speeches. As a rule they are made up of inoffensive general observations which commit no one to anything. (*Animation in the hall.*) Comrade Bagirov was completely correct in criticizing the Union of Soviet Writers yesterday for paying little attention to the development of national literatures. I myself subscribe to Comrade Bagirov's opinion. Sometimes Comrade Fadeyev, who has not personally studied the state of national literature and who uses the information of his advisers, who do not understand the matter very well, falls into an awkward situation. For example, Comrade Fadeyev recently accused our republic of allegedly appropriating the classics of Persian literature; subsequently he was obliged to withdraw his accusation. Comrade Fadeyev does not enlist comrades from the national republics themselves in the study of the national literatures, although they might help him in this matter.

Many shortcomings also exist in the development of the Soviet theater and motion pictures. Our theaters stage few productions about Soviet people and their heroic deeds. As

for motion pictures, the backwardness in this field is common knowledge. Theater and film workers carry on endless arguments with writers about which of them is more to blame for the lag in the theater and motion pictures. These arguments, which recall the argument between Gogol's Ivan Ivanovich and Ivan Nikiforovich, have dragged out for many years. It is true that if the time spent on these arguments had been directed toward creative work, it would have been possible to have many good productions in the theaters and many good films on the screens. (*Animation, laughter in the hall.*)

I want to recall in passing that the work of Minister of Cinematography Comrade Bolshakov was sharply criticized at a session of the U.S.S.R. Supreme Soviet. At this session Comrade Bolshakov asserted that the lag in film production would be overcome. But the situation has not improved. We delegates to the 19th Party Congress justly demand of Comrades Fadeyev and Bolshakov that the situation on the literature and film fronts be decisively corrected.

Comrades, one of the most outstanding results of the work of our party is the fact that the ideology of equality of all races and nations, the ideology of friendship of peoples, has been firmly established in our country. Comrade Stalin pointed out that the basis of Soviet patriotism is not racist or nationalist prejudices, but the people's profound devotion and loyalty to their Soviet motherland and the fraternal cooperation of the working people of all the nations of our country. ...

This is clearly seen in the example of the Tadzhik Soviet Socialist Republic. Before the great October socialist revolution the land of the Tadzhiks was one of the most backward areas of Tsarist Russia. In 1913 there were slightly more than 200 industrial workers in handicraft enterprises. Today Soviet Tadzhikistan is a land of highly developed industry, equipped with modern machinery. ...

Before the October socialist revolution the land of the Tadzhiks was a land of the most backward, primitive agriculture. The chief implement of production of the Tadzhik peasant was the ketmen and the omach, the wooden plow. Meager harvests were gathered; the people were poor and died of starvation and disease. Today Soviet Tadzhikistan is a land of large-scale, mechanized agriculture, where a large part of the work is done by tractors, combines and other complex agricultural machines. Crop yields on collective and state farms increase year after year. The gross harvest for cotton growing, the leading branch of agriculture, has increased fivefold in the past seven years alone. Tadzhikistan firmly holds second place in the Union in gross harvest of raw cotton and first place in yield per hectare.

Thanks to the great help of the Union government and the Party Central Committee, our collective farms are growing stronger every year in the organizational and economic respects. The total monetary income of Tadzhikistan collective farmers almost quadrupled in 1951. The monetary value of the workday in the past two years alone increased 2.5 times, while at the same time there was a considerable increase in the collective farmers' income in kind. Many Tadzhik collective farmers received, besides grain, rice, vegetables, fruits and livestock products, 20,000 to 25,000-30,000 rubles for their workdays.

Before the October socialist revolution there was a total of one literate person per 200 persons in Tadzhikistan and it was almost impossible to find a literate woman. Tadzhikistan now has an Academy of Sciences and 17 research institutions. Cadres of scientists have increased and there are women Doctors and Masters of Science. The population of Tadzhikistan is several times less than that of neighboring Afghanistan, but we have ten times as many elementary, incomplete secondary [seven-year] and secondary schools as Afghanistan has. There are 12 times as many higher and secondary educational institutions, training personnel for industry, agriculture and culture, as in Afghanistan. The number of higher educational institutions has grown particularly rapidly in Tadzhikistan. The number of students in them has doubled in the past three years alone. The number of Tadzhiks studying in the higher educational institutions of Moscow, Leningrad and other cities of the Soviet Union has increased considerably. Five times as many Tadzhik children finished secondary schools in 1952 as in 1948.

The Tadzhik people wholeheartedly thank our great party and

our beloved leader Comrade Stalin for the rapid development of their economy and culture. (Applause.)

Comrades, speaking of our achievements, I should state frankly that we officials of the national republics have by no means used all the opportunities available for the development of productive forces and further advance of the national economy. We still have lagging enterprises, even branches of industry, in Tadzhikistan; we have collective farms which have low harvests and distribute small incomes; in some sectors funds allotted by the Union government for capital investment have not been used. Delegates to the Eighth Congress of the Tadzhikistan Communist Party sharply criticized the Tadzhikistan Communist Party Central Committee for these shortcomings. We recognize them and we shall see that they are removed.

At the same time, I must say that the central Union organizations unsatisfactorily direct their enterprises which are located in our republic. Many thousands of tons of cotton seeds go to waste here, but the Ministry of the Food Industry does not take adequate measures to increase the capacity of oil refineries. As I have already said, we have grown much cotton over and above plan, but the U.S.S.R. Ministry of Cotton Growing does not think of ways to ensure the processing of all this raw cotton.

It should be noted that all this takes place partly because many officials of ministries seldom visit the local areas. For example, there are many enterprises of the Ministry of the Food Industry in Tadzhikistan, but Comrade Sivolap and his assistants have not once visited the republic in the past three to four years.

There are comrades who have been ministers for more than ten years and have not once visited our republic. Some ministers visit us, but not at all in order to make a profound study of the situation and to help us improve the work. Two years ago Comrade Yusupov, Minister of Cotton Growing, visited our republic. He arrived at 5 p.m. and left immediately for the Vakhsh Valley, which is more than 100 kilometers from Stalinabad. Of course, Comrade Yusupov arrived at the fields of the Vakhsh collective farms when it was completely dark. He spoke with one secretary of a district Party committee and, not wasting further time, came back. For some reason or other, Comrade Yusupov went to spend the night in Sukhan-Darya Province of Uzbekistan. In the morning Comrade Yusupov appeared again in Stalinabad, spoke with me for ten minutes and then flew to Tashkent. Comrade Yusupov did not find time to receive officials of the republic's Ministry of Cotton Growing who had been waiting for their chief for two days; he told them to go with him to Tashkent. (Laughter.)

We have many unsolved problems in Tadzhikistan. A good knowledge of our conditions on the part of officials of Union ministries would help solve these problems correctly. ...

Dear Comrade Stalin! Lead us farther and farther forward to radiant communism. We are ready under your brilliant leadership to devote all our knowledge, all our experience, our forces and energy to this great aim.

Long live our great leader, Comrade Stalin! (Stormy applause.)

SPEECH BY COMRADE G. A. ARUTINOV, ARMENIAN REPUBLIC. (Pravda, Oct. 9, p. 5. 1500 words. Condensed text:) ... The results of fulfillment of the postwar five-year plan for reconstruction and development of the national economy show the steady growth of all socialist industry, and particularly heavy industry, which has led our country to economic prosperity. A typical aspect of this economic prosperity is the fact that it includes all the Union republics. The development of industry, which is the basis of the advance of the entire national economy, has taken place in both the central and the remote regions of the Soviet Union. One of our party's outstanding achievements is the practical application of Comrade Stalin's injunction that the inequality among nationalities, inherited from Tsarism, should be eliminated by rapid economic development of the once backward border areas. This important injunction is carried out in combination with correct distribution of construction of new industrial enterprises, bringing industry closer to the sources of raw materials and fuel. This policy of the Party Central Committee and the Union government has led to a mighty development of industry and the entire

national economy of the Union republics and has brought them closer to the level of the most developed industrial centers in the country.

The development of Soviet Armenia's industry and agriculture in recent years might be cited as an example of this. The gross output of Armenian industrial enterprises in 1952 rose to 4.2 times what it had been in 1940, gross output of light industry increased by 3.1 times and output of heavy industry by 3.6 times. Metallurgical, metal-processing, machine-building and electric machine-building enterprises have been greatly developed. Generation of electric power increased by 2.3 times. ...

The construction of hydroelectric stations and rapid solution of the problem of the Sevan-Zanga waterfall assume great importance for maximum utilization of existing possibilities for further development of industry in Armenia. We consider it necessary to raise the question of simultaneous construction of two to three hydroelectric stations at this waterfall. Only then will it be possible to provide electric power to the developing industry of the republic.

Armenia's agriculture has undergone considerable development along with the growth of industry. The area sown to grain crops in 1952 was 13% greater than in 1940, while the gross grain yield almost doubled. During this period the area sown to wheat increased 26% and the gross wheat yield increased by 140%. The number of livestock in the collective farms and the gross output of animal husbandry rose considerably. There has also been an increase in the area under technical crops—cotton, tobacco, sugar beets—and perennial plantings, grapes and orchards.

The irrigation work done in Armenia will ensure further growth in agriculture. ...

A few years ago in Armenia there were manifestations in historical circles of bourgeois nationalism in the form of a one-sided attraction to and idealization of ancient history. Thanks to the assistance of the All-Union Communist Party Central Committee, the Armenian Communist Party immediately began a struggle against such manifestations of bourgeois nationalism and succeeded in turning the attention of workers in the sciences and the arts to the study and interpretation of the life and achievements of Soviet Armenia. ...

However, it must be admitted that recently bourgeois nationalist tendencies have appeared in the sphere of history and the study of literature. Certain writers consider the Armenian people's national liberation movement as outside the class struggle and represent all participants in the struggle against Tsarism, including bourgeois liberals and bourgeois nationalists, as revolutionary democrats and national heroes. This approach to the evaluation of the national liberation movement leads to the bourgeois nationalist so-called single stream theory. Such harmful anti-Marxist theories prevent the correct education of working people. It is essential for Party organizations to fight all forms of bourgeois nationalist manifestations.

One of the important factors in strengthening Party organizations and in reinforcing their leadership is the correct resolution of Party organizational problems. The All-Union Communist Party Central Committee has constantly brought the form of Party organizations into line with changing conditions. One such measure was the formation of provinces and regions in certain republics. Regional Party committees were set up in Armenia with the aim of bringing the leadership closer to the lower-echelon local Party organizations. This measure led to an improvement in district leadership and provided the opportunity for a more effective resolution of problems of collective farming. The formation of regional bodies creates more favorable conditions for developing cadres of republic administrative officials.

From the standpoint of correct organization of Party bodies, the question of Party units in large collective farms still remains unsettled in our opinion. The conditions for work by Party units changed with the amalgamation of collective farms. As a rule, a collective farm before amalgamation included not more than one village, while after amalgamation one collective farm included the collective farmers of several villages. Uniting the Communists of these villages into one collective farm Party organization complicated Party work and in certain instances led to a weakening of mass political work in villages which formerly had independent primary Party units.

The interests of intensifying Party work in collective farms

and of improving political work among the collective farmers raise the question of the need to set up Party committees in large collective farms which unite several villages. These Party committees should include both the farm and the territorial Party organizations of all the villages which become part of a particular collective farm, and these committees should be granted the rights of primary Party units. The mountainous conditions in the republic, making communications between villages difficult during the winter months, particularly dictate the necessity for such organization of collective farm Party bodies. ...

SPEECH BY COMRADE N. I. BELYAYEV, ALTAI TERRITORY. (Pravda, Oct. 9, p. 5. 1500 words. Condensed text:) ... By the will of the Bolshevik party and thanks to the constant attention which the Party and government devote to the territory's development, the Altai has become an important economic region of the country. Great tractor, machine-building, light, lumber and food industries have been established in the territory. The output of Altai plants and factories—tractors, plows, diesel engines, boilers and textiles—plays an important role in developing a number of branches of our country's economy. New cities, such as Rubtsovsk and Zmeinogorsk, have sprung up in the territory; a great deal of railroad construction has gone on. New lines of the South Siberian trunk railroad cross the Altai from east to west.

Thanks to tremendous assistance from the Party and government, agriculture in the Altai Territory has developed considerably. It has, in the full sense of the words, been made highly intensive and mechanized. The most modern machinery sows and harvests the crops over an area of 4,000,000 hectares. Two hundred Machine and Tractor Stations serve all the 1340 amalgamated collective farms. ...

The construction of an irrigation system in the Kulunda Steppe is radically transforming agriculture in the Altai Territory and Western Siberia. According to our calculations, the gross grain yield, particularly spring wheat, will be increased by a minimum of 400,000,000 poods. Favorable conditions will be created for growing other crops, the feed base will be made stable and the numbers of communal livestock and its meat and dairy yields will increase. ...

Guided by the Party organization, the Altai collective farmers have launched a broad attack on drought. State erosion-control shelter belts of a total length of 400 kilometers are being planted in the Kulunda Steppe and ponds and reservoirs are being built. ...

Our territory Party organization is eliminating shortcomings in the guidance of agriculture. We need assistance from central organizations in attaining high and steady yields and in developing animal husbandry. The structure of agriculture in the territory must be radically reorganized. Agriculture cannot continue along only one line, that of grain cultivation, as is the present case. Such a trend in agriculture involves great risk, for it brings great damage in the unfavorable conditions of a drought year.

To avoid this, the sowing of technical crops, such as sunflower seeds and bushy flax, should be increased, as well as the sowing of perennial grasses and fodder and melon crops. In every collective farm on the broad Kulunda ranges it is possible and necessary to have many tens of thousands of fine-fleece sheep to supply high-quality wool to the state and to provide a high income for the collective farms.

Drought will not be such a calamity with varied agricultural development of this kind. However, the U.S.S.R. State Planning Committee and the Ministry of Agriculture are not taking this fact into account and are planning expansion only in the area sown to spring wheat. Spring wheat sowing in many districts has already reached 80% of the total sowings of all crops.

Don't the Ministry of Agriculture and the U.S.S.R. State Planning Committee have time to study seriously and thoroughly the pattern of agriculture in the Kulunda Steppe?

It is also necessary further to intensify mechanization of agricultural production, particularly in feed production and animal husbandry, and to eliminate the bottlenecks in mechanizing the cultivation of technical crops and the harvesting of grain. ...

The Party Central Committee has considerably improved the Altai Territory's work in supervising the collective farms. The Central Committee sharply condemned instances of

pilfering of public property in the Altai Territory's collective farms and gave the territory Party organization considerable help in correcting our errors in guiding the collective farms. The territory and district Party committees are correcting the mistakes which have been made. A checkup on observance of the Collective Farm Statutes has been conducted in all the collective farms. Everything which was illegally taken from the collective farms has been returned in full, and persons guilty of plundering property have been called to account. The ranks of the collective farm chairmen have been strengthened, and the local Party and Soviet agencies' guidance of the collective farms has been improved.

The mistakes which we tolerated in the guidance of collective farms are being corrected persistently. Exact and strict observance of the Collective Farm Statutes will always be the focus of our attention. The territory Party organization will vigilantly guard the communal economy of the collective farms against every encroachment by enemies of the collective farm system. ...

SPEECH BY COMRADE A. N. YEGOROV, KARELO-FINNISH REPUBLIC. (Pravda, Oct. 9, p. 6. 3000 words. Condensed text:) ... The Karelo-Finnish Soviet Republic is growing and becoming stronger in the fraternal family of peoples of the Soviet Union. It leads a full, creative existence. It is a long time in Karelia since even a trace remained of that which made it a neglected outlying region of Russia. Great importance has been attached to the development of the lumber industry, which is well supplied with modern Soviet machinery and which annually delivers millions of cubic meters of lumber to the Soviet Union. By 1951 the paper industry was manufacturing almost three times as much paper as in 1940. The fish catch is growing every year; in 1951 it exceeded the prewar level by 54.5%. ... Today the number of students enrolled in higher educational institutions is more than double what it was in 1940. The number of technical schools and specialized secondary educational institutions doubled in the postwar period and the number of students enrolled in them almost quadrupled. A branch of the U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences has been set up in the republic and is functioning.

The Karelo-Finnish Communist Party feels the constant attention and concern of the Party Central Committee and of Comrade Stalin personally in its work. We are constantly receiving necessary assistance in material, technical and financial resources, a fact which enables the republic to overcome difficulties and to move ahead with confidence. At present administrative districts have been established in the republic which make it possible to bring the leadership of Party and Soviet agencies closer to the economy and culture and, what is most important, to hasten the growth of cadres.

The Party Central Committee has been deeply concerned with the work of the republic Communist Party: in 1944 and 1950 the All-Union Communist Party Central Committee heard the report of the Central Committee of the [republic] Communist Party, and in July, 1952, the All-Union Party Central Committee heard a report of the republic Party Central Committee on work with cadres.

The Party Central Committee has studied the work of the republic Communist Party, has given us invaluable assistance, has helped to disclose serious errors and shortcomings in work and has pointed out the way to eliminate them.

The Party Central Committee is cementing our organization, is training it and teaching it to be more effective and vigilant in working out all problems of life in the republic. Communists in the Karelo-Finnish Republic are sincerely grateful to the Party Central Committee and to Comrade Stalin personally for their paternal concern for increasing the effectiveness of Communist Party ranks in the republic and improving leadership in political, economic and cultural activities.

Today, in the light of the Fifth Five-Year Plan, tremendous tasks in developing the national economy confront the republic, along with the entire Soviet Union. In connection with the shift in the country's lumbering base to the Karelo-Finnish Republic, as one of the heavily forested regions, the increase in output of lumber in the Karelo-Finnish Republic, in preliminary data, is to be triple the increase for the Union as a whole (56%); it

is to be a 168% increase. The production of paper is to increase approximately 169%, including 370% for newsprint. The fish catch is to increase 133%. ...

At the same time it is necessary to emphasize that overcoming the republic's backwardness and guaranteeing its more rapid development depend largely on the aid which the Union ministries give to the Karelo-Finnish Republic. However, not everything is satisfactory in this respect.

In connection with the growing role of the lumber industry in the economy not only of the republic but also of the entire Soviet Union, it is essential, as a priority task, to begin organizing total utilization of forest wealth. There should be organization of a broad network of different enterprises based on utilizing all kinds of scrap from lumbering, sawing and wood-working. Suffice it to say that scrap materials left at the lumbering site in the form of stumps, knots and treetops constitute 1,500,000 to 2,000,000 cubic meters (depending on the level of lumbering reached) for enterprises of the republic Ministry of the Lumber Industry alone. Moreover, so-called nonsalable wood is left in the forest in quantities amounting to hundreds of thousands of cubic meters. In just the republic's sawmills under the U.S.S.R. Ministry of the Lumber Industry scrap materials in the form of sawdust and end pieces amount to more than 200,000 cubic meters annually. Enterprises of the paper industry also have much valuable scrap.

By utilizing scrap from timber felling and scrap materials from sawmills and wood-processing enterprises it is possible and necessary to build hydrolysis and sulphite and alcohol plants and enterprises for the rosin-extracting industry; it is possible and necessary to organize production of synthetic camphor, pressed board and many other wood items and chemical products. Unfortunately, the exploitation of forest wealth is incorrect in a great many ways. The U.S.S.R. Ministry of the Lumber Industry and the U.S.S.R. Ministry of the Paper and Wood Processing Industry are primarily at fault.

As early as 1949 the Union government planned to construct new hydrolysis and sulphite and alcohol plants at republic paper industry enterprises before 1952. But this directive was not carried out. The U.S.S.R. Ministry of the Paper and Wood Processing Industry has built only the first section of a hydrolysis plant.

It is essential to accelerate in every way the construction of hydrolysis plants based on utilizing scrap material from sawmills and, above all, to fulfill the Union government's decree on building sulphite-alcohol plants at paper combines. It is essential within the shortest possible time to study and work out the problem of building forest combines designed not only for cutting and hauling timber, but also for full mechanical, chemical and power processing of all lumber supplies, with the idea of using all scrap materials. ...

When reconstruction on the Volga-Baltic waterway is completed, Karelian stone, granite and marble will be conveyed in quantity by water to Moscow, to cities in the Upper and Lower Volga areas and to the area of the Volga-Don Navigation Canal. This will mean a considerable economy of state funds and will lower costs for shipping stone to various cities.

The tremendous potentialities for developing the stone-quarrying and stone-processing industry and the very rich deposits of facing and building materials are being used to an extremely limited extent in the republic. The responsibility for this lies primarily with the U.S.S.R. Ministry of the Building Materials Industry, which until recently had not re-established the prewar Union Stone and Granite Trust. ...

SPEECH BY COMRADE A. M. VASILEVSKY, MOSCOW. (Pravda, Oct. 10, p. 5. 2900 words. Condensed text.) Comrades! The report of our party's Central Committee sums up the remarkable results of the heroic struggle and victories of the Soviet people under the leadership of the Communist Party and our wise leader and teacher, Comrade Stalin. (Stormy applause.)

The report by Comrade Malenkov, Secretary of the Party Central Committee, shows with maximum clarity the future roads to our great goal, to new and even more glorious victories in building communism in our country. ...

The soldiers, noncommissioned officers, officers and generals of the Soviet Army are of a single mind and purpose with our people. Army Communists and all Soviet military men came to the 19th Congress with new successes in combat and

political training and rallied as never before around our party's Central Committee, around our warmly beloved leader and great commander, Comrade Stalin. (Stormy, prolonged applause.)

The great patriotic war was a stern ordeal for the Soviet Union and its armed forces, a thorough and severe test of the strength of the Soviet social and state system, of the might of our Soviet Army. ... During the war the Soviet Army, under the direct and brilliant leadership of the Supreme Commander, Comrade Stalin, honorably discharged its duty to the homeland and developed into a first-class professional army. ... Our successes in the numerous operations of the great patriotic war, which led us to victory over the enemy, were due to the fact that these operations were carried out in accord with the plans of and under the direct leadership of the great Stalin. (Applause.)

After the end of the second world war a new alignment of political forces was created in the world arena; two camps were sharply delineated: the camp of peace, democracy and socialism headed by the Soviet Union, and the imperialist camp headed by the U.S.A., the center of international reaction. New aspirants to world domination have appeared in the form of the American monopolists. Forgetting the lessons of history taught to their predecessors, the German fascists, they have begun open preparations for a new war, first of all against the Soviet Union and the people's democracies. With this in mind the American imperialists are forging aggressive blocs, restoring the armed forces of Western Germany and Japan, forming massive armies and engaging in an intensified arms race. The ruling circles of the U.S.A. are devoting special attention to the production of atomic, chemical and bacteriological weapons.

In their efforts to strengthen their home front the imperialists of the U.S.A. are turning their own country and their satellites fascist, are ideologically conditioning the public and the army, and are turning their country into a police state. However, these measures cannot ensure the stability of their home front or the morale of the army in the aggressive, plundering, unjust war for which they are preparing.

Comrade Stalin teaches that "the most experienced generals and officers can suffer defeat if the soldiers consider the war imposed upon them highly unjust and if, for this reason, they discharge their duties at the front formally, without faith in the justness of their mission, without enthusiasm."

More than two years of experience in the war in Korea is striking proof of the profound justice of these wise words of Comrade Stalin. The American imperialists have suffered in Korea an infamous military, moral and political defeat which is unprecedented in their history.

The aggressive military blocs and alliances being formed by the American imperialists cannot be lasting and stable. The weakness of these blocs and alliances is assured by the direct contradictions among the capitalist countries, by the anti-popular, unjust nature of the war being prepared by the imperialists.

The Soviet Union, which heads the democratic camp, is firmly pursuing a peace-loving foreign policy, is exposing the aggressive designs of the Anglo-American imperialists and is rallying all partisans of peace and democracy.

The peace-loving foreign policy of the Soviet Union is by no means a sign of military weakness. On guard over the peaceful, creative labor of the Soviet people, on guard over the state interests of our homeland vigilantly stands the valiant Soviet Army, which has everything it needs to repel any aggressors. (Applause.) ...

Guided by the instructions of Comrade Stalin, the Soviet Army is in constant combat preparedness in the postwar period; its soldiers, officers and generals are constantly perfecting their military and political qualifications, assimilating the experience of the past war and mastering modern military equipment.

Major changes have taken place in the organization of the Soviet Army and in its arms, equipment and matériel, changes which have radically improved its fighting capacity, thanks to the constant concern of the Party Central Committee, the Soviet government and Comrade Stalin—who, while occupied with peaceful construction, do not for a moment forget the strengthening and development of the country's active defense.

Successful fulfillment of the Fourth Stalin Five-Year Plan made it possible to equip all branches of the Soviet Army with new, up-to-date arms which in quality considerably excel the arms employed by the Soviet Army during the great patriotic war. This has radically changed the nature of the army as a whole.

The draft directives on the five-year plan submitted for consideration by the Congress show that the Fifth Five-Year Plan is a plan of peaceful economic and cultural development. Fulfillment of this plan will lead to another mighty advance in the entire economy. It is therefore entirely obvious that the Fifth Five-Year Plan will further strengthen the economic base necessary for the country's active defense. This will provide all requisites for securing for the Soviet Army more and more first-class, up-to-date matériel, arms and ammunition, and in considerably greater quantities than during the great patriotic war.

There can be no doubt that in further developing the industrial technology of the Soviet Union scientists will develop even more perfect types of military equipment and armament. ...

Under postwar conditions the commanders, the political organs of the Soviet Army, the army Party and Young Communist League organizations, have scored considerable progress in the political and military training of army personnel. Our commanders and political organs are striving to organize all their work on political and military training in specific and purposeful terms and in conformity with the tasks being met by the armed forces, so that this work will heighten the vigilance of the personnel, mobilize them for the tasks posed and train them in faultless performance of their military duty.

One of the most important measures carried out by the Party and government in the Soviet Army in recent years has been the further strengthening of command authority, increasing the authority of the commanders and their strictness with subordinates in order to strengthen the discipline and constant combat readiness of the armed forces.

The shift to complete command authority was possible even during the great patriotic war because excellently trained commanders emerged in the army, commanders who were completely devoted to the cause of socialism, who were politically seasoned and who had mastered Stalinist military science.

The measures carried out by the Party Central Committee and by the Soviet government for further, still greater strengthening of command authority had a beneficial effect in increasing the authority of the commanders and improving discipline and order among the troops.

The combat training of the Soviet Army is being carried out on the basis of the Stalinist guiding principle of teaching the troops what is necessary in war. Attention is being given to thorough mastery of new matériel in this connection. Our infantrymen, artillerymen, tank corps, sappers and signal personnel are diligently studying the tactics of maneuver, high-speed advance and the waging of stubborn, insurmountable defense.

The Soviet Army is also successfully mastering the preparation and waging of that important kind of attack developed by the greatest commander, Comrade Stalin, the counterattack. Soviet aviators are successfully learning cooperation with the land forces and measures for combating enemy aviation.

It would be a mistake for us to rest on our laurels, however. The entire command and political personnel of the army continues to work diligently on further perfecting the combat training of the armed forces.

The Soviet Army has experienced generals and officers boundlessly devoted to the cause of the party of Lenin and Stalin, cadres who went through the hard school of the great patriotic war. The fact that about 90% of the officers, from company commanders on up, participated in the great patriotic war is striking confirmation of the high quality of our officers. A total of 86.4% of the officers and generals are Communists or Y.C.L. members. A considerable part of our generals and officers have taken refresher courses in higher education since the war.

The commanders and chiefs have begun to deal concretely with study, selection and training of cadres. Work with cadres

is being carried out in accordance with Comrade Stalin's instructions on the training and bold promotion of young, competent and worthy generals and officers to posts of responsibility, on the use of young cadres in combination with cadres which have extensive experience in directing the combat and political training of the troops.

The Soviet Army has numerous reserve officers with the requisite military training. About 60% of these officers went through the school of the great patriotic war.

The local Party and Soviet organizations are rendering great practical assistance to the military, the commissariats and the Public Society for Cooperation With the Armed Forces in carrying out military training work with reserve officers. This aid must be intensified still more.

Following Comrade Stalin's injunction that it is impossible to stand still in military affairs, our military personnel are persistently perfecting their knowledge on the basis of extensive and thorough application of the latest discoveries of Soviet science and technology and in accord with the varied experience gained in the great patriotic war.

Solution of the problems involved in further improving the training of our cadres, in broadening their outlook and improving their standards is directly dependent upon assimilation of the experiences gained during the war, upon further elaboration of Soviet military science. No other army in the world has such a wealth of combat experience and such an advanced military science as our army. We must assimilate and augment this wealth.

Scientific work for military purposes has been considerably developed in the Soviet Army since the war. New military scientific personnel have emerged and the range of problems on which serious theoretical research is being conducted has been expanded.

In all our work for further perfecting the fighting skill of the soldiers, officers and generals we sense the constant guidance, aid and paternal concern of our party's Central Committee and of Comrade Stalin personally. (Applause.) ...

SPEECH BY COMRADE F. M. PRASS, MOLOTOV PROVINCE. (Pravda, Oct. 10, p. 5. 2400 words. Condensed text:) ... In affectionate gratitude to Comrade Stalin, the working people of the Urals call their rich territory the Stalin Urals. Thanks to the special concern of the Party and of Comrade Stalin personally for the development of the Western Urals, many major branches of heavy industry have been created and are being steadily developed here: chemical, machine-building, metallurgical, coal, oil, coal-tar chemical, cellulose and paper, lumber, etc. Electrification of industry and railroad transportation has been extensively developed. Molotov Province has been transformed into one of heavy industry's most important provinces. The gross output of industry in the province has more than doubled since 1940. During the Fourth Five-Year Plan major gains were also scored in Molotov Province in the development of agriculture. The area under cultivation increased 22%. ...

The Fifth Five-Year Plan envisages extensive measures for electrification of the country. This brings up the problem of maximum exploitation of hydroelectric resources in Molotov Province, where the total potential of all rivers averages about 2,500,000 kilowatts and annual potential output of 23,000,000 kilowatt-hours of electric power.

The new five-year plan provides for completing the Kama Hydroelectric Station and beginning construction of a large new hydroelectric station on the Kama at Votkinsk. Even when this is done, however, the power potential of the Western Urals will be harnessed only 15%.

In view of the need for greater electric power generation in the Urals and the great advantages of the combined operation of steam and hydroelectric plants, it would be very expedient to speed the construction of large and medium hydroelectric stations on the rivers of Molotov Province. In addition to building the Kama and Votkinsk Hydroelectric Stations it is necessary that the present five-year plan provide for preparatory work to build a hydroelectric station at Solikamsk on the Upper Kama. ...

The lumber industry is rapidly developing in our province, 3,000,000 cubic meters more timber having been cut in 1951 than in 1950. Though the lumber industry is growing rapidly,

production plans are not yet being fully carried out.

A number of problems must be solved in short order if the further development of lumbering operations is to be ensured.

First, that of establishing permanent corps of workers. It is necessary to organize the transfer of workers from parts of the country where lumbering operations are being terminated. The lumber industry, which has modern equipment, can no longer operate with a seasonal labor force. Second, we can no longer do without a dependable repair base. For this reason it is necessary to speed up the construction of machine shops and repair works in order to ensure full maintenance of machinery at lumber enterprises.

The third question is that of floating timber downstream and of building new railroads. The development of timber floating and the ensuring of a centralized source of electric power for complex mechanization of all lumbering and floating operations necessitates provision in the Fifth Five-Year Plan for the construction of a Churtan Hydroelectric Station on the Upper Kama and a Podbobykinsky Hydroelectric Station on the Kolva River.

We also ask that an addition be made to the five-year plan specifying that construction begin on the Kirs-Usolye road.

The shifting of lumbering operations to the Western Urals, the development of hydroelectric construction and the improvement of navigation on the Kama are problems closely related to each other, and the State Planning Committee should provide an integrated solution for them.

The production of building materials is a bottleneck that is holding up capital construction in our province. The production capacity of plants for manufacturing local building materials, especially bricks, meets in all only half of the province's requirements. Work has been done in Molotov Province in recent years to build new brickyards and to expand those now in operation, but some of the ministries are not paying due attention to this very important matter. A large silicate brick plant with an annual capacity of 120,000 bricks has been planned for construction near Molotov, for example, but Comrade Yudin, Minister of the Building Materials Industry, has not ensured the completion of general surveys and exploratory work, within the period established, with the result that construction has been postponed indefinitely. The Ministry of Power Plants produces absolutely no bricks in our province, even though it is engaged in extensive construction projects here. Unconditional fulfillment of the Fifth Five-Year Plan directives, which set a higher rate of increase in building materials production for the Urals than for the Soviet Union as a whole, requires that all ministries devote considerable attention to this problem.

In the first place, a special construction and assembly trust should be organized in Molotov under the U.S.S.R. Ministry of the Building Materials Industry, and a large, well-equipped auxiliary base should be formed under this trust in order to obtain raw materials.

Thanks to the concern of the Communist Party and Soviet government for improving the living standards of the working people, more than 1,500,000 square meters of new housing have been completed in Molotov Province since the war. The amount of communal housing has doubled in comparison with 1940, and schools, hospitals and other cultural and service buildings are being erected.

In comparison with the rapid growth of the population, however, the municipal economy does not satisfy the growing requirements of city dwellers in Molotov Province. The reconstruction and building of the city of Molotov lags especially far behind the needs of the working people. The Ministries of Railroads, the Oil Industry, the Chemical Industry, the Coal-Mining Industry, Ferrous Metallurgy and others, as well as the Russian Republic Council of Ministers, must give considerably more attention to housing and cultural and service construction, to building water supply and sewer systems, to building roads, to developing the cities and villages and to increasing capital investments for these purposes.

One of the priority tasks of our province Party organization is to increase the production of vegetables, potatoes and animal products in order to meet the requirements of residents of the industrial centers. ...

Three years ago the Central Committee found serious short-

comings in the work of the Molotov Province committee. The committee had failed to ensure proper development of criticism and self-criticism in the Party organization and had glossed over shortcomings. Personnel selection had been allowed to proceed on the basis of family ties and personal friendships in the province Party organization, and there had been flattery of officials and preoccupation with outward appearances, all of which had a harmful effect on the work. The Party Central Committee adopted a special resolution, helped the Party organization discover these shortcomings and outlined ways of eliminating them. The Party Central Committee's resolution has played an exceptional role in the life of the province Party organization. The Molotov Party organization has adopted the Central Committee's resolution as a fighting program in its work and has intensified organizational and ideological-political work. About 15,000 young, growing workers have been advanced to administrative work in the province Party organization, during this period. About 600 of the Party and Soviet officials Molotov Province at the present time have been graduated from the Higher Party School or the province Party school. ...

We know that what we have accomplished is only the first step on the path toward bringing all work by the province Party organization to the level of the great new tasks of building communism. There are still many shortcomings in our work.

Permit me to assure the Congress, the Central Committee and Comrade Stalin personally that the Communists and all working people in Molotov Province will not spare their efforts and strength in performing the new and majestic tasks involved in building communism. ...

SPEECH BY COMRADE N. G. IGNATOV, KRASNODAR TERRITORY. (Pravda, Oct. 11, pp. 1-2. 3100 words. Condensed text:). During the years from the 18th to the 19th Party Congresses the working people of the Kuban, like the Soviet people as a whole, have scored great gains in developing industry, agriculture and culture under the leadership of the Party Central Committee. Devastated and plundered by the German occupiers, the economy of Krasnodar Territory has been restored through the heroic labor of the workers, collective farmers and intelligentsia to a point where it is now considerably above the prewar level.

Not long ago the Kuban was regarded as an agricultural region, but today, thanks to the concern of the Party and government, industry is being developed there. Seven billion rubles have been invested in the territory's industry in recent years alone. Every year industry fulfills the state production plans, and the oil industry is being rapidly developed. ...

The cement industry, which was completely destroyed during the war, occupies a very important place in the territory. Cement plants have now been restored and provided with the latest equipment. Novorossisk plants alone have supplied the country with hundreds of thousands of tons of cement in 1952. The cement workers have learned to produce a number of high-grade types of cement for the great construction projects.

The food industry has been widely developed. Enterprises of the territory's canning industry produce more than 200,000,000 cans of preserved vegetables, fruits, meat and fish each year, or 80% more than before the war. The butter and cheese industry produces about 100,000 centners of fresh butter and 25,000 centners of cheese and the fishermen of the territory catch about 1,000,000 centners of fish in the Azov and Black Seas each year.

Double turret lathes, the latest measuring instruments, diesel threshers, machinery for mechanizing railroad track maintenance and other products are being manufactured in the industrial enterprises of the Kuban, and large worsted and cotton goods combines and other enterprises are being built. ...

The amalgamated collective farms are becoming more and more productive. Preliminary figures indicate that the grain crop will average 22 centners per hectare this year. ... The collective farms now have 45% more cattle (including 50% more cows), 82% more sheep and 98% more hogs than in 1940, while the number of poultry has more than tripled. Turkeys have been raised in the Kuban since 1950 and there are now about 300,000 on the collective and state farms.

The Party has trained outstanding collective farm personnel. Fifty-five per cent of the collective farm chairmen in the

territory have higher or secondary agricultural training, and Party organization secretaries have been relieved of all other work to serve 140 collective farm Party organizations with 45 to 100 and more Communists.

The territory's collective and state farms deliver more and more agricultural products to the state each year. Twenty-three million poods more wheat were delivered to the state this year than in 1940. (Applause.) Large amounts of sunflower seeds, rice, corn, raw cotton, hemp, kenaf, grapes, fruit, tea, vegetables, melons, volatile oil and other crops are being delivered to the state. Thirty-three thousand tons more meat, 130,000 tons more milk, 400 tons more wool, 119,000,000 eggs and 25,500 tons more cotton were delivered to the state in 1951 than in 1940, and twice as much meat and milk have already been delivered to the state during the first ten months of 1952 as during all of 1940.

Seventy per cent of the territory's collective farms have annual incomes in excess of 1,000,000 rubles. The collective farms' indivisible funds increased by 175,000,000 rubles during 1951, and the great majority of farms are now able to make large outlays for capital construction, for obtaining pedigree livestock, and for other essentials to developing communal economy of the collective farms and increasing the incomes of the collective farms and collective farmers.

Comrades! Our achievements would have been considerably greater if we had not had so many shortcomings and errors in Party organizational work, in selecting and placing personnel and in supervising the collective and state farms and Machine and Tractor Stations. The fact is that the defects and errors noted in Comrade Malenkov's report occur in our Party organizations as well. Many collective and state farms and M.T.S. in Krasnodar Territory are obtaining low yields, failing to deal with cattle diseases and tolerating violations of the Collective Farm Statutes. This is why our territory each year falls short of a large amount of grain, animal products and other agricultural products which it could raise. ...

Thousands of tractors and combines are now working on the fields of the territory's collective and state farms. Six thousand electric motors are being used in the territory's farming, and approximately 20% of the able-bodied collective farmers of the territory now operate farm equipment.

All of this has made it possible to bring the level of mechanization of basic farm work on the territory's collective farms to 100% in plowing and sowing, 99% to 100% in harvesting corn and sunflower seeds, 96% in crop cultivation, 90% in haying and 70% in ensiling feed. ...

It must be said that without complex mechanization we would not have been able to keep up the spread of harvesting and grain deliveries achieved this year. Grain deliveries (excluding corn and rice) were completed in 20 days this year. ...

... Increased mechanization of labor processes has made it possible to reduce the time required for a number of agricultural jobs (and in agriculture, as is well known, time is of paramount importance), to lighten the collective farmers' work and to release about 40,000 collective farmers for other urgent farm work. ...

It is necessary to register a complaint against the Ministry of Agricultural Machine Building. In our opinion, the ministry is showing little initiative in the matter of widely mechanizing labor-consuming processes in farming, and it never backs up valuable initiatives coming from below.

Our inventors and rationalizers have developed many different types of machinery and equipment which have corrected to some extent some of the shortcomings in agricultural machine building. Perhaps these machines are not perfect, but they meet the requirements of the amalgamated collective farms. With close contact between the ministry and the innovators and also with proper efficiency it would already have been possible to organize serial manufacture of a number of new machines needed in agriculture. Unfortunately, the Ministry of Agricultural Machine Building has not begun to manufacture new agricultural machinery for Krasnodar Territory M.T.S. As for the machines produced, some of them do not meet requirements. It is time to organize the production at industrial enterprises of powerful grain-cleaning aggregates, grain loaders and haystackers as well as machinery for harvesting sunflower seeds, hemp, kenaf, corn, etc.

Comrades! In order to further develop the agriculture of the Kuban we think that the Fifth Five-Year Plan for development of the U.S.S.R. should provide for the establishment of a water development project in Krasnodar Territory to exploit the resources of the Kuban River and its tributaries. Solution of this problem will be of exceptional economic importance in further increasing the gross yields of agricultural products, increasing the meat and dairy yields of communally owned livestock and greatly increasing power capacity. Utilization of present water resources will make it possible to irrigate at least 750,000 hectares and to bring water to as much as 3,500,000 hectares of land in the northern part of Krasnodar Territory, some of the southern districts of Rostov Province and adjacent districts of Stavropol Territory. Irrigation of the land will make possible an increased annual output of 50,000,000 poods of rice, more than 10,000,000 poods of raw cotton, 10,000,000 poods of wheat and large amounts of vegetables, fruit, grapes and other agricultural products in the Kuban alone. Known water resources will permit the construction of hydroelectric stations with a capacity of 400,000 kilowatts, while those on irrigation canals and other water systems will permit a capacity of 150,000 kilowatts.

The great advantages of the proposed measures must be pointed out. Almost all irrigation would be by gravity, and water would be brought on a large scale to dozens of dry stream beds and shallow streams. A considerable part of the work to irrigate and bring water to the land could be done through extensive participation by the Kuban's collective farm peasantry. The erection of hydroelectric stations on mountain streams would also have a number of important advantages. Because the development project would be put into operation as units are completed, the land would be put into use the first year after work begins on the project. Thus expenditures during the first year would benefit the national economy even while construction was in progress and would be covered by the value of the additional agricultural products obtained from the irrigated land.

A plan has already been worked out in the territory to exploit the water resources of the Kuban River and its tributaries. However, this plan has been held up by the U.S.S.R. State Planning Committee. We ask that it be put into action. ...

SPEECH BY COMRADE A. Ye. KORNEICHUK, UKRAINE REPUBLIC. (Pravda, Oct. 11, p. 2, 2100 words. Condensed text:) ... At the very dawn of the new era opened for mankind by the genius of Marx and Engels, the leading sons of Russia, the fearless revolutionaries, kindled in the hearts of the working people of the whole world the inextinguishable flame of a sacred struggle for the freedom of the oppressed and enslaved. One of the greatest victories achieved by our party is that the Soviet people, brought up on the ideas of Lenin and Stalin, have now become the acknowledged teachers of life for all peoples of the world. Not only the peoples of the Soviet Union, but now the peoples of ancient China and the other people's democracies, too, respectfully and lovingly call the great Russian people their elder brother, a brother who has given Leninism to the world and by his heroic achievements is setting all men an example of selfless struggle for the freedom and happiness of all working people of the globe.

The Ukrainians, who are preparing soon to celebrate the 300th anniversary of the Pereyaslav Rada, at which the union of the Ukraine with Russia and the unification of the two fraternal peoples in a single Russian state took place, are turning back anew to the history of their people. The more attentively we look at our distant past and the more profoundly we study the people's heroic struggle for their freedom, the more clearly we see before us the high and noble role of our elder brother, the great Russian people. Throughout the centuries it has given fraternal aid to its sister, the Ukraine. The Ukrainian people love their heroic past but consider it their greatest national pride that to them fell the honor of advancing first behind the great Russian people along the glorious road of [the] October [revolution], that Lenin and Stalin stood by the cradle of the Ukrainian Soviet state, and that Comrade Stalin, the brilliant architect of communism, is the builder of the mighty Soviet Ukraine and the man who united all its ancient lands. (Applause.)

That is why in those days of hard trials when the German fascists were putting the cities and villages of the Ukraine to fire and sword, when not blue waves but bloodstained waves rolled on the Dnieper and the Black Sea, our people did not fall on their knees before the enemy. They believed in the Stalinist friendship of the Soviet peoples; they believed that their brother peoples would spare neither strength nor blood to save their sister, the Ukraine, from destruction.

Permit me from the depths of the Ukrainian people's hearts to convey ardent love and eternal gratitude to the creator of our invincible strength, whose name stands for the sacred, indestructible Stalinist friendship of peoples—to the great leader, teacher and friend of the Ukrainian people, Comrade Stalin! (Prolonged applause.)

The Ukrainian people consider the building of communism their own nearest and most vital concern and will spare no effort to perform with honor the tasks set by our own party of Lenin and Stalin. The rapid growth of industry and agriculture and the flowering of a Ukrainian culture which is national in form and socialist in content is evidence of this. ...

No country in the world, however much wealth it may possess, can spend such vast funds on the welfare of the people as does our Soviet fatherland. The Ukraine Soviet Republic alone is spending on the building of cities, villages, factories, the Kakhovka Hydroelectric Station and the Southern Ukraine Canal—whose irrigation system would encircle the globe if stretched out in a single line—health, education, culture and improvement in the people's living standards incomparably more than all the capitalist countries of Europe, including both the big states and the pawned Beneluxes!

The capital of the Ukraine has risen from ruins and today Kiev is one of the most beautiful cities in the world. Before the October revolution Kiev's Taras Shevchenko University had four departments; now it has 11. Its schools for physicists, mathematicians and chemists are widely known. Nine thousand students will be enrolled in Kiev University by the end of the five-year plan. Where Tsarist Russia had 131,000 students in all higher educational institutions, including courses for women, the Ukraine alone now has more than 250,000 students enrolled in higher educational institutions. This is how vigorously Ukrainian culture is growing under the leadership of our party.

A leading Italian scientist visited Kiev recently and told me that more than 200,000 unemployed persons, farm hands, workers with families and persons without homes now live in caves in the south of Italy.

The Italian capitalists, who have placed the yoke of Wall Street on the neck of the people, have driven into caves and under the ancient Roman aqueducts the sons of the great Italian nation, a nation which has created magnificent works of art, literature and science and which has produced those great fighters for the freedom and honor of the Italian people, Garibaldi and Palmiro Togliatti. Thus does the basic law of capitalist society, which the common people have rightly named the law of death, function inexorably.

People can be denied shelter and bread, but the imperialists will never succeed in breaking their will to fight for a bright future. Millions of people of the world, outstanding scientists and writers who are the pride of their countries—Joliot-Curie, Bernal, Kuo Mo-jo, Paul Eluard, Jorge Amado, Howard Fast, Paul Robeson, Anna Seghers and hundreds of others—are marching in the front ranks of progressive mankind. These are our friends in the great cause of fighting for the happiness of mankind. We Soviet citizens are justly proud of this.

We realize the full tragedy of the American people, whose finest sons have been cast into prison and savagely persecuted while the rulers foist upon them "friends" who are bandits, spies and traitors from all lands.

How ridiculous and pitiful are the delirious speeches of Presidential candidate Eisenhower, who seeks to "liberate" the peoples who have broken away from the rule of the capitalist wolf-law of death. When people in the Ukraine read the Pravda article "Eisenhower's en va t'en Guerre" * one collective farmer had this to say of Eisenhower: "If a pig had horns it would gore everybody, and if it had a long tail it would lash its

own sides." (Laughter.) That is the way ordinary Soviet people react to Eisenhower's threat.

But the Ukrainian people cannot calmly ignore the criminal actions of the American government, which has appropriated \$100,000,000 to organize espionage and diversion and has hired for this purpose bandits and monsters among whom are the thrice-accursed enemies of the Ukrainian people, the Petlyuras and Banders. The Ukrainian people have not forgotten 1918, when a meeting was held at Jassy between representatives of America, Great Britain and France, with the participation of a Petlyura Minister, at which America presented the Petlyura bandits with \$11,000,000, for which she provided arms and ammunition. We do not know how much of the \$100,000,000 appropriated for subversive activity against the Soviet Union and the people's democracies Mr. President Truman has now granted to the Petlyura-Bander bandits, but we know well the folk saying "Like master, like servant." (Laughter in the hall.) There can be no doubt that Master Truman's servants—the Petlyura-Bander bandits and monsters—will be destroyed like mad dogs by the Ukrainian people.

But we must be extremely vigilant, bearing in mind that the imperialists and their agents will take advantage of every opportunity to harm us. That is why we Ukrainians must be implacable in dealing with the slightest manifestations of bourgeois nationalism. It must be stated, unfortunately, that we in the Ukraine have in recent years slackened our struggle against relapses into Ukrainian bourgeois nationalism in literature and the arts. The newspaper Pravda, organ of our party's Central Committee, revealed serious ideological shortcomings and deviations in works by some Ukrainian writers. Pravda justly criticized us because the nationalist poetry of Sosyura was not only left uncriticized but was republished and praised. * This happened because criticism and self-criticism were neglected in the writers', composers', artists' and theater organizations of the Ukraine. An atmosphere of mutual forgiveness of mistakes, of mutual praise, opened chinks through which works hostile to the people crawled into the light. The Pravda article roused all our intelligentsia and was unanimously received and accepted as showing the Party's great concern for and assistance to our Soviet Ukrainian literature and arts.

Comrade Malenkov justly criticized the shortcomings of our literature, and we writers must accept this criticism wholeheartedly and draw the proper conclusions from it. It is time to meet the just demands of our readers, the most advanced readers in the world, who are now becoming impatient with long speeches on the good intentions of the poets, writers and playwrights.

In treating the problem of typicalness in literature and art from the standpoint of Marxist-Leninist science, Comrade Malenkov made an outstanding contribution to our Marxist esthetics in his report on behalf of the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party of Bolsheviks. It must be said that not a single problem in literary scholarship and criticism has been as confused as the problem of presentation of the typical, because, as Comrade Malenkov said, this problem is always a political one. Analyzing the problem, Comrade Malenkov revealed its philosophical essence and called upon workers in literature and the arts to be daring and to study life profoundly, to struggle ruthlessly against whatever is rotten and false, against hack work, to reveal the lofty spiritual qualities and typical good traits in the character of the ordinary man and to create a vivid portrait of him, worthy of being an example and object of imitation for the people. There is not and cannot be a loftier and nobler task for writers and artists.

Warm thanks to our party for so lovingly and patiently teaching good sense to us writers and workers in the arts! Thanks to the Party, which justly criticized the authors of the libretto for the opera "Bogdan Khmelnytsky" † and taught a correct approach to the history of our people. We have radically revised the libretto, the composer has worked hard, and we

* [See Current Digest of the Soviet Press, Vol. III, No. 24, pp. 13-14].

† Current Digest of the Soviet Press, Vol. III, No. 25, pp. 12-13. [The authors of the libretto are the speaker, Kornelchuk, and his wife, Wanda Wasilewska.]

hope that the opera will soon be produced and that it will answer the just criticism.

Permit me to assure you, comrade delegates to the Congress, that the writers, composers, singers, actors and artists—that all of the Ukraine's workers in the arts, who have created many works highly valued and loved by our entire Soviet people—will do everything possible to clear the atmosphere in their organizations of all complacency and indifference, that they will wage an implacable struggle against the slightest manifestations of bourgeois nationalism and cosmopolitanism and will gladden our motherland with new and talented works illumined by the brilliant ideas of the great friend of Soviet literature and arts, Comrade Stalin. (Applause.)

Long live our great party of Lenin and Stalin!

Long live our beloved leader and teacher, the great Comrade Stalin! (Applause.)

SPEECH BY COMRADE I. R. RAZZAKOV, KIRGIZ REPUBLIC. (Pravda, Oct. 11, pp. 2-3, 2600 words. Condensed text:) ...

The Kirgiz people have made a revolutionary leap from the patriarchal-feudal system to socialism, bypassing the painful capitalist stage of development. Today the Kirgiz Soviet Socialist Republic is a highly developed industrial and collective farming republic with flourishing culture, science and arts.

In confirmation of the above permit me to cite a few figures. Industrial output was 150% greater in 1951 than in 1940 and more than 100% greater than in 1945, while the fixed capital of industry doubled during this period [i.e., since 1940].

The republic's industry has developed at a rapid rate since the war and a new branch—machine building—has been established. Metal-cutting lathes, equipment for the food industry and farm machinery are being produced, and the coal, light, food and mining industries have been considerably developed. Capital construction has gone forward on a large scale, and hundreds of millions of rubles have been invested in the republic's economy during the past six years alone, an amount far in excess of that spent in the ten years before the war. New mechanized coal mines, a vegetable oil refinery, a cotton-spinning mill, a meat combine and a number of other large enterprises have been built and put into operation. Further sizable growth of the republic's industry is envisaged in the new five-year plan. The level of industrial production must be raised 81% during the five-year plan.

Considerable gains have also been scored in developing socialist agriculture. The level of mechanization has been raised, the sown area has been expanded, yields have risen and the gross yield of all crops has increased. Communal animal husbandry, the main branch of the republic's agriculture, is being developed. In 1951 the numbers of livestock on the collective farms had increased, as compared to 1940, as follows: cattle more than twofold, sheep and goats two and one half times, hogs twofold, poultry 2.7 times and horses more than 1.5 times. All of the republic's collective farms now have four livestock farm sections, three of which are for productive livestock.

The economy of the collective farms has grown stronger. During the postwar period the monetary income of collective farms has more than doubled, their working capital has doubled and the collective farmers' monetary income and earnings in kind have greatly increased.

Deliveries to the state of agricultural products and raw materials have increased. In 1951 more grain, raw cotton and tobacco were delivered to the state than in 1940. Deliveries of meat in 1951 were 3.7 times the 1940 figure, of milk 2.5 times, of wool threefold. This year the plan for state grain deliveries was fulfilled ahead of schedule. Almost 3,000,000 more poods of grain have been delivered to the state than last year. The republic's collective and state farms have provided themselves with good, selected seeds and are setting up other farm reserves.

The Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party and the Union government show constant concern for thorough development of the republic's agriculture and are giving us a great deal of help. The U.S.S.R. Council of Ministers has adopted decrees on assistance to the republic's collective farms in the improvement of livestock raising and farming. These decrees

define the tasks of the immediate future in the further development of agriculture, particularly livestock raising, and provide for a great deal of help, particularly in the development of irrigation farming. Tremendous amounts have been allocated for irrigation work, triple the amount spent for irrigation during the first postwar five-year plan. Construction of the Orto-Tokoi Reservoir and the Great Chuisk Canal, called for in the 19th Party Congress draft directives on the Fifth Five-Year Plan, will play a very important part in the development of irrigation. Complete realization of all of the measures projected in the government's decrees will assure fundamental reconstruction of irrigation facilities, will completely eliminate the water shortage in the republic and will ensure a considerable development of cotton growing, sugar beet raising and tobacco raising, and also sizable growth of communal animal husbandry and an increase in its meat and dairy yields.

Major successes have been achieved in further development of the culture of the Kirgiz people, national in form, socialist in content, and in the development of science, literature and arts. Universal seven-year schooling for children has in the main been achieved in the republic. More than 315,000 children are being taught in 1627 schools; more than 20,000 students are studying in 10 higher educational establishments and 26 technical colleges. There are 34 scientific research institutions and a branch of the U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences. By decision of the Union government the Kirgiz State University was opened a year ago. Several other higher educational establishments and technical colleges were also opened. It must be remarked that in our work in the direction of public education there are still grave defects of which Comrade Mikhailov has correctly spoken here. ...

It would be an unforgivable mistake on our part to be carried away by successes, to fail to see the grave shortcomings and mistakes in our work and fail to take steps for their elimination. We have many enterprises which do not fulfill production plans, do not achieve a rise in labor productivity or fulfill assignments for variety, lower cost and higher quality of output.

There are great unused reserves of production capacity at industrial enterprises and in the mines. Some branches of industry lag far behind in their development; power is weakly developed. The immense potentialities in this respect are badly utilized. The water power resources of Kirgizia amount to 15,000,000 kilowatts, but the total capacity of all existing hydroelectric stations is only some tens of thousands of kilowatts. The weakness of the power base is today hampering development of the economy of Kirgizia. The U.S.S.R. State Planning Committee and the U.S.S.R. Ministry of Power Plants must concern themselves seriously with development of water power in the Kirgiz Republic.

Kirgizia has great potentialities for mighty development of the coal industry. But these potentialities are being used timidly and slowly. The law of the first postwar five-year plan provided for the industrial development of the Uzgen Coal Basin, which has hundreds of millions of tons of deposits of coking coal. Through the fault of the Ministry of the Coal-Mining Industry and the U.S.S.R. Ministry of Railroads the preparatory work was not concluded within the period established by the government and until now practically nothing has been done toward industrial development of these coal deposits, which are the richest in the whole of Central Asia. The U.S.S.R. State Planning Committee and the Ministry of the Coal-Mining Industry evidently underestimate the importance of the basin and therefore do not take practical steps to ensure development of this very rich deposit of coking coal.

It is necessary to mention also very great defects in the development of agriculture and, first and foremost, of stock-breeding. On the collective and state farms there is loss and embezzlement of stock. The tasks of raising the meat and dairy yields of communally owned stock are not being met satisfactorily. Violations of the Collective Farm Statutes have not yet been eliminated. As a result of unsatisfactory direction by Party, Soviet and agricultural agencies of the republic during the past two years, the wintering of cattle was badly prepared and carried out, in consequence of which there was heavy loss of communally owned livestock.

In order to ensure further increase in head of stock and a

sharp rise in its meat and dairy yields it is necessary to solve a number of questions in a practical, effective manner. First of all it is necessary to enlarge the fodder base greatly, since the communally owned stock at the present time is not guaranteed a sufficient amount of coarse and green fodder. ...

We worked out detailed proposals in this matter and in August, 1950, presented them for the consideration of the Union government. These proposals were submitted for consideration to the U.S.S.R. Ministry of Agriculture. But here they did not receive support. This fact is evidence that the Ministry of Agriculture and the Minister, Comrade Benediktov, do not pay sufficient attention to the development of livestock breeding and do not show initiative and perseverance in raising and solving these problems. ...

It must be said that many of our ministries and their executive officials have not yet given up armchair and bureaucratic methods of leadership. Some Ministers, their deputies and other executive officials very rarely visit the localities, do not study actual conditions, do not establish living

contact with lower officials, and do not always react with consideration and sympathy to requests and proposals from the localities. Take the U.S.S.R. Ministry of the Food Industry, for example. Neither the Minister, Comrade Sivolap, nor his deputies have been in the Kirgiz Republic and they do not know the actual state of affairs in the food industry of the republic. Or take the U.S.S.R. Ministry of Agriculture, headed by Comrade Benediktov. Comrade Benediktov has not once been in Kirgizia during all the years of his work. During the past seven years, except for Comrade Budyonny, not a single one of the deputies of the U.S.S.R. Minister of Agriculture has visited Kirgizia. We understand how great is the volume of work of the Union ministries. But we have the right to demand that executive officials of the ministries should study actual conditions and give practical help to local officials in solving concrete questions. Otherwise it is impossible even to talk seriously of effective, concrete leadership with a knowledge of the state of affairs in the different republics, provinces and districts. ...

XII. DISCUSSION OF SABUROV'S REPORT

Discussion of the Report by Comrade M. Z. Saburov on the 19th Party Congress Directives on the Fifth Five-Year Plan of Development of the U.S.S.R., 1951-1955.

SPEECH BY COMRADE A. B. ARISTOV, CHELYABINSK PROVINCE. (Pravda, Oct. 11, p. 3. 3100 words. Condensed text:) ... Tens of thousands of workers are employed by the Stalin Metallurgical Combine in Magnitogorsk. At the time of the 18th Party Congress the combine already had experienced cadres who had successfully mastered modern technology. Now these cadres have increased considerably, have become better educated and better qualified and are achieving better results in their work. ... Up to 80% to 90% of the steel smelters, gas fitters, rollers and men in other leading occupations at the combine have a secondary or incomplete secondary education. This is a result of the fact that the Party Central Committee, the government and Comrade Stalin personally are tirelessly concerned with raising the workers' educational and technical level. The Magnitogorsk Metallurgical Combine now has three times as many engineers and technicians as ten years ago. New, outstanding innovators who achieve unprecedented records in smelting continue to appear among the workers.

However, there are still many difficulties and unsolved problems in our work. The serious shortcomings of which Comrade Malenkov spoke in his report are to be found in the industrial enterprises of Chelyabinsk Province. We have not yet learned how to put all the tremendous unutilized reserves of industry to work in the service of the national economy. We have many lagging enterprises. Many Party officials who direct industrial enterprises do not always know how to combine political and economic work. Some of these officials are frequently content with being merely economic managers, while others divorce Party political work from concrete production tasks. We still have a great need to learn the Bolshevik method of directing the economy and to perfect this method. ...

Ferrous metallurgy is the main branch of industry in Chelyabinsk Province. This places on the province Party organization a great responsibility for supplying the country with metal. The iron and steel mills of our province alone long ago surpassed the level of all Tsarist Russia in production of pig iron, steel and rolled metal. In 1951 and 1952 these plants are successfully fulfilling the plan for the entire production cycle

and supplying large amounts of metal over and above plan.

In discussing the materials of the 19th Party Congress published by the Party Central Committee, the Communists and all working people of our province made many valuable suggestions for considerably increasing the smelting of metal and the production of machines and various equipment during this five-year plan. Our plants have great opportunities not only to achieve but considerably to surpass the increase in metal output outlined in the five-year plan. The state allots tremendous sums every year for the expansion of ferrous metallurgy, particularly the expansion of such mills as Magnitogorsk, Chelyabinsk, Zlatoust and many old Urals mills. We also have a fairly well-developed construction base. Despite all the difficulties of using these funds, we believe that it will be possible in a short time to increase considerably the volume of capital investment for the expansion of present metallurgical enterprises and thereby increase the amount of metal produced over and above plan. This will make it possible to accomplish in a shorter time the task posed by Comrade Stalin: to produce 50,000,000 tons of pig iron and 60,000,000 tons of steel annually in the country. We have all the conditions for this: first, the necessary amount of iron ore both in currently exploited deposits and in newly discovered ones; second, building organizations which have learned to build blast furnaces and other aggregates more rapidly (experience shows that at the present level of building technique blast furnaces can be built in five to six months); and, third, favorable conditions in Magnitogorsk and Chelyabinsk metallurgical plants for considerably increasing output and cadres of experienced iron and steel workers. Of course, at the same time we do not overlook the possibility of building new metallurgical plants. But in order to do this it will be necessary to strengthen the building trusts, of which there are 20 in our province.

We also request that the new five-year plan stipulate a more rapid working of iron ore deposits, that it step up the plan for smelting metal in our plants and, on this basis, increase Chelyabinsk Province's share in the plan for the further development of ferrous metallurgy.

I would also like to raise before the Congress the question of the serious lag in the planning of industrial enterprises. This obviously does not concern our province alone. It is a question of tempos of planning work and particularly the quality of designing. Construction of industrial projects is very often held up not only by the low quality of some blueprints but particularly because so-called technical specifications are generally late in arriving. In our opinion, the five-year plan should stipulate the need for reinforcing designing organizations with qualified personnel capable of working out problems of designing under new conditions, conditions which require that new plants, aggregates and shops be technically improved, economical and highly mechanized, and that they eliminate completely the need for heavy manual labor. In their degree of mechanization of all labor processes, the new factories, aggregates and shops should be worthy of the Stalin epoch, the epoch of communism.

In many metallurgical, machine-building and other enterprises a higher technical level of production organization has been achieved, a radically new technology has arisen and technological and production processes and methods have been mechanized. However, although the industrial workers have great practical experience, they often fail to generalize the results of their labor, to make this experience available to other enterprises and to make their contribution to science. Unfortunately, Chelyabinsk Province does not yet have the necessary scientific institutions, capable of scientifically generalizing the experience of our industry's work, while the existing research institutes and qualified scientific personnel of the country's old cultural centers are still sluggish and creaky in collaborating on advanced production experience. In order to strengthen the scientific institutions' ties with production, we request that the new five-year plan provide for establishing new, specialized scientific institutions in our province and for reorganizing work in existing research institutes to put them in closer touch with production bases.

In connection with the further expansion of ferrous metallurgy, we also request that the five-year plan provide for the construction of new and expansion of existing metal working enterprises in our province. The Chelyabinsk Tractor Plant is not fulfilling the production plan. This is our fault. We are taking every measure in our power to overcome the lag of this large machine-building enterprise. However, each year it becomes more difficult for this plant to cope with the increasing orders, particularly for spare tractor parts. Yet the planned capacity of this plant's machinery and aggregates is being exceeded several times. For the sake of the cause I consider it necessary for the five-year plan to provide for building a new plant in Chelyabinsk to produce spare tractor parts.

We request that provision be made for construction of a large ball-bearing plant in our province, for which the necessary metal is produced in the area, and also that provision be made for the construction of other enterprises which use metal.

I would like to say a few words on the development of agriculture in Chelyabinsk Province. ...

Comrade Stalin pointed out as early as the 17th Party Congress that "every province must acquire its own agricultural base, in order to have its own vegetables, its own potatoes, its own butter, its own milk and, in some degree or other, its own grain and its own meat ***" In the past three years we have succeeded in fully providing our own grain and thus no longer have to bring in grain from other provinces. However, we are still inadequately carrying out the plan for developing animal husbandry; we have not established a firm enough potato and vegetable base; we grow few potatoes, vegetables, tomatoes and cucumbers, while the cultivation of berries, apples and other fruits is still in the beginning stage. There are also shortages in the supply of milk to the industrial population.

The U.S.S.R. Council of Ministers recently gave us great help in developing a potato and vegetable base around the industrial cities, in building hothouses and seedbeds, in cultivating orchards and berries and in increasing the number of dairy cows and raising their yields. The province Party organization has sufficient forces for fully accomplishing the great tasks set by the Party and government in 1953.

I consider it necessary to raise the urgent problem of

developing agriculture in our province, solution of which is connected with the task of further increasing crop yields. It is known that in the Urals and in Siberia harvesting and grain deliveries generally take place under difficult weather conditions; this results in great losses and in unproductive expenditure, while machinery which the agriculture of these areas has at its disposal is very frequently idle or, at best, ineffectively used.

The long experience of the numerous collective farms of Siberia and the Urals shows that a higher harvest can be ensured by early sowing and by observance of certain agrotechnical requirements. In our opinion it is time to think of how the cycle of spring and summer agricultural work in the eastern regions can be shifted to an earlier period and a higher harvest obtained.

This question is raised because administrative agricultural agencies—as well as the Union ministries, agricultural schools and scientific research institutes—are of the opinion that only late spring sowing is possible under the conditions existing in the Urals and Siberia. Yet this point of view is contrary to the experience of our leading collective farms and the achievements of advanced Michurin agrobiologists. ...

The collective and state farms of Chelyabinsk Province have had low harvests for many decades; and this has not been a chance phenomenon. A careful study of meteorological data has shown that precipitation in the southern regions of our province during the entire spring and summer season is inadequate for raising a good harvest. To meet this situation many officials think only of building irrigation canals. Of course this is a very good thing—to have irrigation canals—but the state cannot build them everywhere in a short time. The experience of our province's collective and state farms shows that there is another solution. In the past three years high harvests have been grown in some areas of Chelyabinsk Province by beginning spring sowing more than a month earlier and thus taking advantage not only of the precipitation which falls in spring and summer, but also of the whole year's precipitation, particularly that of autumn and winter. The collective farms have begun to be more concerned with snow retention, with using deep plowing, more intensive sowing and crisscross sowing after warming the seeds in the sun according to Academician Lysenko's method. More manure is now spread on the fields. These things have yielded good results, since they have created conditions for better, more economical use of agricultural machinery. This has raised the labor productivity of the collective farmers and workers on state farms and Machine and Tractor Stations. Grain harvesting has begun to cost considerably less.

For two years Chelyabinsk Province has been gathering the harvest in the best time of the year—from June to August—has obtained quite good harvests and, although there has been a drought, has fulfilled its pledges to the state by the early part of September. The collective farms are now laying in supplies of seeds and paying the collective farmers considerably more grain than in the past. The U.S.S.R. Ministry of Agriculture and the State Planning Committee must revise the plan for delivering fuel, spare parts and farm machinery, taking into account the fact that agricultural work begins earlier in our province. ...

SPEECH BY COMRADE N. K. BAIBAKOV, MOSCOW. (Pravda, Oct. 11, pp. 3-4. 2900 words. Condensed text:) Comrades! In the period between the 18th and 19th Party Congresses great changes took place in the oil industry which have great significance for our country. The basic tasks of developing the oil industry were defined in the resolutions of the 18th Congress of the All-Union Communist Party. The first and most important of these was "to create a new oil base—a 'Second Baku'—in the region between the Volga and the Urals."

In the law of the five-year plan for restoration and development of the U.S.S.R. national economy, 1946-1950, the oil workers were set the task of ensuring rapid restoration and development of the oil industry, achieving the prewar level of oil extraction and refining in 1949 and surpassing this level in 1950 and continuing the comprehensive development of oil extraction and refining in the eastern regions.

The oil workers of the Soviet Union can report to the 19th Congress of the All-Union Communist Party that, as a result of

the great and constant assistance rendered the oil industry by the Party and the government, these directives of the Party have been carried out.

During the great patriotic war the German fascists did great damage to the oil industry. The oil fields of the Caucasus and the Transcaucasus, where a great amount of oil was obtained before the war, were the main ones to suffer. The oil industry of Krasnodar Territory and North Ossetia was completely crippled. That of Grozny Province suffered major damage. In the oil industry of Azerbaidzhan—the chief oil base of the country—drilling work was almost completely stopped and oil extraction was considerably curtailed.

On instructions of the Party and government, the oil workers took measures even during the war toward rapid restoration of the oil industry in the South and its broad development in the Volga and Urals areas.

The postwar five-year plan for extraction and refining of oil was fulfilled ahead of schedule. The oil industry is overfulfilling the annual plan in the current five-year period as well. The oil workers fulfilled the plan for the first nine months of 1952 ahead of schedule, and it may be said with confidence that the 1952 plan as a whole will also be overfulfilled.

Due to the wide development of geological survey work, the known industrial reserves of oil and gas have increased severalfold in the past decade. The greatest growth in industrial oil reserves is in the Volga-Urals oil area, where extraction has increased severalfold in the past ten years.

Suffice it to say that in 1952 oil extraction in the regions between the Volga and the Urals will amount to 40% of the total oil extraction in the Soviet Union, and together with that of the other eastern regions of the country to more than 50%.

Thus the oil workers have carried out the directives of the Party and of our great leader Comrade Stalin—to tackle seriously the organization of an oil base in the regions of the western and southern slopes of the Urals range. A second great oil base—the “Second Baku”—has been established in the region between the Volga and the Urals. Substantial changes have also taken place in the other oil regions. The drilling and building of offshore wells at sea depths of up to 20 meters has already been mastered. Oil extraction is being developed in the Turkmenian Republic and Krasnodar Territory. The oil and gas industry is growing also in other provinces and republics.

In his historic speech at the election meeting of voters of the Stalin Electoral District of Moscow on Feb. 9, 1946, Comrade Stalin, among other tasks of great state importance, formulated a program for the further mighty development of the oil industry: to reach the point where the oil industry could produce 60,000,000 tons of oil annually. Comrade Stalin pointed out that three or more new five-year plans will be spent on the solution of these tasks. “But this job can be done and we must do it,” Comrade Stalin said.

Broad development of geological survey work has led to our country's now being among the first in the world in known industrial oil reserves. This makes it possible for us now to increase considerably the rate of development of the oil industry and to carry out ahead of schedule Comrade Stalin's directive on achieving an annual output of oil up to 60,000,000 tons.

The rapid growth of oil extraction has been achieved through a sharp increase in the number of wells drilled. This year the volume of drilling work has increased 2.8 times over 1940, including the amount of exploratory drilling, which has increased nearly fivefold. This growth has been ensured by the fact that drilling has been done with powerful, first-class equipment and particularly by the introduction of new, perfected methods of drilling, primarily the turbine method of drilling. The turbine method is now used for more than 40% of all drilling by enterprises of the Ministry of the Oil Industry.

Owing to the introduction of turbine drilling, the average speed of drilling wells in the East is 500 to 600 meters per machine per month, as compared with 200 to 300 meters in 1940. ...

With turbine drills we are now drilling wells to a depth of up to 5000 meters and also slant wells, making it possible to extract oil from seams lying under the sea, rivers or buildings. Slant wells alone have already yielded millions of tons of oil for the country. ...

Considerable changes have also taken place in the oil-re-

fining industry. Large new facilities have been developed for direct distillation of oil and for heat and catalytic cracking. The output of light oil products and the production of high-grade gasoline have been increased. New processes have been introduced for producing synthetic fats from oil products; this has made it possible to reduce the use of vegetable oils and fats in the production of various kinds of grease by tens of thousands of tons. The synthetic liquid fuel industry is being built up; this makes it possible to increase the supplies of gasoline, oils and chemical products in the country and to organize production of them in regions which have no oil.

On the personal instructions of Comrade Stalin, a new gas industry has been established in the country in recent years. Large gas pipelines and gas plants have been built which supply natural and artificial gas to our country's capital, Moscow, and also to Leningrad, Kiev, Kuibyshev and Saratov. This year the Kohtla-Yärve-Tallinn and other gas pipelines are being put into use. The known reserves of natural gas ensure this industry's rapid development as well as the installation of gas facilities in numerous cities of our country and also the chemical processing of gas.

The oil machinery industry has considerably increased the output of oil equipment and control and measuring instruments. Our building organizations have scored considerable successes in building plants, oil wells and pipelines, and have mastered high-speed installation methods and reservoir and housing construction. ...

In the past three years alone the oil workers built and put into use more than 1,700,000 square meters [floor space] of housing and many hospitals, children's institutions and clubs. ...

However, there are serious deficiencies in the work of the oil industry, obstructing its advance. Geological survey work is lagging behind in the Azerbaidzhan Republic, at Grozny and in the Dagestan Autonomous Republic. We must improve this work in these regions in the immediate future. The technical re-equipping of drilling work is proceeding in inadequate volume and at inadequate pace. Nonproductive use of time in drilling is inadmissibly large. The lack of high-output bits, for which the Ministry of the Oil Industry is to blame, holds back the introduction of high-speed methods of drilling. Inadequate tempos are observed in building facilities for hermetic extraction, collection and pumping of oil; this results in a large amount of gas escaping. Secondary methods of oil production are being introduced at an inadequate rate, primarily the methods of maintaining seam pressure, which must become an organic part of a rational system of development and exploitation of oil deposits.

A serious deficiency in the work of the building organizations of the ministry is their unsatisfactory fulfillment of the plan for putting new equipment into operation in the oil refineries and oil wells ...

Comrades! The draft directives of the 19th Party Congress on the Fifth Five-Year Plan for development of the U.S.S.R. pose new, exceptionally great and honorable tasks for the oil workers. Oil output under the new five-year plan is to increase 85%. The oil industry has never seen such tempos in growth of output. The envisaged rise foreshadows preschedule fulfillment of Comrade Stalin's instructions on increasing oil output in our country to up to 60,000,000 tons a year.

In order to ensure refining of all the oil extracted it is planned to double the capacity of the oil refineries and also to introduce new and perfected methods of refining which will enable the yield of light oil products to be increased and the technical-economic indexes of work in plants to be improved.

During the current five-year plan the oil workers must do work of exceptional scope and importance. It should be noted that in carrying out the Congress' directives on increasing oil output 85% in 1955 in comparison with the level achieved in 1950, an exceptionally rapid growth of the oil industry is envisaged in the Urals-Volga regions. Along with the oil workers, an honorable role in this matter belongs to workers in other ministries, primarily workers of the Ministry of Power Plants and the Ministry of Railroads.

The draft directives make special mention of the tasks of developing oil output from underwater wells in the sea. This refers above all to the further and speedier development of drilling and extraction of oil from underwater wells in Azerbaidzhan, where millions of tons of oil are already being taken

from under the sea. For successful fulfillment of this task it is necessary to resolve in one or two years the problem of building underwater drills for deep-sea depths. Other ministries, departments and scientific research organizations, primarily the U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences, must take a more active and effective part in the development of offshore oil extraction.

It is also necessary to provide the offshore fields with the necessary ships, particularly with cranes and hoists with a capacity of up to 150 tons.

In connection with what has been said I consider it expedient to make special reference in the directives of the 19th Congress to the necessity for a further rise in oil output in the eastern regions, for a sharp increase in the volume of drilling work, wide introduction of turbine drilling and also introduction of new methods of preparing oil deposits. Doubling the capacity of the oil refineries will require that we set up powerful new building organizations, capable of erecting large plants on short schedules. In the five-year period we have to build new, highly efficient oil refineries with a total capacity equal to the present total capacity, and a large number of pipelines and metal tanks.

It is necessary to increase the construction of housing and cultural and service buildings. Under the five-year plan the Ministry of the Oil Industry is to build about 4,500,000 square meters [floor space] of housing.

Great tasks face the machine-building industry, which produces oil equipment. Now powerful drilling equipment is needed which is capable of drilling wells to a depth of six kilometers, high-quality bits, high-pressure oil apparatus and control and measuring instruments.

The draft directives of the 19th Party Congress for the Fifth Five-Year Plan of development of the U.S.S.R. have set builders the tasks of carrying out a total volume of state capital construction 90% greater than in the Fourth Five-Year Plan and of lowering the cost of construction work at least 20%. The scope of capital construction in the oil industry has increased 2.3 times in comparison with the Fourth Five-Year Plan. To double the scope of construction work throughout the Union during one five-year plan is an honorable but difficult task. Fulfillment of the quotas of the Fifth Five-Year Plan depends largely on successful work by the builders. Therefore it is necessary to do everything possible to improve the work of building organizations and to ensure the certain fulfillment of quotas in construction work.

However, the situation in regard to construction work as a whole cannot be considered satisfactory. One cannot forget that in the Fourth Five-Year Plan the program for building and putting projects into operation was not entirely fulfilled. ...

In order to reduce the seasonal nature of construction work it is necessary above all to raise the level of construction planning by the State Planning Committee, ministries and departments. It is necessary to consolidate and strengthen construction organizations, since large organizations are less subject to seasonal influence. ...

That is why I propose that the 19th Party Congress directives on the Fifth Five-Year Plan be supplemented with an assignment for reducing the seasonal nature of construction work and for enlarging and further strengthening the permanent building organizations of the country. ...

SPEECH BY COMRADES. BABAYEV, TURKMENIAN REPUBLIC. (Pravda, Oct. 11, p. 4. 2100 words. Condensed text:) ... An oil industry has been established and is rapidly developing in Turkmenistan. The Fourth Five-Year Plan for oil extraction has been fulfilled in three years. In 1950 the level of oil extraction exceeded the goal of the five-year plan by 84% and oil extraction continues to grow steadily.

The chemical industry is developing. Cotton mills and enterprises of the light and food industries have been greatly developed. Output of cotton fiber has more than tripled in recent years. The building materials industry has grown greatly. A mechanized glass works and other enterprises have been built and opened. Capital investments in industry and transport have recently amounted to more than 1,000,000,000 rubles a year. Permanent national cadres, who are, in Comrade Stalin's definition, the basic support of Soviet power in outlying areas, have been created in industry and transport.

Great successes have been achieved in the development of agriculture in the Turkmenian Republic.

The chief task in the field of agriculture, the task of increasing crop yields, has been successfully met. The area under cotton has increased 54% over that of 1945. Cotton yields have more than doubled. Accordingly, the gross harvest of raw cotton and the amount delivered to the state has more than tripled.

The development of cotton growing has been particularly rapid since 1949, when, on Comrade Stalin's suggestion and in the interests of the further development of cotton growing, prices were adjusted for cotton delivered to the state by the collective farms and for grain sold to the cotton growers.

Communal animal husbandry has also been successfully developed on Turkmenian Republic collective farms. The number of cattle has increased 125% in comparison with 1940 and the number of sheep and goats 86%, including a 97% increase in karakul sheep. The number of horses has increased 10% over the prewar level, while the number of camels has almost doubled. The delivery to the state of karakul astrakhans has increased 40% over the figure for the prewar year of 1940 and wool has increased 72%. The deliveries to the state of milk, meat, hides and other products have also increased.

The republic's collective farms have grown stronger. Through increasing the production of cotton, cocoons, karakul, wool and other kinds of agricultural raw materials, the collective farm incomes have more than tripled in comparison with 1940, and in 1951 they reached 1,343,000,000 rubles. This past year the average income of all collective farms was 2,690,000 rubles and scores of collective farms received incomes of 10,000,000 to 20,000,000 rubles.

The collective farms' communal economy has been strengthened. The collective farms' basic working capital increased to 310% and now amounts to 828,000,000 rubles. Indivisible funds have also more than tripled and now amount to 1,256,000,000 rubles. Money payments to collective farmers for workdays have increased accordingly. In 1951 the Turkmenian Republic collective farmers were paid 772,000,000 rubles for workdays.

Culture national in form and socialist in content is developing along with the development of the economy. Before the great October socialist revolution only 0.7% of the entire population was literate. Now there are no illiterate people in the republic. Universal seven-year education has been established. There are 1224 schools in the republic, including 120 secondary schools. Besides this, there are 30 technical colleges and six higher educational institutions, attended in all by 232,000 persons. The Turkmenian M. Gorky State University was opened in 1950. There are more than 40 scientific institutions in Turkmenistan.

The Turkmenian Republic Academy of Sciences, founded in 1951 on the initiative of Comrade Stalin, heads scientific work in the republic.

Sixty-seven newspapers and eight magazines, with a total per-issue circulation of 316,000, are published in the republic. More than 300 book titles, in a total of 2,300,000 copies, are published annually. In the past two years 47 Marxist-Leninist classics, with a total of 470,000 copies, were published in the Turkmenian language. ...

For all these successes we are indebted to the Party Central Committee and to Comrade Stalin. (Applause.)

Achievements in the development of the economy and culture would have been considerably greater if the Turkmenian Republic Party organization had not had errors and shortcomings in its work. There are a large number of industrial enterprises, Machine and Tractor Stations and state and collective farms in the republic which have not fulfilled the state plans. As Comrade Malenkov quite correctly pointed out in his splendid report, many directors do not see that behind the average indices of fulfillment of plans there is bad work by individual factories and collective farms, and are content with this abnormal situation.

Errors have been committed in the guidance of major construction work, in the selection of personnel and in the direction of ideological work. Concrete instances of these shortcomings were disclosed at past Party conferences and at the 19th Congress of the Turkmenian Communist Party. It is certain that with the aid of the Party Central Committee, these shortcomings will be corrected in the near future. ...

Comrades, on the initiative of Comrade Stalin, the decree of the U.S.S.R. Council of Ministers on construction of the

Main Turkmenian Canal, the largest in the world, was adopted in September, 1950. ...

Now, relying on data provided by expeditions, planning organizations have already determined the basic plans and designs of the canal, dams and hydroelectric stations. Production facilities have been provided which make it possible to begin basic construction work on the canal route and in the area of the hydroelectric centers. On this basis, I request that the directives for the Fifth Five-Year Plan for the development of the U.S.S.R. stipulate measures for speeding up the construction of the Main Turkmenian Canal.

There is not enough irrigation water in Marii Province, where the most valuable varieties of Soviet fine cotton are grown. For the purpose of creating a permanent irrigation system there, of expanding the area under cotton and increasing the production of Soviet fine varieties of cotton, a project has been worked out for diverting water from the Amu-Darya to the Murgab River basin. For this it is necessary to build the Kara-Kum Canal, which will use water from the Amu-Darya. Construction of the canal will make it possible to create stable irrigation, to increase cotton planting up to 100,000 hectares and to give the country an additional 150,000 tons, minimum, of Soviet fine cotton annually. The plans for this canal have been drawn. A construction organization has been formed which will do the preparatory work. This is not the first time the question of construction of the Kara-Kum Canal has been raised. There is a resolution of the U.S.S.R. government about it. But the U.S.S.R. Ministry of Cotton Growing allots small funds which do not ensure broad development of the construction work.

Comrade Yusupov, Minister of Cotton Growing, must be instructed to begin the construction of the Kara-Kum Canal and to complete it in the next two to three years.

In the same Marii Province it is necessary to build the Sary-Yazy Reservoir in order to regulate the flow of the Murgab River and to use it for irrigating the cotton fields. This relatively small construction project, amounting to 1,100,000 cubic meters of earth work and a cost of 65,000,000 rubles, can be carried out in one to two years. The plans are ready. It is necessary for the U.S.S.R. Ministry of Cotton Growing to speed up the construction of the Sary-Yazy Reservoir. Therefore, I request that the directives for the Fifth Five-Year Plan for the development of the U.S.S.R. include the construction of the Kara-Kum Canal and the Sary-Yazy Reservoir on the Murgab River.

Ashkhabad, the capital of the republic, as is common knowledge, suffered from an earthquake in October, 1948. As soon as the news reached the Party Central Committee, as soon as it reached Comrade Stalin, emergency aid measures were taken at once. Within a few hours dozens of aircraft from Moscow, Baku, Tashkent and other cities of the Soviet state were landing at airfields in the region of Ashkhabad. The country sent doctors, medicines and food. The planes were followed by trains loaded with prefabricated houses, equipment, lumber, cement, glass and other building materials.

The working people of Ashkhabad and all the Turkmenian working people will never forget the fatherly care and help of the Soviet government, the Central Committee and Comrade Stalin. (Applause.)

The U.S.S.R. government showed exceptional concern and extended great aid to Ashkhabad and surrounding regions. Now all the industrial enterprises have been restored in Ashkhabad and many new apartment houses, schools, hospitals, theaters and other cultural and service institutions have been built.

The majority of the ministries are giving good assistance to Ashkhabad, something which cannot be said of the Ministry of Power Plants and the Ministry of Communications. The latter has still not equipped the new telephone exchange, although a specially built building is available for it. I hope that these two ministries will carry out the government decree and extend the necessary aid to Ashkhabad in the very near future. ...

SPEECH BY COMRADE I. A. BENEDIKTOV, MOSCOW. (Pravda, Oct. 11, pp. 4-5. Complete text:) Comrades, in the war and postwar years the collective farms have again demonstrated their great power and vitality and the advantages of the socialist system of agriculture.

Thanks to the efforts of the Party, the government and Comrade Stalin personally, and in spite of the immense damage caused by the war, agriculture has not only been quickly

restored, but has even surpassed the prewar level of output.

Comrade Malenkov's report described the results of the postwar development of the U.S.S.R. and presented tasks for the near future with exhaustive clarity and comprehensiveness.

During the postwar five-year plan the material and technical base has grown and the communal economy of collective farms has expanded and become still stronger.

In recent years considerable changes have taken place in crop distribution. Wheat production is moving into new areas more and more each year. Together with a large growth in wheat acreages in the main wheat-growing areas, the proportion of wheat acreage to total acreage has increased in the Transcaucasian, Lithuanian, Latvian and Estonian Republics, and also in many provinces outside the non-Black Earth belt. The area under wheat on collective farms in the non-Black Earth belt exceeded the prewar level in 1952; in regions of the Southeast, the Urals and Kazakhstan there has been an expansion in the sowing of the most valuable varieties of hard wheat.

A high level of mechanization of agricultural work on collective farms and improved farming methods have made it possible to raise wheat production to proportions previously unknown in our country. The U.S.S.R. has firmly established itself as the world's leading producer of this most valuable food crop, surpassing such big wheat producers as the United States, Argentina and Canada.

Through the strengthening of the collective economy, the incomes of collective farms and collective farmers have grown. In 1951 the monetary income of collective farms was 86.7% above that of 1940. At the beginning of this year indivisible collective farm funds had more than doubled in comparison with the 1940 figure.

Machine and Tractor Stations have given great help to collective farms. Agriculture has received more than 160 new types and models of farm machinery since the war, enabling a large number of jobs previously done by hand to be mechanized. The Machine and Tractor Stations are now doing 170 kinds of work on collective farms, as against 90 in 1940. Use of the tractor pool has improved. The total volume of tractor work on collective farms this year exceeds the prewar level by 88%.

Along with the achievements there are serious shortcomings in the work of collective farms and Machine and Tractor Stations. In his report Comrade Malenkov noted serious errors and defects in the management of agriculture by agricultural agencies. Certain delegates at the Congress have made critical remarks about the work of the Ministry of Agriculture and its agencies. This criticism is correct. The Ministry of Agriculture and its agencies make blunders, do not work efficiently enough, are not exacting enough and often take a tolerant view of shortcomings. The Ministry of Agriculture will take steps to eliminate these shortcomings.

An immense program for the future advance of agriculture is set forth in the draft directives on the Fifth Five-Year Plan. Grain production is due to increase greatly. The total grain harvest in 1955 will reach a level more than double that of the best harvests of Tsarist Russia. More attention will be devoted to increasing the production of wheat and other crops. This increase during the new five-year plan must be achieved primarily by raising productivity. Leading collective farms, Machine and Tractor Stations and entire districts are already obtaining higher yields than those provided for in the draft directives on the five-year plan. Collective farms in Bashtanka District, Nikolayevsk Province, obtained an average of 27.5 centners per hectare from a total of 38,000 hectares sown to grain, and collective farms in Snigirevka District in the same province obtained a winter wheat harvest of 34 centners a hectare.

These examples furnish evidence that it is possible to raise yields considerably in the future. The future growth of mechanization, the advance of farming methods and the introduction of complex agrotechnical measures in each district, according to its characteristics, will have a decisive effect in raising productivity.

The rapid introduction of more productive strains plays a large part in raising yields. During the postwar period alone 290 new, highly productive strains, including 47 wheat strains and 24 strains of oil-bearing plants, have been introduced.

Success in meeting the task of increasing the production of vegetable oils depends to a great extent upon replacement of old sunflower strains with new and richer hybrid strains, with an oil content of not less than 30% to 35%. If this measure alone is carried out it will make it possible to increase the production of sunflower oil in the country by more than 100,000 tons. In order to speed up the replacement of old sunflower strains with new ones of higher oil content, it would be expedient to receive and pay for sunflower seed in accordance with its oil content.

In addition to increasing considerably the production of all kinds of agricultural products, improvement in quality also has great importance. We have every possibility for future improvement of flour qualities in wheat and rye, for increasing the oil content in oil-bearing seeds, the sugar content in beets and the grade of fibers in flax, and for improving the strains of cotton.

Growth in the material well-being of our people demands both an increase in production and also an improvement in the quality of food products: meat, milk, butter, eggs and also animal products, especially fine wool.

For a future advance in the productivity of animal husbandry it is necessary first of all to improve the feeding and care of animals, introducing a more intensive system of raising dairy cattle—the box-stall system of keeping livestock, taking into consideration local conditions. In order to introduce this system successfully and in a well-organized manner it is necessary to provide for the sowing of various fodder crops to obtain green fodder. The experience of leading collective farms and districts shows that when dairy cattle are fed plenty of coarse, succulent, green feeds, annual milk yields can be doubled in the course of two or three years with small outlays of concentrated feeds.

In order to increase considerably the production of wool and to improve its quality it is necessary to develop fine-wooled and semifine-wooled sheepbreeding. The widespread use of cross-bred hogs on hog farms and the expansion of highly nutritious fodder crop sowing will make it possible to produce meat and animal fats more quickly.

Much work is necessary to improve the quality of livestock on collective farms and to increase rapidly the best breeds of farm animals. There have recently been developed in our country 26 new highly productive breeds of farm animals, including such remarkable ones as the Kostroma and Lebedin breeds of cattle, the Breitovo and Livny breeds of hogs and the Stavropol and Altai breeds of sheep.

During the postwar five-year plan the production of feeds lagged behind the growth of the number of cattle. This was clearly reflected in the meat and dairy yields of livestock and also in the rate of preservation of livestock. The draft directives for the Fifth Five-Year Plan provide for a huge increase in the production of feeds, which will make it possible to improve the feeding of animals and considerably raise the meat and dairy yields.

A large expansion of planting and increase in yields of grass, root and ensilage crops, a sharp rise in the productivity of meadows and pastures, and plowing and improving poor pasturage have great importance in the group of measures designed to expand and strengthen the feed base.

Natural hay fields and pastures are the basic source of hay and green fodder in many districts. Therefore, raising the productivity of pastures and using them correctly are of great importance. Even such a simple measure as the rotation of pasture areas for pasturing livestock, which is practical for all collective farms, can raise the meat and dairy yields greatly. In the Red Hill Collective Farm in Bezhet'sk District, Kalinin Province, the milk yield per cow per summer increased by 500 to 600 kilograms after the introduction of pasture rotation.

The application of manure and fertilizer to meadows, which can double or triple productivity, has special importance. An increase in the production of succulent feeds is a necessary condition to raise the milk yield of cows. Succulent feeds are cheapest also for the mass feeding of hogs. Along with an increase in silage fodder, the production and use of root crops and potatoes to feed livestock should be expanded considerably. On the October 12 Collective Farm in Kostroma District, Kostroma Province, where the average milk yield per cow is more

than 5200 kilograms, potatoes have been used extensively in combination with other feeds.

Increase in sowing and yields of potatoes has been hampered by insufficient mechanization of potato cultivation. Machines have now been constructed which mechanize the planting, cultivation and digging of potatoes. The complex mechanization of potato growing by means of these machines will make it possible to reduce labor outlay severalfold. In the Forward to Communism Collective Farm, Ramenskoye District, Moscow Province, labor outlay per hectare was reduced to one-sixth when planting was done by square-cluster planters, cultivation by tractor cultivators and harvesting by potato combines.

It is extremely important that industry quickly master the mass production of machinery for complex mechanization of potato growing and that it eliminate defects in design. This will make it possible to increase potato production greatly in a short period of time.

The extensive and correct use of fertilizers has great importance in raising yields. In spite of the fact that production of fertilizers will almost double during the new five-year plan, it will nevertheless not fully meet the growing demands of the collective farms. Therefore it is especially important to introduce new and more rational ways of using mineral fertilizers, ways that will permit a reduction in the amount of fertilizer applied while obtaining a large increase in yields. This will make it possible to expand the fertilized area sharply.

In the shortest possible time agricultural machinery-building enterprises must perfect the design and organize the mass production of manure loaders, manure spreaders and machinery for collection, preparation, hauling and correct application to the soil of manure, peat, lime, compost and mineral fertilizers.

Along with increasing the production of fertilizers, the Ministry of the Chemical Industry must produce many more new chemical insecticides and preparations to combat plant diseases. It is especially important to expand the production of tested chemicals to combat weeds, which would make it possible to reduce the amount of work necessary for weeding on collective farms. More extensive use of airplanes to apply chemical compounds to combat pests, plant diseases and weeds is important.

The five-year plan task of completing the mechanization of basic field work on collective farms and expanding the activity of Machine and Tractor Stations in order to mechanize labor-consuming work in all branches of collective farm production increases the role of Machine and Tractor Stations in the development of agriculture. The responsibility of Machine and Tractor Stations for the fulfillment of crop and meat and dairy yield plans is growing. The fulfillment of this task requires a considerable improvement in the organizational guidance of M.T.S. work, strengthening them with highly qualified personnel, improvement in the use of the machine and tractor pool and extensive introduction of advanced agrotechnical methods. It is the noble task of designers, scientists and employees of agricultural machinery plants to design and organize mass production in the shortest possible time of new machinery essential for complete complex mechanization of agricultural work, especially for fodder, technical crops and vegetables. Although a high level of mechanization of basic field work exists, certain processes in the cultivation of various crops and labor-consuming work in animal husbandry are still not mechanized. This leads to a great waste of labor. Thus, in grain farming, work connected with gathering and stacking straw and cleaning, drying and hauling the grain is poorly mechanized. For the completion of complex mechanization of grain farming, industry must produce more stackers, stack haulers, high-speed grain cleaners and stationary and mobile driers. Mechanization of work on the threshing floors makes it possible to cut to between one-seventh and one-ninth the labor used in processing grain.

The slow speed of designing and putting into production tractor-drawn hanging machines and implements is a serious shortcoming in agricultural machine building. To manufacture tractor-drawn hanging machines and implements 20% to 30% less metal is needed than to manufacture trailer-mounted ones, and in addition they do not require extra workers to operate them.

It is necessary to devote particular attention to the quality of tractors and agricultural machinery produced by industry. The ministries supplying agriculture with tractors, various agricul-

tural machines and spare parts pay insufficient attention to improving their quality. Certain agricultural machinery and tractor plants often produce tractors and other machinery with substantial defects, which results in the machines going out of order early.

Comrades, in their speeches Delegates Puzanov, Grishin and Kiselev correctly noted shortcomings in the work of the Ministry of Agriculture in the guidance of irrigation. Supplementary measures will be taken by the ministry to strengthen water development organizations and to enlist scientific research institutions in working out problems of irrigation farming.

Agriculture must carry out a huge program of irrigation construction during the current five-year plan. Capital investments in irrigation construction will increase approximately fourfold during the Fifth Five-Year Plan. The extent and complexity of irrigation construction work demands the establishment of great construction design and planning organizations and constant attention to irrigation construction and to mechanization of construction and supply of materials and machinery for construction projects. Scattering the construction organizations and trained personnel among three agricultural ministries weakens the guidance of large irrigation construction projects. It would be expedient to discuss the question of organizing an independent Ministry of Irrigation Construction. It would be necessary to keep the planning and exploitation of irrigation systems and the working of the newly irrigated and watered land within the Ministries of Agriculture, Cotton Growing and State Farms. This would greatly improve irrigation construction and the exploitation of irrigated land.

In connection with expanding the range of work and increasing the role of Machine and Tractor Stations in collective farming, it would be expedient to settle the question of transferring certain functions of the district departments of agriculture to Machine and Tractor Stations, and also transferring to them a considerable part of the specialists from these departments. This will bring the specialists closer to production, will strengthen the Machine and Tractor Stations and will improve services to the collective farms.

It is necessary to expand the training of machine operators and to improve the quality of their instruction, proceeding gradually to train machine operators of broad qualification who can work on tractors, combines and other agricultural machinery. Schools in the Ministry of Labor Reserve system should be enlisted in the training of machine operators for agriculture.

Comrades, an immense program of future agricultural development is projected in the Fifth Five-Year Plan. The collective farmers, agricultural specialists and Machine and Tractor Station employees will do everything to carry out honorably the tasks of the Party, the government and the great Stalin. (Applause.)

SPEECH BY COMRADE N. A. BULGANIN. (Pravda, Oct. 11, pp. 5-6. 6500 words. Condensed text:) Comrades! The report by the Central Committee of our party and the report on the directives of the Congress on the Fifth Five-Year Plan deal with questions and events that are new and convincing evidence of the great power and truth of the great teaching by Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin. The successes of the Soviet Union in building communism are striking confirmation of this, as are the formation of a powerful people's democratic camp and the growth and strengthening of the Communist and Workers' Parties.

The strength, unity, and solidarity of the world Communist movement is characterized in particular by the fact—a joyous one for all of us—that the Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union is attended by numerous delegates from Communist and Workers' Parties abroad. (Applause.)

In surveying the road traveled by the Soviet country since the 18th Congress, it is possible to note with pride and satisfaction that the policy of our party has been correct, that it proceeded as always from the interests of the people and aimed at an over-all strengthening of our state. (Applause.)

During these years both the Party policy and its practical work in every sphere of economy, culture, and military affairs underwent the hardest of tests in the fire of severe trials in the great patriotic war. ...

The great patriotic war was a matter of life and death to our state. As is known, the question was this: either the Soviet Union preserved its independence and the peoples of our country remained free, or the Soviet Union would be made a colony and its peoples would become the slaves of the German imperialists. There could have been no other outcome.

The great patriotic war was not only a war between two armies, but a war waged by all the Soviet people against the foreign invaders. It was a war that aimed not only to wipe out the monstrous danger threatening our homeland, but also to help the peoples of Europe languishing under the yoke of German fascism. It was the hardest war our state ever endured and therefore demanded of the Soviet people tremendous effort, great privations and heavy sacrifices.

There is no need to dwell in detail on the extraordinary difficulties which beset our motherland during the war years. The severe ordeals of wartime are fresh in all our minds. It is important to note one point again and again: if any bourgeois state had encountered similar hardships, it would have been unable to withstand the kind of blow the Hitlerites dealt our country. Only the Soviet socialist state could have resisted, endured unparalleled hardships and emerged victorious. (Prolonged applause.)

What was it, then, that helped us beat back the enemy's onslaught and achieve the greatest victory in history?

Comrade Stalin teaches that modern warfare constitutes a comprehensive test of any nation's material and spiritual forces. Only the states stronger than their adversaries in development and organization of the economy, in the experience, skill and fighting spirit of their troops, and in the endurance and unity of the people throughout the war can survive the ordeal.

In a word, the outcome of war depends on the economic, moral and military resources of the warring sides. Our Soviet state turned out to be considerably stronger than its adversary—Hitler Germany—in all these respects, although, at the time Germany invaded our country, it had at its disposal the economic and manpower resources not only of its own territory, but also of France, Czechoslovakia, Austria, Belgium, the Netherlands, Hungary, Rumania, Spain and a number of other countries.

Before the war, as now, the main efforts of our people were directed toward peaceful construction. The Soviet Union firmly and consistently followed a peaceful foreign policy. At the same time, our party never forgot the threat of war and the intrigues of the imperialists and, under the wise leadership of Stalin, was preparing the country and the army for active defense. Preparation consisted primarily of creating the material conditions to ensure a speedy organization of war production in the event of war and to ensure a constant supply of food to the army and the people and raw materials to industry. Our party coped with this difficult task with the help of the policy of industrializing the country and collectivizing agriculture, a policy followed during the three prewar Stalin five-year plans. It was primarily in those years that the historic change occurred which turned our formerly agrarian country into an industrial country.

Fulfillment of the five-year plans for developing the national economy greatly raised the defense capacity of the Soviet state. As early as the First Five-Year Plan results appeared which gave reason to conclude that the Soviet Union had changed from a weak country, unprepared to defend itself, into a powerful country in terms of defense capacity, a country prepared for any emergency, a country capable of producing all the modern weapons of defense on a mass scale and of supplying them to its army in case of an attack from without.

The Second Five-Year Plan and the first years of the Third Five-Year Plan, which ensured further industrialization of the country, increasingly strengthened the Soviet Union's defense capacity. The economic base which was established enabled us to be prepared for the war, to meet all its demands and to endure its trials for four years.

Before the war, measures were also taken to strengthen our army. As a result of the great work done in this sphere by the Party, the government and all the Soviet people under the leadership of Comrade Stalin, the Soviet Army became a powerful and formidable force. The technical re-equipping of the army and the application of Stalin's tenet on the need to develop every type of troops played an important role in this respect.

After the first world war bourgeois military science had been unable to resolve the problem of correct correlation between various types of troops. All kinds of "theories" appeared on the superiority of one type of troops or matériel over another. In a number of instances these "theories" were put into practice. The Hitler military command, for example, devoted special attention to developing tanks, hoping thereby to attain a speedy victory in the war. The second world war destroyed these hopes.

Even before the war our country had created first-class artillery, powerful armored and mechanized troops and a modern air force equipped with advanced technology and had begun to build a large navy. This raised the Soviet Armed Forces' defense capacity and combat readiness to a high level.

The war began. It required skillful and correct utilization of the material potential which had been created. Thanks to the Party's organizing work, this task was also resolved with great success.

Our industry's conversion to war production, which began during the first days of the war, was on the whole completed in three to four months, while the entire conversion of the economy to a war footing required about a year. One must keep in mind that the conversion took place under incredibly difficult conditions, at a time when a large part of our territory was under enemy occupation and a large number of enterprises had to be moved to the East. All this created additional great difficulties. Suffice it to say that the industrial regions we lost temporarily had in peacetime yielded one-third of all the Soviet Union's industrial output. More than 1300 large state enterprises were shifted to the eastern regions of the country. Millions of people and a tremendous amount of property were also evacuated to that part of the country. No other country at war had to convert its economy to a war footing under such difficult conditions.

An integrated and rapidly growing war economy was set up within a short time, based not only on existing enterprises but also on newly built ones.

During the difficult war years our industry and socialist agriculture coped successfully with their tasks. This is graphic confirmation of the farightedness of the policy of our party, which can look far ahead and wisely work out very complex problems. (Applause.)

The war showed that in our country there is a unity among the people undreamed of in any capitalist state.

Even before the war, the victory of socialism in the U.S.S.R. had ensured the final elimination of the remnants of exploiting classes and the rallying of workers, peasants and intelligentsia into a single labor front. At that time the moral and political unity of Soviet society was established in our country, the friendship of the peoples of the Soviet Union grew and a complete democratization of the country's political life was carried out.

In attacking our country the enemy counted on the instability of the Soviet home front and the Soviet system. The enemy hoped for conflicts between Soviet workers and peasants, for discord and disagreements among the people of the U.S.S.R. But the hopes of the enemy were not justified. What happened was different. The grave danger threatening the Soviet Union rallied the Soviet people even more closely around the Communist Party, the Soviet government and Comrade Stalin, evoking an unprecedented upsurge of Soviet patriotism among our people. (Prolonged applause.)

In the name of their country's freedom and independence, the Soviet people worked hard and selflessly on the home front, fought bravely and heroically at the front and suffered innumerable privations and great sacrifices. The war proved that our people are heroes. They can work miracles and emerge victorious from the hardest trials. (Applause.)

Our country's home front, the strongest in the world, supplied not only the material but also the spiritual needs of the army, communicating ideas and feelings to it. They were the most progressive ideas, the ideas of the Communist Party, the ideas of Marxism-Leninism, and the feelings were those of the firmest and deepest confidence in our victory.

During the war the Party explained to the Soviet fighting men the significance and aims of the war, cultivated their love for their country and hatred for the enemy, strengthened their morale, and inspired them to heroic deeds. The words of the Party, the words of the great Stalin, armed the Soviet people

with a weapon of unusual power—deep faith in the triumph of our just cause.

Remember, Comrades, the grim days in the autumn of 1941, when the Hitlerites were approaching Moscow, the capital of our country. The enemies were rejoicing and preparing to celebrate victory. Those across the ocean who today are preparing a new war were also awaiting the approaching end of the Soviet regime.

And then, in those difficult days, Comrade Stalin presented a report Nov. 6 on the 24th anniversary of the great October revolution and the following day at the parade delivered a speech from the platform of the Lenin Mausoleum.

Despite the critical situation in which the country and army found themselves at that time, Comrade Stalin declared that there could be no doubt of our victory and made a prediction concerning the war so bold that many had not expected it. He said that the Soviet Army was capable not only of destroying the robber hordes of fascist invaders but also of liberating the enslaved peoples of Europe.

It is difficult to overestimate the power of these speeches by Comrade Stalin. They illuminated the path of our struggle like a searchlight, raised the spirit of the people and the troops, reassured the Soviet Union's friends abroad and alarmed the enemy camp.

Everything happened exactly as Comrade Stalin had said. (Stormy prolonged applause.) The Soviet Army not only destroyed the enemy but also carried out its great mission of liberation.

In his report Comrade Malenkov spoke of the great trust our people had in the Communist Party during the war. One expression of this trust was the great growth in Party ranks during the war. It was typical that the greatest influx of applications for Party membership was noted at times when circumstances at the front were not favorable. This indicates the very strong bonds between our party and the masses and confirms the correctness of the Party line.

The fullest and most exhaustive criterion of the correctness of our party's policy and leadership in military problems is, of course, the outcome of the last war, our complete victory over the enemy attained by the joint efforts of the army and the people.

The war showed that the Soviet Union has a first-class army, completely modern arms, very experienced command personnel and incomparable moral and fighting qualities. The war confirmed with new force that our army is a new kind of army, that it is a genuine people's army, an army of brotherhood among the nations in our country, an army trained in a spirit of internationalism. The war further showed that our army personnel is strong in its conviction of the justice of the wars our country has had to fight and in its awareness, which is known to have tremendous significance and guaranteed the victory.

The Soviet troops, trained in a spirit of personal responsibility for the defense of their homeland, were aware that in the war against Hitler's Germany they were defending something they cherished most—the freedom and independence of their fatherland. This noble aim gave rise to mass heroism among the fighters, the sons of all the peoples. In his orders Comrade Stalin frequently noted the excellent combat behavior and heroism of soldiers and officers of all the types of troops—infantrymen, artillerymen, tankmen, airmen and sailors. All the types of troops in our armed forces made their contribution to victory over the enemy.

During the war Soviet troops, led by their glorious commanders, won a great number of outstanding victories, of which our people have a right to be proud. All these victories will live through the ages. Every one of them is a golden page in the military history of our people. (Stormy applause.) ...

Every one of these victories was the result of the bravery, courage and unparalleled feats of enlisted men and commanders of all ranks and of the heroic efforts of the workers on the home front. It was they, the Soviet people, who won glorious victories and saved their country from enslavement by their labor and military skill, by their sweat and blood. (Applause.)

Each of these victories is a concrete embodiment of Soviet military art, the skill of Soviet officers and generals, the

triumph of the Stalin military science, the triumph of the art of military leadership of our leader and Commander in Chief, Comrade Stalin. (*Stormy, prolonged applause.*)

Comrade Stalin headed the struggle by the Soviet people and armed forces against the foreign invasion. It was under his direct leadership and by his inspired plans that all the decisive operations in the great patriotic war were prepared and carried out and Hitler Germany and Imperialist Japan were routed.

In speaking of our victory over the forces of fascism, we must not forget that the glorious Polish Army and Czechoslovak Corps (*applause*), which were formed on Soviet territory during the war, contributed to that victory along with the Soviet Army. Fighting shoulder to shoulder with Soviet troops against the common enemy, soldiers in Polish and Czechoslovak units proved their courage and military skill in action. Their successful military operations were frequently mentioned in orders by our Commander in Chief, Comrade Stalin. In the final stage of the war, the armed struggle against fascism was joined by the Rumanian and Bulgarian armies, which displayed fine fighting qualities.

Our country emerged from the war powerful and strong. The hopes of the imperialists that the Soviet Union would be weakened and exhausted came to naught.

Thanks to our victory, the peoples of the countries of Central and Southeastern Europe were given an opportunity to overthrow the rule of landowners and capitalists and to establish a people's democratic system in their countries. As a result of the fact that these countries and a number of Asian countries left the capitalist system, one-third of mankind is now forever delivered from the imperialist yoke.

The outcome of the war showed the whole world what a powerful force our Soviet Union is. The postwar years have demonstrated anew the strength of our state.

In working out postwar tasks the Soviet people found many difficulties before them, since the destruction the war caused our country's economy was considerable. The enemies of the Soviet Union laid their plans on this basis, hoping that we would be unable by our own efforts to surmount the difficulties which arose. But the Soviet people, led by their Communist Party, passed these difficult tests with flying colors, finding the strength and opportunity not only to heal their war wounds but also to organize a mighty advance in industry, transport, agriculture, culture and the material welfare of working people. This was achieved during the Fourth Five-Year Plan, the results of which are well known to all.

The successful fulfillment of the Fourth Five-Year Plan was a new triumph for our party's policy.

As a result of the Soviet Union's historic war victories and its outstanding achievements since the war, our country has grown stronger than ever before.

It can be stated without exaggeration that there is not and cannot be as firm and stable a domestic situation in a single bourgeois state as there is now in the Soviet Union. (*Applause.*)

The Soviet Union today is a closely knit socialist state with first-class industry, a well-developed transportation system and highly productive agriculture. ...

The tasks in the draft directives for the Fifth Five-Year Plan ensure a further mighty development of advanced technology, machinery, machine tools and precision instruments which in turn will result in a corresponding increase of highly skilled cadres of engineers, technicians and workers. This will have great significance for a further strengthening of our economy and for a further increase in the country's defense power, since modern warfare requires many kinds of armament based on the latest achievements of science and technology.

The 40% to 70% increase in production of very important kinds of agricultural output and the great growth in the products of animal husbandry planned in the draft directives indicate the new advance to take place in our agriculture in the coming years.

The tasks set by the directives in the sphere of public education are of great state importance: a considerable expansion of universal secondary education and the introduction of polytechnical training in secondary schools. The practical resolution of these tasks will raise the cultural level of our people even more and will provide new cadres of well-educated and technically trained builders of communism and defenders of the

motherland. Compulsory, universal, polytechnical education is necessary, Comrade Stalin says, so that the members of society may have an opportunity to choose an occupation and not be chained for life to any single occupation.

The draft directives for the Fifth Five-Year Plan, like all preceding five-year plans, concretely reflect our party's Leninist-Stalinist national policy, aimed at strengthening friendship among peoples, at further and even greater economic and cultural flourishing of all the Union republics. ...

The draft directives for the new five-year plan are further proof that the Soviet people are devoting all their strength to peaceful construction and do not aspire to war. Along with this we are making no secret of the fact that our economy can in the shortest possible time be switched to a war footing.

Under the leadership of our party the Soviet people are making the gradual transition from socialism to communism. Comrade Stalin's remarkable new work, "Economic Problems of Socialism in the U.S.S.R.," points out that in preparation for this transition it is necessary firmly to guarantee a steady growth of all social production, with predominant growth in the output of the means of production, to raise collective farm property to the level of public property by gradual transition, to replace commodity circulation by a system of commodity exchange, also by gradual transition, and, finally, to attain such cultural growth of society as would assure comprehensive development of the physical and mental abilities of all members of society.

The program for developing our country outlined by the draft directives goes exactly in the direction pointed out by Comrade Stalin. The fulfillment of the tasks envisaged by the directives for the Fifth Five-Year Plan will guarantee further success for our people in all spheres of communist construction. ...

Comrades! Comrade Malenkov's report to the Party Congress on the work of the Central Committee gave a profound and comprehensive analysis of the international situation. One of the most typical features of the contemporary world situation is its aggravation by the intensified preparations by the imperialists for war against the Soviet Union and the people's democracies.

Exploiting the postwar situation, the U.S.A. has openly gone over to a policy aimed at establishing American domination throughout the world. Recently U.S. monopolists have tried to cover up this policy by high-sounding phrases about "cooperation and concerted action among countries of the non-Communist world." But no matter how subtle these gentlemen may become, it is clear that their plans and intentions are in no way different from the plans and intentions of Hitler and his accomplices, who also aspired to world domination and destroyed themselves in so doing. The new pretenders to world domination should bear that in mind.

In recent years the numerical strength of land and air forces has grown considerably in all the aggressive countries. Thus, in the U.S.A. the total numerical strength of the armed forces has increased to more than sixfold that of 1939. The strength of the regular armed forces of Great Britain has increased to 2.5 times that of the prewar period. On American demand armed forces are being set up in Western Germany and Japan, and a so-called European Army is being formed, which, according to the imperialists' plans, is to grow considerably by the end of 1952.

Under the cover of false speeches about its "love of peace" the American government is organizing and building military bases on a large scale beyond its own boundaries—mainly in Western Germany, France, Britain, French Morocco, Turkey and Japan. The United States is also setting up naval bases, mainly on foreign territory and primarily on those seas which form the boundaries of the North Atlantic bloc.

It is not difficult to guess that the U.S.A. is building all these military bases with the idea of surrounding the Soviet Union with them and thereby creating favorable conditions for itself in the event of war.

Recently a great deal of martial fervor has been evident among the Atlantic bloc generals, who rush from one country to another on the orders of their Wall Street bosses. At one time they inspect troops, at another they engage in land, sea and air maneuvers, and at another they roam along the Soviet frontiers. In the past three months alone, about a dozen prominent representatives of the American and British military visited the

Soviet-Turkish frontier. The appearance of these jackals in uniform near our frontiers is of course no coincidence. It is one of the links in the imperialists' preparations for war against the U.S.S.R.

This also shows that the present Turkish government, which has lost every sense of responsibility for the fate of its people, and which has become an appendage of the American-British bloc, is dragging its country onto the path of dangerous ventures.

Combined Atlantic bloc naval maneuvers were recently held near the Soviet frontiers from the northern shores of Norway to the Danish island of Bornholm. Nine countries took part in the maneuvers. With the exception of Norway and Denmark, the participants have no direct interests in the Baltic Sea area.

The actions and intentions of the imperialist camp, headed by the present American government, have a clearly aggressive and provocative character.

The forces of the aggressive camp should, of course, not be underestimated, but they should also not be overestimated. These forces have all the defects of the imperialist system of which they are offspring.

One cannot but take into account the fact that the capitalist camp unites states which lack equal rights and that it is torn by great internal contradictions. While acting under the flag of anti-Communism, the leaders of this camp maintain that they are creating a "community of free countries." But what does the community of free countries involve? Do the peoples of the countries that have been dragged into the orbit of the U.S.A. really want to take part in this "community?" Can it be that they are attracted by the prospect of a new war for the predatory interests of the American monopolies.

In connection with this the ruling circles of the capitalist countries enmesh the peoples in lies, spread fictions about the Soviet Union and the people's democracies and shout of the need to "liberate" these countries from Communism. The representatives of the American ruling circles are particularly zealous. They go so far as to suggest the "liberation" of a considerable part of Europe and Asia by force of arms, naming Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Bulgaria, Rumania, China, the Mongolian People's Republic and other countries.

These wild plans are causing surprise even in the bourgeois camp. Its more sober leaders ask: Do the peoples in question wish to be "liberated" at all?

A reasonable question! The peoples of the countries mentioned have indeed no need for the services of these "liberators." If these countries need finally to be free of someone, it is of the spies, saboteurs and terrorists whom the Americans are zealously sending them. (Applause.) No other "liberation" is necessary, the more so since the whole world knows what "liberation, American style" means. In the past it was the inhuman annihilation of Indian tribes in North America, cruel violence against the Filipino people and military intervention against the young Soviet republic. Today "liberation, American style" is embodied in the predatory war in Korea, the barbarous bombing of peaceful Korean towns and villages and the killing of women and children by bombs and deadly bacteria.

The American imperialists are screening their brigandage behind their lies about "liberation." But the lie will not help them, for lies have weak legs and will not carry one very far. (Applause.)

At present the U.S. government is deeply disturbed over the lack of "political and moral solidarity" among countries in the Atlantic bloc. And, apparently, American aid to countries which join this bloc is being particularly extolled in this connection. However, it is well enough known what this American "aid" amounts to. It is direct robbery of these countries and placing them under American domination. In giving "aid" to its satellites, the American government is following the rule customary in the world of capitalism: "Here, take our leftovers"—dumping old goods and obsolete armaments. Military and economic assistance to other states is being used to drag them into energetic preparations for a new world war.

In assessing the present situation which has been created in the capitalist world, Comrade Stalin said: "Outwardly everything appears to be 'all right.' The U.S.A. has placed Western Europe, Japan and other capitalist countries on a diet; Germany (Western), Britain, France, Italy and Japan, having

fallen into the clutches of the U.S.A., are obediently carrying out the U.S. commands. But it would be wrong to think that this 'well-being' can remain forever and ever, that these countries will tolerate without end the domination and oppression of the U.S.A., that they will not seek to free themselves from American bondage and set out on a course of independent development."

The contradictions and internal difficulties among members of the North Atlantic bloc hinder them from carrying out their aggressive plans. But, even more, it is our mighty camp of peace and democracy that prevents them from carrying out their plans.

The working people in the people's democracies, under the leadership of their Communist and Workers' Parties, have made outstanding gains in all spheres of economic and state and social life. This success graphically attests to the fact that the countries in the democratic camp have become much stronger than they were before the war under the old, anti-popular regimes.

The countries in the people's democratic camp have established permanent economic cooperation among themselves. The basis of the cooperation is the sincere desire to help one another to achieve general economic progress, under which high speeds of industrial development are assured in these countries.

Such is the difference between relations among countries in the world of capitalism and in the world of socialism. Among the capitalists, the relations are those of domination and subordination, leading to the ruin and enslavement of economically weak countries. Among us, the relations are based on equal rights, they are relations of fraternal friendship leading to general economic progress.

The camp of peace and democracy, extending from the Elbe to the Pacific, is filled with the enthusiasm of peaceful construction and the desire to preserve peace for many years. But it is important to note that, if the need arises, the democratic camp has completely modern and sufficiently powerful armed forces.

Let the capitalist gentlemen know and remember that a new world war will be more dangerous for capitalism than for the camp of democracy. If they unleash it, they will encounter a mighty armed rebuff from all freedom-loving peoples, who will not spare their efforts to put an end to capitalism forever. (Stormy applause.)

In view of all this, we must constantly show great vigilance and preparedness to repulse the aggressors. Historical experience shows that the weaker the position of imperialism becomes, the greater grows the danger that it will engage in military ventures, and the more intensively the imperialists seek to straighten out their shaky position at the Soviet Union's expense.

Thus, we must continue to strengthen our army, air force and navy in every way. Constant combat readiness of all our armed forces and of the armed forces of the entire democratic camp is the most reliable guarantee against any eventualities.

Our army and navy exist to protect their motherland, to guard the peaceful labors of the Soviet people. We stand for peace and we follow a policy of peace, a policy of averting war. However, all the Soviet government's proposals directed at guaranteeing peace are rejected by the American government and its parrots. The proposals are rejected because they defeat the cause of the warmongers and their aggressive plans. Malicious threats and the most absurd intimidations are being directed against the Soviet Union.

To this we can only say:

You are wasting your time, imperialist gentlemen! The great Soviet people are not among those who are easily frightened and they are not intimidated by threats. But if the matter goes further, our people will be able to stand up for themselves and for the interests of their motherland. (Stormy applause.) And, if necessary, the Soviet Armed Forces will be able to repulse any aggressor by all the rules of Soviet military art. (Stormy applause.) ...

The victories of our people have world-historic importance. We have long since entered the period when working people throughout the world see the clear results of the great things we are accomplishing. Thanks to the successes of socialist construction, our country has become the center of attraction for working people, for progressive people throughout the world. In our country's example all unbiased people see what the working people can achieve when they themselves administer the state and when such a party as ours leads them.

The strength of our party is in the advanced theory by which it is guided, the theory of Marxism-Leninism. The strength of our party is in its close, indissoluble ties with the people, in its ability to inspire the masses to accomplish historic tasks; its strength is in its monolithic unity.

Our party has come to its 19th Congress united and closely rallied around its Leninist-Stalinist Central Committee, around Comrade Stalin. (*Stormy applause.*)

Hail to the great and invincible banner of our party—the banner of Lenin and Stalin! (*Prolonged applause.*)

Hail to our leader and teacher, Comrade Stalin! (*Stormy prolonged applause. All rise. Cries of "Hurrah for the great Stalin!"*)

SPEECH BY COMRADE V. V. KUZNETSOV, MOSCOW.

Pravda, Oct. 11, pp. 6-7. 3000 words. Condensed text:) ... The work of our country's trade unions has been conducted throughout these years under the firm guidance of the Party Central Committee and with its constant aid. The might of the Soviet trade unions lies in the wise guidance of the Communist Party.

The trade unions have been strengthened organizationally and the membership has increased. They now unite more than 90% of the workers and employees in our country. In performing their role of a school of communism, the trade unions have been and remain faithful conductors of Party policy to the masses in all stages and on all sectors of socialist construction.

Comrades, the future development of socialist competition by the working people is of very great importance in carrying out the Fifth Five-Year Plan.

As a result of the Party's immense organizational work, socialist competition has been widely developed for the fulfillment and overfulfillment of economic plans, for improvement of quality and lowering of production costs in all branches of the national economy.

Socialist competition, a communist method of work, has become genuinely nationwide. Along with individual competition, competition has been developed further between brigades, shops and enterprises, which compete for the title of foremost group. We have never before had such a multitude of socialist competition pledges and such abundant initiative by production innovators. In each branch of the national economy there are advanced workers who smash old technical norms, overfulfilling them severalfold and discovering new possibilities of increasing output.

Many branches of industry in the U.S.S.R. have achieved a higher labor productivity than exists in the industries of the largest capitalist countries. It is important to emphasize that we are achieving high productivity not by physical exhaustion of the worker, not by using the sweatshop system, as in capitalist countries, but by equipping industry with highly productive machinery and extensive mechanization of heavy and labor-consuming work and by introducing advanced work methods.

The high mechanization of labor in our enterprises has brought praise from foreign workers visiting the U.S.S.R. Thus, British miners stated upon returning from the Soviet Union, "The first mine we entered was the most mechanized we had ever seen." Addressing the British National Coal Board, the delegation proposed: "Arrange for a special delegation to visit the Russian coal basins and let it see for itself how coal can be extracted from the depths by machines and not by the precious blood and sweat of people." One can quote many such testimonials.

Under the guidance of Party organizations, our trade unions are conducting much work to develop socialist competition and disseminate the advanced experience of production innovators. Substantial shortcomings still exist, however, in the guidance of socialist competition by many trade unions and economic agencies. Advanced experience is still poorly disseminated. This has resulted in a large number of enterprises and shops not fulfilling their plans and also many workers not meeting their work quotas.

The draft directives for the Fifth Five-Year Plan are completely correct in ordering that the mass movement of inventors and rationalizers be extended and that the experience of advanced enterprises and production innovators be disseminated in every way.

Until recently insufficient attention in socialist competition

was devoted to raising quality indices. The formal pursuit of new campaigns without a critical approach to them sometimes led to distortions in competition.

Here is one example. Under the guise of so-called socialist maintenance, maintenance of machine tools, machines, steam and apartment houses was entrusted to the workers and employees [who operate or use them]. Railroad officials turned over maintenance of whole stations to the operating personnel. As a result of this "initiative," the attention of workers was deflected from the basic tasks of competition and executives were freed of responsibility for careful maintenance of socialist property.

A second example. In some medical institutions competition was organized among doctors on matters directly concerning curative treatment. Competition agreements were concluded among medical institutions and doctors on reducing the length of cures in the hospitals, reducing expenditure of medicines and bandaging materials, etc. (*Laughter in the hall.*) In the pursuit of "good" indices, medical services to the workers and employees unquestionably could have deteriorated.

The Party Central Committee corrected the trade union and economic agencies in time.

With the help of the Party Central Committee, trade union and economic agencies took steps to eliminate these and other distortions in the guidance of competition.

Guided by the instructions of the Communist Party, the trade unions will raise socialist competition to a higher level in order to fulfill and overfulfill the new five-year plan for the full range of output by all enterprises, to raise quality and lower production costs and to increase the output of goods in every way. The trade unions will see to the wide dissemination of advanced workers' experience and will also seek further lightening of working conditions of workers and employees.

Thanks to the constant concern of the Communist Party, great progress has been attained in raising the standard of living of the Soviet people. As Comrade Malenkov's report pointed out, the real income per worker was 57% higher in 1951 than in 1940 and the real income of peasants was 60% higher.

Monetary wages of working people have increased almost 50% since the war and consumers' goods have increased from year to year, systematically lowering prices. Soviet people can now buy twice as much as in 1947 with the same money. Payments and benefits to workers, employees and their families at the state's expense have increased and state appropriations for social and cultural measures are constantly growing. Appropriations for state social insurance alone have grown from 8,600,000,000 rubles in 1940 to 21,400,000,000 in 1952.

The Communist Party devotes much attention to the improvement of medical services to the public, exhibiting constant concern for the health of Soviet people, and in particular for the organization of sanatorium and rest-home cures and recreation for the working people. The network of sanatoriums and rest homes is constantly expanding. The network of trade union rest homes alone increased 60% since 1946. This year 4,500,000 workers and employees spent their vacations at the country's health resorts. Of these, 2,800,000 trade union members were sent to health resorts either free or at a small charge, thanks to state social insurance.

More and more children are sent each year to Young Pioneer camps, suburban summer homes and other children's institutions. More than 5,000,000 took their vacations in them in 1950, including 2,700,000 in trade union Young Pioneer camps. This is more than double the 1940 number.

The housing question plays a major part in creating stable cadres of workers and raising their standard of living. Comrade Malenkov's report quite rightly criticizes directors of Party and economic agencies for not carrying out housing construction plans, and this criticism applies to trade union organizations as well. The trade unions are not fighting hard enough to carry out housing construction programs. Matters are particularly unsatisfactory in the Ministry of Railroads, which fulfilled the housing construction plan of the Fourth Five-Year Plan only 67.8% and continues to lag behind during the Fifth Five-Year Plan. Since 1946 the ministry has fallen short of the plan by a total of 1,150,000 square meters of floor space. The Ministries of Nonferrous Metallurgy, the Building Materials Industry and Machine-Building Enterprise Construction

are fulfilling the housing construction plan 60% to 70%. Directors of ministries and enterprises and we trade union officials must draw serious conclusions from the criticism at the Congress and take all steps to assure unconditional accomplishment of tasks provided in the new five-year plan for the construction of housing, sanatoriums, hospitals, schools, children's establishments, dining halls and cultural institutions.

With the constant help of the Communist Party, the trade unions will develop cultural and physical culture work extensively among workers and employees. Considerably more working people than before the war are now studying in various schools and courses and are taking part in amateur art, physical culture, sport and travel groups.

The network of cultural and physical culture institutions in 1952 has grown to double that of 1946 and surpassed the prewar level. The number of books in trade union libraries increased to 2.8 times the 1945 figure and passed the prewar level by 25%.

During the years between the 18th and 19th Party Congresses the cultural and technical level of the working class grew considerably. To describe this I venture to cite data concerning the Moscow Red Proletarian Plant. The number of workers with a primary school education has decreased every year, but the number having a fifth-grade or higher education has increased. In 1952 75% of the workers have been educated beyond primary school. Ninety per cent of workers in the basic shops receive special production training in factory vocational schools, trade schools, courses and schools for improving qualifications. Without stopping their work at the plant, many qualified workers have gone through technical courses, technical colleges or higher educational institutions and have been transferred to engineering and technical duties. A similar picture is also to be seen at other enterprises.

One must observe, however, that in light of the new tasks set by the Communist Party it will be necessary to expand and improve the training of workers both without interruption in their work and also by full-time schooling.

During the five-year plan a great new army of workers will be enlisted in industry at newly built enterprises and at existing enterprises which are expanded. The new, complex, highly productive machines with which our industry is being equipped demand highly trained technical service. It is necessary that concrete tasks be worked out in the five-year plan for the industrial ministries and the Ministry of Labor Reserves in expanding and improving instruction for workers, providing for the organization of a large number of courses and schools for training workers and improving their qualifications and for qualifying them for other work, and creating the conditions for giving workers broad technical horizons. It is also necessary to expand the network of evening schools furnishing secondary education to workers. There is every possibility for this.

The new five-year plan provides for a further considerable growth in the material and cultural level of the people, which will provide clear evidence once again of the paternal concern of the Communist Party and Comrade Stalin for the welfare of the people.

Comrades, at the 18th Party Congress Comrade Stalin set the task: "Strengthen international friendly relations with working people of all countries who are interested in peace and friendship among peoples."

During the period of the report the prestige of our state as a consistent and steadfast fighter for peace has grown greatly in the eyes of the peoples and the fraternal ties of the Soviet people with the working people in other countries have been strengthened.

Soviet trade unions, trained by the Communist Party in internationalism and the establishment of fraternal ties with the working people of all countries, are persistently fighting for the international unity of the working class and expanding their contact with the working people and trade unions in foreign countries.

In 1945 trade unions of the U.S.S.R. took an active part in the creation of the World Federation of Trade Unions, which united 80,000,000 workers and employees of most countries, including a group of capitalist countries—France, Italy, South America, Africa, Japan, India, and various trade unions in the United

States, Australia and Canada. Working people have joined together in the W.F.T.U. for an organized struggle to raise living standards, to fight preparations for a new war and the offensive by reaction, and to battle for freedom and independence of oppressed peoples.

The working class of capitalist countries is coming out more and more decisively against the policy of hunger, poverty and war pursued by the imperialist governments. The strike movement and antiwar actions by the working people are spreading. The number of participants in strikes from 1946 to 1950 in 16 capitalist countries, including the United States, Britain, France, Japan, Italy and Western Germany, totals 50,000,000, or three times as many as in 1935-1939.

The Soviet trade unions, taking an active part in the work of the W.F.T.U., are at the same time expanding friendly relations with the working people of foreign countries through exchanges of delegations. Since 1945, 290 workers' delegations have visited the Soviet Union, including 140 delegations from capitalist and colonial countries. During this same period the Soviet trade unions have sent abroad 260 delegations, 130 of which were sent to capitalist and colonial countries. The exchange of delegations with capitalist countries promotes exposure of lying bourgeois propaganda about the Soviet Union, helps the workers of foreign countries to learn the truth about our country and strengthens their confidence in our socialist state. ...

The trade unions assure the Congress of the great party of Lenin and Stalin that they will persistently and with all their energy go on helping the Party to organize the working masses to carry out ahead of schedule the immense new plans for further development of the U.S.S.R., for further improvement of the living conditions of the workers and employees, for satisfying their cultural needs, and will educate the workers and employees in the communist attitude to work and public property, in high state and labor discipline. The trade unions will devote all their energies to the struggle for further strengthening the might of our beloved motherland, for the triumph of communism.

Long live our heroic Soviet people!

Glory to the great Communist Party and its Central Committee!

Glory to our wise leader and teacher, beloved Comrade Stalin! (Applause.)

SPEECH BY COMRADE D. S. KOROTCHENKO, UKRAINE REPUBLIC. (Pravda, Oct. 12, pp. 3-4. 2200 words. Condensed text:) ... Thanks to the constant concern of the Communist Party, thanks to the tremendous assistance from fraternal peoples, and above all from the great Russian people, thanks to the constant paternal concern of Comrade Stalin, the Ukrainian people recovered in a short time from the wounds inflicted by the war and the temporary German fascist occupation. Today we are happy to report to our party's 19th Congress that the national economy of the Ukraine has already been restored. The working people of the republic have not only reached the prewar level of economic development but have considerably surpassed it. For all the assistance given, our Ukrainian people will forever thank the Communist Party, our own Soviet government and our great, beloved leader and teacher, Comrade Stalin. (Applause.)

The Soviet Ukraine completed the first postwar Stalin five-year plan ahead of schedule. The extraction of coal, iron and manganese ore and the output of pig iron, steel, rolled metal and electric power considerably exceeded the prewar level. The republic's machine-building plants in recent years have developed production of more than 740 new types of machines, machine tools and equipment and in 1950 were already producing 1.5 times as much as before the war. The tasks set by the Party and Comrade Stalin personally for industrializing the republic's western provinces and the city of Lvov are being met successfully.

During the past five-year plan the republic's production of consumers' goods increased considerably—tenfold for cotton fabrics, eighteenfold for woolen fabrics, eightfold for leather footwear, etc.

Our successes in developing agriculture have been tre-

mendous. We have restored the prewar sown area and have considerably extended the sowing of winter wheat, cotton and sugar beets. A great victory for the collective farm system was the completion of total collectivization of peasant farms in the western provinces and the amalgamation of small collective farms. Communal animal husbandry has now become predominant in the republic. The Stalin plan for the transformation of nature is being carried out successfully. From year to year the yield of all agricultural crops is rising and the army of advanced farmers is increasing. People are persistently mastering agrotechnology. In the 1951-1952 school year alone about 1,000,000 men and women collective farmers received training in agrotechnical courses.

Our republic is now delivering considerably more to the country in grain, sugar, animal husbandry products and other agricultural output than before the war. Year after year the Ukraine creditably fulfills its obligations to the state.

Our party's wise Leninist-Stalinist national policy has ensured outstanding successes in the Ukrainian people's scientific and cultural development, which is national in form and socialist in content.

The basis of all the activities of our party and the Soviet state is the great Stalinist concern for an over-all increase in the living standard of the Soviet people. Comrade Stalin teaches that the goal of socialist production is not profits, but man and his needs, i.e., gratification of his material and cultural requirements. The great concern of the Party and the government for Soviet man is reflected in the planned reduction of prices, the increase of workers' and employees' real wages and the growth of public education, public health care and social insurance. In 1951 in the Ukraine alone the state paid out more than 4,000,000,000 rubles in grants for mothers with many children and in pensions. The republic has about 500 sanatoriums and rest homes where hundreds of thousands of working people rest annually. Every year about 1,000,000 children are sent to Young Pioneer camps and children's homes.

Comrades! Our achievements are great but, as Comrade Stalin teaches, these achievements should not cause us to relax. Successful execution of the mighty tasks in the new five-year plan requires further improvement in economic leadership. We must quickly eliminate the shortcomings in our work disclosed by Comrade Malenkov's report; we must organize people's labor even better; we must guarantee that every enterprise, every construction project, fulfills the plan for every quota, and we must use raw materials and supplies economically.

With deep gratitude to the Party and to Comrade Stalin, the Ukrainian people have greeted the draft directives of the 19th Congress on further development of construction on the Kakhovka Hydroelectric Station and the Southern Ukraine Canal under the present five-year plan. At the present time, with the help of the All-Union Communist Party Central Committee, the government and Comrade Stalin personally, strong, skilled collectives of builders have been established at these great construction projects of communism. These collectives are fulfilling the construction plan with honor and have already managed to complete a considerable part of the great volume of work. The builders of the Kakhovka Hydroelectric Station have successfully completed the preparatory work and have already begun to construct basic installations.

Taking into account the great need for electric power and the necessity for rapidly putting the republic's southern irrigation system into operation, we ask that the present five-year plan provide for a volume of capital investments which will make it possible to reduce the time for building and putting into operation the Kakhovka Hydroelectric Station and the Southern Ukraine Canal.

The 19th Party Congress' draft directives on the new five-year plan devote a great deal of attention to further developing rail, water and all other forms of transport. These tasks are of great importance for our republic. Since the war a tremendous amount of work has been done in the Ukraine to restore and develop rail transport. The additional increases in the extraction of coal, ores and metal and the growth in agricultural output envisaged by the new five-year plan urgently require further development of railroads in the republic, particularly in

the Donets Basin, and a considerable increase in their capacity. There is great need for the construction of a southern exit from the Donets Basin, as well as a need for electrification of railroads in the Donets Basin (including the Stalino-Zhdanov Railroad) and in the Krivoi Rog Basin, Transcarpathia and the suburbs of Kiev, Kharkov, Dnepropetrovsk and Lvov.

The Dnieper River has great importance for our republic as a transport artery. The approximate doubling of the volume of steamship freight along the Dnieper called for under the present five-year plan arises out of requirements of the national economy in regions adjacent to the Dnieper and its tributaries. In order to ensure uninterrupted shipping and to increase Dnieper navigation greatly, it is essential in certain sectors to straighten the river channel, to reinforce the river banks, to remove submerged rocks, etc. The U.S.S.R. Ministry of Inland Shipping must insist on these measures in the present five-year plan.

The new five-year plan has set great tasks for the Ukraine's agriculture in further raising the yield of grain crops, sugar beets, cotton, sunflowers and other agricultural crops. We must considerably raise the productivity of agricultural labor. To carry out these tasks successfully, it is essential to raise further the level of mechanization of agricultural work, particularly in cultivating such technical crops as sugar beets, cotton, sunflower seeds, etc. This requires a considerable increase in the numbers of cultivating tractors, cultivators, combination drill seeders, beet combines and loaders and mineral fertilizers, in particular for beets, cotton and other technical crops.

In order to make full use of the capacity of the tractor park and to complete field work on shorter and better agrotechnical time schedules, the U.S.S.R. Ministry of Agriculture and the U.S.S.R. Ministry of Agricultural Machine Building must supply agriculture with more machines and tractor-drawn equipment. The U.S.S.R. Ministry of the Chemical Industry should expand the capacity of its existing Ukraine plants and should build new enterprises for the production of mineral fertilizers from local materials.

An additional expansion of the production capacities of sugar refineries in the Ukraine will be necessary in connection with the planned increase in the gross sugar beet yield. The U.S.S.R. Ministry of the Food Industry must take note of this and provide for construction of additional refineries in the republic's sugar beet areas, particularly in the Western provinces, with a capacity for a daily processing of approximately more than 100,000 centners of sugar beets. It is also important that measures be carried out under the present five-year plan to improve the use of water facilities at existing refineries. Resolution of these problems will promote successful fulfillment of the tasks of the new five-year plan and a further advance in the national economy of the Soviet Ukraine. ...

The Ukrainian people, together with all the fraternal peoples of our homeland, are confident in their future because the party of Lenin and Stalin leads us, because our great Stalin is with us. And where Stalin is, there is victory!

Hail to our great leader and teacher, our own beloved Comrade Stalin! (Applause.)

SPEECH BY COMRADE P. K. PONOMARENKO. (Pravda, Oct. 12, p. 4. 3400 words. Condensed text:) ... The mighty tasks and prospects envisaged in the Party Central Committee's report and in the 19th Congress draft directives for the new five-year plan clearly express the Communist Party's concern for a great advance in the national economy and for further growth in the living and cultural standards of the Soviet people.

In the camp of imperialism during the years under review there was a continuation of the process of further aggravation of internal and external contradictions, of a deepening of the crisis and weakening of the capitalist system, of subordinating the entire policy and economy to the criminal aims of preparing a new war and of a merciless assault against the vital interests of the working people.

These were years of a further absolute and relative impoverishment of the working class in capitalist countries, a decline in agriculture and dispossession from the land and ruin for the great masses of the toiling peasantry. Millions of small and very small peasant farms, with their backward, often medieval equipment, stagnating on small plots of land ex-

haunted by shortage or lack of fertilizers, were ruined and vanished from the face of the earth under the unbearable burden of taxes and the blows of capitalist competition. For instance, in Turkey, which, against all reason, the U.S. bosses exhibit as the model of a "free" country, 5,000,000 peasants are indeed free of even the smallest plots of land, and, as the Turkish newspaper *Aksam* reports, the peasants are wandering about the country in search of work and are starving. Among peasant families which do have plots of land, only one family in 150 has a plow. On the other hand, the Turkish landlords and capitalists own two-thirds of all the land, a great part of which is not cultivated and lies fallow.

In the U.S.A. hundreds of thousands of farmers are being ruined and are filling the ranks of migratory, homeless agricultural workers. In the period from 1945 to 1950 alone 713,000 farms were ruined and "vanished." While millions of peasant families are suffering cruelly from a shortage of land, two-thirds of the arable land, which in capitalist countries belongs to the large landowners, is not cultivated and lies fallow.

The defenders of capitalism are unable by any devices to hide the poverty, starvation and lack of rights of workers and toiling peasants in capitalist countries and in the colonies and semi-colonies. According to admissions by many bourgeois authorities, more than 75% of the earth's population lives in want and privation.

Having concentrated the land wealth and the bulk of marketable grain in their own hands, the capitalists and landlords in their race for superprofits are condemning the broad masses of working people to exhaustion and death by starvation. Such are the inevitable fruits of capitalism's rule.

The ideologists of the imperialist bourgeoisie attempt to prove with falsified data that, in view of the "diminishing" fertility of the soil, it is impossible at any level of technology to feed the growing population. "The most threatening force in the world today is the unrestricted birth rate," shout the American geopoliticians and reactionary philosophers, calling for a reduction in the world's population of not less than one-half. In order to reach this goal the learned lackeys of the imperialists are working out means, as they express it, "for the scientifically organized mass murder of people." The U.S. press is full of similar cannibalistic ravings. These monsters reflect in the most obvious and repulsive form the American warmongers' misanthropic plans to exterminate millions of people.

The imperialist robbers speak with unconcealed cynicism of the aims of the predatory war they are preparing. A prominent foreign diplomat and intelligence agent wrote a book in which he said that he welcomes a future war, since, he thinks, the U.S.A. will be able "to put the world in a sack and live in luxury on the spoils" as a result of this war.

When reading such statements, one cannot but recall the Eastern proverb about the brigand who, as the saying goes, was fierce and gluttonous but had a weak mind.

However, the invincible and ever-growing might of the Soviet Union and its will to peace stand in the way of the U.S. imperialists' executing their aggressive schemes. The brigand plans of the imperialists are being resisted by the inflexible will of the people, who are conducting a stubborn campaign for peace throughout the world. All the hopes and expectations and the eyes of progressive mankind are turned toward the Soviet Union, as the herald of a new life and as an example for the working people in all countries. ...

Life has irrefutably proved the progressive force and the superiority of the socialist method of production in agriculture.

Socialist agriculture is now a strong and stable base for constantly improving the food supply for the population of our country, a dependable raw materials base for our growing industry and a source of state reserves of foodstuffs and materials, reserves capable of insuring the country against all contingencies.

Speaking of grain production in the capitalist world, from 1938 to 1940 alone it declined by 2,000,000,000 poods. In the U.S.A. wheat production fell 26% from 1947 to 1950. Consumption of grain per capita, according to the statistics of a U.S. Senate committee, was 19% less in 1950 than it was before the war. In recent years in the U.S.A. not only grain consumption has decreased. According to data from the U.S. Bureau of Agricultural Economics, the production and consumption of butter

in 1951, compared with the prewar period, dropped 41%; of mutton 56%; of veal 14%, etc. Harold Dodds, President of Princeton University, was fully justified in declaring that "guns have removed meat and butter from the table of the American worker."

The success of all branches of agriculture in our country has ensured a considerable quantitative and qualitative increase in deliveries of agricultural output and raw materials. Of very great importance for the development of agriculture is the new policy for deliveries of agricultural products, adopted by the Party Central Committee and the government in 1940. This policy consists in calculating obligatory collective farm deliveries of field crops and animal husbandry products per hectare of arable land or land area of the collective farms. This system of deliveries has heightened the interest of collective farms and collective farmers in developing communal field work and animal husbandry and has ensured a firm and stable supply base.

This policy of deliveries has proved its value brilliantly during the 12 years of its application. Year by year deliveries are increasing considerably for almost all types of farm products and raw materials. The plans for grain deliveries have been overfulfilled over a period of many years. The fulfillment of the state grain deliveries plan in 1952 is also proceeding successfully. Many provinces, territories and republics have already fulfilled and overfulfilled the grain deliveries plan. All provinces, territories and republics should complete fulfillment of the grain deliveries plan in the near future.

It must be noted that the Ukraine Republic, Krasnodar and Stavropol Territories and Rostov and Crimea Provinces, which have fulfilled the 1952 plan for grain deliveries, have delivered more grain than in 1940. And, what is particularly important, thanks to the growth in wheat production they have greatly increased the deliveries of this crop.

Wheat production and deliveries have also been increased in many provinces in the East, the Central area and the Transcaucasian republics. Wheat production and deliveries in Georgia, Azerbaidzhan and Armenia have greatly increased. This has allowed for a big reduction in the importation of wheat from distant provinces by these republics.

Comrade Malenkov pointed out in his report that the gross harvest of wheat, the most valuable food crop, rose 48% in 1952 as compared with 1940. In view of this, the proportion of wheat in 1952 [grain] deliveries has increased considerably and constitutes 61%, as compared to 43% for 1940. This allows for full satisfaction of the working people's greatly increasing demand for higher-quality grain products. The 1952 production and consumption of wheat flour of the highest quality increased 69% and of first-class quality 29%, as compared with 1940.

It was pointed out by the Council of Ministers and the Party Central Committee in 1949 in the decrees on the three-year plan for developing animal husbandry and on deliveries of animal husbandry products "that the interests of advance of the entire economy of the country and of further improving the welfare of the people urgently demand that in the next three years the volume of deliveries of meat, lard, milk, butter, eggs, leather, wool and other animal husbandry products be increased to not less than 1.5 to two times."

Party, Soviet and supply organizations have succeeded in fulfilling this task on the whole. In 1951 1.4 times as much milk, 1.5 times as much meat, wool and leather, and twice as many eggs were delivered as in 1948. This is also a big increase over the 1940 level.

Cotton and sugar beet deliveries increased considerably in 1951 as compared with 1940. Comparing 1951 with 1940, deliveries of tea leaves increased 83%, grapes 34%, fruits 42%, silk cocoons 28%, karakul 18%, furs 51% and fur raw materials 300%. There has also been a considerable increase in these commodities in 1952.

During these years the increase in the income of collective farms and collective farmers in money and in kind has continued; the quantity of grain in the seed, reserve and other stocks of the collective farms and the quantity of grain distributed to the collective farmers for workdays has increased. This is shown, for example, by the fact that in 1951 the grinding of grain by collective farmers and collective farms at mills for their own needs was 170% of the 1947 amount, and the amount

of grain sold by the collective farms and collective farmers at collective farmers' markets in cities in 1951 was more than double what it was in 1947.

"Contract provision of goods," or, as Comrade Stalin points out, the rudiments of product exchange, has undergone a certain development in Soviet supply-system practice. Many goods are exchanged for provisions at favorable prices, as a result of which collective farms and collective farmers in 1952 alone are making a net gain totaling several billion rubles. Comrade Stalin has set the task of organizing such rudiments of product exchange in all branches of agriculture and developing them into an extensive system of product exchange so that the collective farms would receive for their products not only money but primarily articles they need.

With brilliant insight Comrade Stalin has outlined the tremendous importance to the cause of building a communist society of developing the rudiments of product exchange into an extensive system of product exchange, which will be "a genuine and decisive means of elevating collective farm property to the level of public property under our present conditions."

Our successes in agriculture are great and are a source of joy to every Soviet citizen. These successes irrefutably attest to the decisive superiority of socialist agriculture over agriculture in capitalist countries. The new five-year plan reveals even more tremendous prospects for developing our agriculture.

It is necessary to dwell on some shortcomings in the matter of deliveries and also in the agricultural production of some provinces.

A big shortcoming is that in some provinces and districts insufficient attention is devoted to the raising and deliveries of such crops as flax, sunflowers, tobacco and makhorka [a tobacco substitute]. Kalinin, Smolensk, Pskov, Kirov, Novgorod, Velikiye Luki and Vologda Provinces and also the Belorussian and Ukraine Republics account for three-quarters of the total production and deliveries of flax. These provinces and republics during recent years have not fulfilled the plans for deliveries of flax products. In spite of the growing interest of collective farms and farmers in the matter in connection with measures adopted by the government for encouraging flax growing, Party, Soviet and procurement and agricultural agencies in these provinces and republics have still not taken sufficient measures to improve flax growing and continue to lag behind considerably this year in gathering a good flax harvest and in delivering flax.

The main suppliers of sunflowers—the Ukraine, Krasnodar and Stavropol Territories and Rostov and Stalingrad Provinces—which account for 70% of the production and deliveries of sunflowers, have slackened their attention to this work and fulfill the deliveries plan unsatisfactorily. It should also be remarked that the areas sown to sunflowers in the East have been greatly extended in recent years. However, the Ministry of Agriculture and local agricultural agencies are not showing due concern for discovering new varieties of seeds and for applying agro-technology corresponding to local conditions. Therefore the sunflower harvest in the East is very small. It is incomprehensible why this question has been overlooked by the Russian Republic Council of Ministers and the Russian Republic Ministry of Agriculture.

The Ukraine Republic is the chief supplier of makhorka. However, Ukraine organizations have relaxed their attention to the production and delivery of makhorka. In 1940 the Ukraine supplied 25 centners of makhorka per hectare of the crop, while in 1951 it supplied only eight centners per hectare, a fact which is, of course, a result of the inattention of local agencies to this matter.

Fulfillment of the new five-year plan must be accompanied by a steady reduction in all nonproductive expenditure, by elimination of waste and by maintenance of a strict regime of economy. Procurement and marketing organizations under the Ministries of Procurement, Trade, the Meat and Dairy Industry, the Food Industry and Cotton Growing and the Central Union of Consumers' Cooperatives indulge in excessive expenditure on procuring, storing and distributing output. These expenditures must be reduced sharply. In 1952 some measures have already been adopted to put procurement organizations in order, to eliminate waste in procurement expenditures and also to make some reduction in the numerical strength of the procurement staffs. Expenditure on procurement and marketing in the above ministries have been reduced by 4,700,000,000 rubles per year.

One hundred seventy four thousand persons have been released for work in other branches of the economy.

Our task consists in further bringing order into the matter of procurements; in eliminating inflated staffs; generally improving storage and eliminating waste in it; preventing a reduction in the quality of storing and shipping commodities; reducing long and irrational shipments; increasing the use of shipping containers and keeping them in good repair; developing transport from the procurement bases directly to the marketing organizations, bypassing intermediate bases; introducing packaging of foodstuffs, etc.

An important means of cutting overhead costs is to reduce the distance of shipment of agricultural produce. For example, it cannot be considered normal that for a number of years the distance over which potatoes are shipped has been growing steadily. In 1940 it amounted to 444 kilometers, in 1950 it increased to 600 kilometers and in 1951 to 717 kilometers. This causes a sharp rise in costs, an increase in waste and a loss in the quality of the potatoes. It is necessary to put an end to such an antistate practice by increasing the raising and delivery of potatoes and vegetables close to the large centers of the country.

To reduce shipping costs it is necessary to increase considerably shipment of agricultural produce by water since it is considerably cheaper than rail shipment. It cannot be regarded as normal that water transport of very important foodstuffs and raw materials has not increased in comparison with 1940 and does not amount to more than 10% of transport as a whole.

A sharp lowering of overhead costs should yield important economic results and lead to an improvement in the work of procurement, marketing and merchandising organizations. ...

SPEECH BY COMRADE M. A. YASNOV, MOSCOW. (Pravda, Oct. 12, pp. 4-5. 2600 words. Condensed text.) ... On Comrade Stalin's instructions a general plan for the reconstruction of Moscow from 1951 to 1960 has been drawn up and approved this year. ... During this ten-year period it is intended to build 10,000,000 square meters [floor space] of new housing in Moscow with all modern conveniences. During the Fifth Five-Year Plan 4,200,000 square meters of housing will be built, three times as much as during the Fourth Five-Year Plan.

The construction in Moscow of tall buildings, begun on Comrade Stalin's initiative, signifies a new stage in socialist city building and indicates the high level of Soviet architects' abilities and the high level of our building industry's growth. The tall buildings constructed or now under construction, with proportions and lines which are original in architectural and artistic composition and correspond to the historic architecture of the city, have radically changed Moscow's appearance.

The construction of 400 schools is envisaged in the general plan. During the Fifth Five-Year Plan 170 schools will be built, or eight times as many as were built during the Fourth Five-Year Plan. The volume of school construction over the ten-year period will almost double the school facilities in Moscow, will ensure a single study shift in the schools and will be a very important aid in the transition to general polytechnical training.

It has been planned to build new hospitals with a total of 26,000 beds. The expansion of hospital facilities will ensure a further great improvement in medical services to the public. New hotels will be built with a total of 4000 rooms. The number of motion picture theaters will be more than doubled.

Construction of the subway and the development of other kinds of municipal passenger transportation have radically improved passenger transport. A further expansion of the city transportation network is envisaged in the general plan for reconstructing Moscow. In the first quarter of 1953 the construction of the large subway line, about 20 kilometers long, will be entirely completed. With further construction of the new subway line the rolling stock will be increased by 300 cars. Work will be completed on electrifying all railroad lines to the Moscow suburban area.

Gas installation in Moscow has attained exceptionally advanced levels. During the great Patriotic War, on Comrade Stalin's initiative, construction was begun of a gas main from Tatarovskaya to the city center and it was put into operation in 1946. In 1951 construction of a new gas main for plant was completed. Completion of these

projects has made it possible to install gas on a large scale in apartments, communal service enterprises and public restaurants and dining halls. At the present time gas is supplied to 350,000 Moscow apartments, or six times as many apartments as in 1940. This year gas consumption has reached 12 times the figure for 1940. Today 88½ of Moscow's residents use gas. Gas installation in apartments has wrought a basic change in Muscovites' manner of living and has given the public important material benefits. It has been calculated that, as a result of using gas instead of kerosene and wood, the population of Moscow annually makes a saving of about 170,000,000 rubles in its budget. The plan envisages a further increase in the gas supply; development of the water supply, the sewerage system and roads and bridges, and improvement of municipal construction in the city. ...

In carrying out the general plan large-scale work has been started on building apartment buildings, schools, hospitals, municipal installations and improvements. In 1951 735,000 square meters of new housing, 24 school buildings and 1,390,000 square meters of improved roads were completed in Moscow. Other work was also done to develop the municipal economy. In 1952 750,000 square meters of housing will be built, almost double the amount built in 1940. Twenty-seven school buildings and 12 hospitals, with a total of 2500 beds, will be constructed; the capacity of communal service enterprises will be increased.

Comrades! In connection with the tremendous volume of construction work envisaged by the Congress' directives for the Fifth Five-Year Plan for development of the U.S.S.R., I wish to dwell on problems of organizing and lowering cost of construction. Serious shortcomings in housing and cultural and service building construction, particularly by small construction organizations, are the unsatisfactory organization of building work and the outmoded building technology. There are still many building organizations which do not use finished parts and sections made at factories. Individual blueprints are used on each job and primitive methods of work, with hand labor, are still employed. The exterior and interior finishing of the buildings is done by moist plaster work. Modern means of mechanization are as a rule poorly applied at such construction jobs. As a result the productivity of labor is low and the time schedules for doing the work are excessively long. This kind of construction costs the state a pretty sum.

In recent years Moscow Party and Soviet organizations have devoted a great deal of attention to further improving the organization of apartment building construction by introducing and applying new technology, by employing industrial methods to erect buildings with maximum use of prefabricated parts and sections made at factories and also by using highly productive machinery and equipment. In connection with this, new designs for apartment buildings were worked out, using standardized parts, production of which was organized at specialized plants of the building materials industry. The new building techniques involve the application of a dry method of interior and exterior finishing of the buildings, with the use of gypsum board instead of moist plaster for interior finishings, and facing tile for façades.

Construction of tall apartment buildings by industrial methods, using over-all mechanization, as the experience of the Moscow Soviet's building organizations has shown, is quite efficient. For instance, in the construction of six- to eight-story buildings, the time required to build one floor of an apartment building was estimated at two to three months in 1948; in 1952 the estimate is one month. The length of time for erecting such a building was estimated in 1948 at 20 to 24 months; this year it is estimated at six to eight months. In 1948, 29.7 man-days were required per square meter of floor space, while in 1952 12.5 man-days are required. Prefabricated sections accounted for about 25% of the estimated cost of constructing an apartment building in 1948; in 1952 they account for 65%.

The change to prefabricated reinforced concrete framework in place of construction of solid brick walls makes it possible to reduce manpower requirements 20%. When wet plaster was used inside a building, one plasterer did six to eight square meters per day. With the change to the use of plasterboard, one worker does 25 square meters per day. Using gypsum-cinder partitions with plasterboard in place of wooden plastered parti-

tions, as was done previously, has halved the cost of putting up partitions. The daily output of one plasterer using only wet plaster for building façades was not more than two square meters. With the use of facing tile or concrete slabs for finishing façades, the daily output per worker has increased to ten square meters, or fivefold. Previously the sanitary fixtures were installed after the walls were erected and this commonly delayed the finishing work. Now the fixtures are mounted at the factories, are delivered in finished form to the construction job and are installed at the same time the building is erected. As a result, the expenditure of manpower needed to install fixtures has been reduced to one-third.

All these and other measures have made it possible for the Moscow Soviet's building organizations to reduce the cost of building apartment houses by 35% in 1952 in comparison with 1948.

The 19th Party Congress draft directives for the Fifth Five-Year Plan provide for raising the productivity of building labor 55% and for lowering the cost of construction not less than 20%. The directives also envisage a reduction in the time needed for construction, along with a rise in the quality of construction work. The experience of leading Moscow building organizations shows that this is an entirely feasible goal. Moreover, lowering construction costs by 20% must be regarded as a minimum task. It is necessary to keep in mind that the saving of a single additional ruble per square meter of housing, with the volume of housing construction planned under the Fifth Five-Year Plan, yields an economy to the state of 105,000,000 rubles, a sum for which 30 more 50-unit apartment buildings could be built.

In view of the tremendous volume of construction which has been done in our country, economy in the use of lumber has exceptional importance. A reduction in the use of lumber in housing and cultural and service building construction could, as experience has shown, be attained by using large prefabricated reinforced concrete sections—prefabricated reinforced concrete framework, walls, panels and ceiling sections.

When these sections are used in housing construction, expenditure of lumber for building partitions and interfloors is completely eliminated. In 1948 construction of one square meter of housing with wooden interfloors and plaster partitions required 1.03 cubic meters of lumber, while in 1952 the construction of buildings with the use of large reinforced concrete sections requires 0.45 cubic meters of lumber per square meter of housing. Thus the expenditure of lumber has been reduced by 0.58 cubic meters for each square meter of housing. This economizes 580,000 cubic meters of lumber in the construction of 1,000,000 square meters of housing. Consequently, with the planned scale of housing construction, extensive building of the above-mentioned types of houses will save the country a great deal of lumber and at the same time will increase the capital value and fireproofing of buildings and improve the quality of construction.

The shift to industrial methods of construction requires establishment of great, specialized building organizations and concentration of their construction work on large, massive buildings. Industrial methods of constructing apartment buildings in Moscow are now used by a few building organizations, but the majority of building organizations still continue to work by the old methods. It is essential that industrial methods become the chief methods used by all building organizations in constructing housing and cultural and service buildings. ...

SPEECH BY COMRADE A. I. MIKOYAN. (Pravda, Oct. 12, pp. 5-6. 6500 words. Condensed text:) Comrades! The Party Central Committee report, the draft directives for the Fifth Five-Year Plan, the draft of the revised Party Statutes and Comrade Stalin's brilliant work on the economic problems of socialism in the U.S.S.R., published on the eve of the Congress, illuminate with vivid Stalinist genius both the road of great historical significance that we have traversed and the road ahead to an ever more tangible communist future.

Our mighty party, assembled for its 19th Congress, is according due praise to him who trained us and organized us, who has carried us through all difficulties and trials and is confidently leading us to the full triumph of communism—praise to the genius Stalin, the great architect of communism. (*Stormy applause.*)

In Stalin's new work on the economic problems of socialism in the U.S.S.R., that treasure house of ideas, special significance attaches to the basic economic laws of socialism and present-day capitalism, disclosed and clearly formulated by Comrade Stalin. ...

Comrade Stalin teaches that "socialism can triumph only on the basis of a higher labor productivity than that under capitalism; on the basis of an abundance of products and all kinds of consumers' goods and on the basis of a prosperous and cultured life for all members of the community."

Our country has made considerable progress in the production of consumers' goods and foodstuffs.

The new five-year plan envisages further considerable development of the light and food industries.

The rapid increase in output of the most valuable food products has become a characteristic feature in our food industry's development. This fully accords with the constantly growing public demand.

Production and consumption of such products as meat and dairy products, fish, vegetables, fruits, sugar, etc., are increasing rapidly in our country, a fact which is reflected in the slower growth in grain production.

In exactly the same way public demand is switching from the ordinary types of cotton fabrics to high-grade woolen, silk, synthetic and high-grade cotton fabrics.

As for such products as salt, matches and kerosene for daily needs, the demand is being fully satisfied and therefore production of these goods will increase very little. After all, it was not so long ago that supplying the countryside with these goods was a matter of special concern.

Improvement in public consumption involves a considerable increase in the baking of wheat bread in place of rye bread. Moreover, the output of baked goods from wheat flour has more than doubled in 1952, compared with 1940, and will increase still more.

Factory bread baking, which is replacing small-scale and home baking, is growing rapidly.

It is characteristic that in 1936 353 cities were supplied with factory-made bread, whereas in 1952 1104 cities were so supplied, i.e., 751 cities more than in 1936. Our baking industry is employing widespread mechanization and automatization of production. Of the basic production processes, 78% to 98% have been mechanized and made automatic, and by the end of the five-year plan this will have reached 100%.

The five-year plan envisages the construction of a large number of new bakeries in regions which have a shortage of them, for there are still such regions.

It is the task of officials of the baking industry to improve the varieties, tastiness and nutritional value of bread and other bakery products in all cities, to bring production efficiency up to the level of leading Moscow and Leningrad enterprises, and also to make further progress in these cities.

The drying of vegetables and potatoes still lags greatly. On Comrade Stalin's initiative a great program has been adopted for constructing modern plants to dry potatoes and vegetables. The total capacity of these plants will make it possible by the end of the five-year plan to process 1,100,000 tons of raw potatoes and vegetables per year. This will ensure provision of potatoes and vegetables to the remote and northern regions of the country and a steady supply of them to the population, regardless of season.

A rapid growth in the output of frozen vegetables and fruit is also intended.

The centralized market supply of meat in 1952 has increased to 2.3 times that of 1948, the first year after the abolition of rationing. The rate of growth in meat output under the Fifth Five-Year Plan will amount to an average of not less than 14% annually and by the end of the five-year plan twice as much meat is to be produced as in 1940.

While meat production fell in the United States by 437,000 tons in 1951, as compared with 1946, meat production in the Soviet Union increased by 709,000 tons within the same time.

It must be said that despite the large increase in the country's meat output, the public demand for meat products is still not fully met in a number of cities because demand is increasing more rapidly than production.

Now that the grain problem, as Comrade Malenkov pointed

out, has finally been worked out, we can and must lay special emphasis on a rapid growth in livestock breeding, on raising ever larger numbers of well-fed livestock for meat and on attaining an abundance of milk. The personnel of the meat-packing industry and state and collective farm personnel engaged in animal husbandry have the decisive word in increasing meat production.

The fish catch in 1952 increased almost 70% over that of 1940.

The capacity of the fishing fleet in 1952 was 3.2 times the prewar level and in 1955 will be more than 4.5 times the prewar level.

The fish catch in the open sea now constitutes 66% of the entire output, as opposed to 48% before the war.

The army of courageous sailor-fishermen has grown. In all weather, calm and storms, in rain and snow, fighting the elements, they display models of heroic labor, courage and boldness in serving the homeland. In the recent past all that was required of most fishermen was the ability to handle a sailboat and a fishing net, but today a fisherman must be able to run modern self-propelled seagoing vessels outfitted with the latest fishing gear. To run such boats a great number of skilled personnel—pilots, navigators and engineers—have been trained since the war, although there is still a shortage of them. At the present time more than 12,800 of our fine youths are being trained for these jobs, as compared with 740 in 1940.

However, while the fish catch is increasing satisfactorily in Murmansk and Baltic waters, matters are proceeding poorly in the Azov-Black Sea, Caspian and Far Eastern waters.

The fishing industry is confronted with a big task—to organize commercial fish breeding in the reservoirs of the Soviet Union. The establishment of huge reservoirs in connection with hydroelectric construction projects on the Don, Volga, Dnieper, Kura and Amu-Darya Rivers makes it possible, with proper development of fish resources, to increase the stock of such breeds of fish as bream, carp, pike, perch and others.

The hydroelectric construction projects essentially alter the natural conditions for fish propagation in the Caspian and Azov Seas and introduce the need for developing to the utmost the commercial breeding of valuable fish. Therefore, it is essential to build hatcheries and feeding grounds on a large scale.

The Ministry of the Fishing Industry, however, is slow in carrying out the above-mentioned measures.

Ponds on the collective farms provide great opportunities for increasing the fish resources in view of the big program for building ponds and for their high productivity. This can be seen from the work of fisheries in Kursk and Kiev Provinces and Krasnodar Territory, where a number of them annually provide 15 to 20 centners of fish per hectare of reservoir.

There is every opportunity for ensuring a still higher rate of increase in the fish catch and in the output of high-quality fish products, not only to fulfill but also to overfulfill the tasks of the five-year plan and to more than double the fish catch in comparison with the prewar period. It is necessary to strengthen and build new coastal bases serving the fishing fleet, to build still more fish-processing enterprises, to increase the mechanization of catching and processing fish and to expand housing construction for fishermen.

While the production of butter in the United States diminished by 281,000 tons in 1951 as compared with 1940, the production of butter in the Soviet Union increased 132,000 tons in the same period, exclusive of the substantial amount of homemade butter.

In the last year of the five-year plan the production of animal fats in the U.S.S.R. will have increased to 2.7 times the prewar level; of cheese to more than threefold and of margarine to threefold.

It would seem that with such a rapid growth in the output of fats we might have encountered marketing difficulties. However, this has not happened because the population's purchasing power is growing more rapidly than market supplies. In a number of regions the demand for fats, especially animal fats, is still not fully met.

The production of canned goods in 1952 is more than double that of 1940 and will be treble in 1955; the canned fish and meat will be more than fivefold.

The production of condensed and dried milk is of increasing importance in eliminating the seasonal decline in supplying the

population with milk during the winter. In 1952 the output of condensed and dried milk doubled and will increase to fivefold by the end of the five-year plan as compared with 1940.

The sugar industry suffered more from the German occupation than other branches of the food industry. Of the 211 sugar refineries existing before the war, 196 were completely or partially destroyed and the output of sugar in 1943 diminished to almost one-twentieth the prewar level.

Now the sugar industry has been restored and new refineries equipped with the most advanced machinery have been built. In 1952 sugar production will exceed the 1940 level by 50%, and by the end of the new five-year plan it will be double what it was before the war.

In 1951 the beet sugar output fell by 338,000 tons in the U.S.A. in comparison with 1950 and by 142,000 tons in France, whereas our beet sugar production increased 454,000 tons during this same period. We processed 40% more beet sugar in 1951 than the total output of beet and cane sugar in the U.S.A. The U.S.S.R. is producing more beet sugar in 1952 than the total 1951 output of this sugar in the U.S.A., France and Britain combined. (Applause.)

It is necessary to increase still more the sowing and yields of sugar beets and their sugar content and also of sunflower crops and their oil content.

In the Ukraine, thanks to the great love the collective farmers have for sugar-beet raising and the skillful leadership of Ukraine organizations, the beet harvest in recent years is ensuring fulfillment and overfulfillment of the plans for sugar output. This cannot be said of certain other beet-growing regions, particularly Altai Territory and Kursk Province, where there is still little concern about beets. Kirgizia and Kazakhstan, although they have achieved certain successes, are not making use of all their potentialities and in 1951 their harvest was even lower than before the war.

I do not have to show that with the improvement in feeding the population there also arises the necessity of increasing the production of all sorts of beverages which whet the appetite. (Stir in the hall, laughter, applause.)

The production of wine was 39% higher in 1952 than in 1940 and by the end of the new five-year plan will be almost double the prewar level. In 1952 the production of champagne and cognac was double [the prewar level] and by the end of the five-year plan it will increase to 3.5 times. The output of beer increased 42% and by the end of the five-year plan will be double. Our production of vodka is now slightly less than before the war, and, in keeping with public demand, is growing somewhat more slowly, but it is growing. (Stir in the hall, laughter.)

In the current five-year plan particular attention must be paid to a considerable increase in the production of packaged food products and prepared foods.

Not only do such prepared foods as sausages, frankfurters and ice cream, which have long been sold widely, enjoy great popularity among the public, but also such products as outlets; meat dumplings, prepared lunches and canned soups, the manufacture of which has increased severalfold in comparison with the prewar period and will increase still more by the end of the five-year plan.

However, it must be said frankly that the sale of such products is as yet widespread only in large cities. In the new five-year plan the task lies in expanding the output of these products in a large number of cities, not only because these products are very tasty and well prepared—their quality is guaranteed and tested by sanitary inspectors and state quality inspectors—but also because they free our women from heavy labor and make it possible to prepare tasty food in the home without spending much time.

Soviet doctors rightly quote the great scientist Pavlov, who said: "Everyone realizes that normal and healthy eating is eating with an appetite, eating with pleasure." The task is not only to produce food products in large quantities. Food products must have quality, nutritive value, attractive appearance and pleasant flavor; they must develop taste and whet the appetite so that people may take real pleasure in eating. (Stormy applause.)

The development of refrigeration facilities in the country is of great importance in improving food supply and further lessening losses of foods during their storage.

We have already achieved considerable success in this matter.

The total 1952 capacity of refrigerators in the food industry is more than double what it was in 1940 and by the end of the five-year plan will be almost four times the 1940 figure.

The lag in supplying the trade network with freezers is being eliminated rapidly. While there were 1650 such units in 1948, in 1952 the number has increased to 18,000 and by the end of the five-year plan the trade network will have 40,000 freezers.

The 1952 self-propelled refrigerator fleet, primarily for shipping fish, is more than double prewar size and will be more than treble prewar size by the end of the five-year plan.

At present the number of refrigerator cars has increased 40% over prewar and in 1955 will be double the prewar level.

Household refrigerators are assuming great importance in preserving the quality of foodstuffs and in creating conveniences for the population.

Before the war we did not have mass production of these refrigerators. Now we have three types of household electric refrigerators, which are second to none among the best foreign models: the small refrigerator of the Gas Apparatus Factory, the medium "Saratov" refrigerator and the large ZIS refrigerator. In 1952 production of these refrigerators is being doubled in comparison with 1951 and will be increased to tenfold by 1955.

The development of refrigeration facilities as a consistent measure—from industrial enterprises to transport, from warehouses and stores to the apartments of the consumers—ensures provision of the Soviet population with healthful and tasty food, for which our great party and Comrade Stalin personally are constantly concerned. (Applause.)

The tasks of ministries of food industries are to eliminate the shortcomings noted by Comrade Malenkov in his report; to make the fullest possible use of existing reserves; to bring lagging enterprises up to the level of leading enterprises and to equal the work of innovators; to introduce economies in the use of funds, raw materials and supplies in production, as well as economies in expenditure of funds for delivering and marketing output; and to carry out an extensive program of mechanization and automatization of production.

By carrying out all these measures the food ministries can save not less than the 45,000,000,000 rubles envisaged by the Fifth Five-Year Plan.

The progress in increasing output of foodstuffs and all consumers' goods and the further rapid increase in the well-being of the masses envisaged by the new five-year plan are the result of Comrade Stalin's constant concern for the Soviet man and his welfare. (Applause.)

We may say confidently that food industry workers will honorably fulfill their duty in meeting the task set by Comrade Stalin to secure an abundance of goods in our country.

In 1952 the sales volume of state and cooperative trade is to be (in comparable prices) more than double that of 1948, the first year after the abolition of rationing.

Recent years have seen a rise in the proportion of the total sales volume accounted for by industrial goods, particularly durable goods—automobiles, motorcycles, bicycles, radio receiver sets, television sets, furniture, refrigerators, musical instruments, etc.—a fact which clearly reflects the increasing prosperity of the Soviet people. Another index of growth of public welfare and the trust in Soviet currency is the fact that 1952 savings bank deposits were four times as large as 1940 deposits.

The increase in the quantity of consumers' goods naturally made the public more exacting toward the quality and assortment. Before, when there were few goods, people often made purchases without special selection. Now the situation has changed sharply. However, industry and merchandising organizations frequently continue to work in the old way; they do not study public demand properly and continue to supply goods indiscriminately, selecting the assortment poorly and sometimes shipping off to a certain region or city large consignments of clothing and footwear of two or three styles and sizes and three or four designs, without the necessary variation.

It is necessary to improve rapidly the quality and assortment of the goods supplied by industry for sale to the public. The needs and interests of the Soviet consumer must become the law for industry.

There must be further development of the system of advance orders given by trade organizations to industry, a system which has proved its value completely.

It is necessary to increase the network of well-equipped specialized stores and to create state merchandising organizations, after the example of Moscow and Leningrad, in the big centers to direct them.

Serious attention should be given to more efficient territorial distribution of stores and the situation that has arisen must be remedied. It is necessary, finally, to overcome the lag of storage facilities behind the growing sales volume.

The network of dining rooms and restaurants must be expanded still more and the work of the public dining halls, tearooms and restaurants must be improved.

It is the duty of trade officials to improve their qualifications, study public needs and know how to sell the needed goods to the customer. Lenin's slogan—learn to trade—still has its importance for trade officials now.

The tasks of local industry and producers' cooperatives issuing consumers' goods are to improve the quality of the goods, lower unit costs, develop the specialization possible and carry through the technical supplying and re-equipping of their enterprises.

As soon as the worst consequences of the war were eliminated, the Party and government provided the conditions for abolishing the rationing system and for systematically reducing prices of consumers' goods.

The result of following the Stalin policy of price reductions is that the general level of prices for consumers' goods in the U.S.S.R. has fallen 50%, i.e., by half, during the past five years. This means that the Soviet consumer today can buy for 50 rubles as much as he bought five years ago for 100 rubles.

The more production increases, the more costs are lowered and the more labor productivity is raised, the greater become the possibilities of price reductions and of increased prosperity for our people.

The interests of the working people coincide with the interests of the socialist state, and therein lies the source of the inner strength and might of our socialist society.

While prices in the U.S.S.R. are systematically reduced, the level of prices in capitalist countries is steadily rising, as is evident from the following comparison of official statistics:

Prices of Important Foodstuffs in 1952 in Percentage of
Prices at the End of 1947

| Commodities | U.S.S.R. | U.S.A. | Britain | France |
|-------------|----------|--------|---------|--------|
| Bread | 39 | 128 | 190 | 208 |
| Meat | 42 | 126 | 135 | 188 |
| Butter | 37 | 104 | 225 | 192 |
| Milk | 72 | 118 | 130 | 174 |
| Sugar | 49 | 106 | 233 | 376 |

... The Soviet Union's foreign trade, like the whole economy, is on a new upswing in the postwar period.

As opposed to the prewar period, when we did not have a steady growth of foreign trade because of the Soviet Union's isolation, in the postwar conditions the foreign trade of the country is growing from year to year, a fact to be explained both by the strengthening of the U.S.S.R.'s international position, by the inception of the new world market and by the growth in our economic capacity.

The Soviet Union's foreign trade is now treble the prewar volume.

In the postwar period, too, the Soviet Union has maintained its unchangeable policy of development of business relations with the capitalist countries on mutually advantageous terms.

Trade with the countries of capitalism, after a certain rise in the first postwar years, has fallen sharply as a result of the United States' aggressive course. This reduction has been more than compensated for by the growth of trade with friendly countries.

But the countries of capitalism which want to develop trade relations with the Soviet Union on mutually advantageous terms are always met with support from us. A vivid example of this is our trade with Finland. Trade between the U.S.S.R. and Finland was nine times as large in 1951 (in comparable prices)

as in 1938. The long-term trade agreement concluded for 1955 envisages a further substantial expansion of trade. Thus, by 1953 the trade turnover will be almost double the 1951 level, i.e., it will have almost doubled in two years.

The most important change in our postwar trade lies in the fact that the bulk of the trade is now trade with the countries of the democratic camp. This year these countries will account for 80% of our foreign trade. ...

In the period from 1948 to 1952 the trade among countries in the camp of peace and democracy more than trebled. Even if one takes into account the reduction of trade with the capitalist countries, the foreign trade of countries in the democratic camp has doubled.

The market of the democratic camp possesses the resources to enable each country to find all that is necessary for its economic development on the new world market. Moreover, each country imports what it needs and exports foods which other countries need; not one of the countries imposes on the other goods that are not needed by the latter, as happens in the capitalist market.

The cooperation among the countries of the democratic camp entered a new stage with the transition to long-term economic agreements, which became possible thanks to the transition of the people's democracies to long-range plans. The long-term trade agreements guarantee the countries for long periods the acquisition of machinery, equipment, raw materials and other goods necessary for economic development; they also guarantee the marketing of their output and create a clear prospect of and confidence in a further upswing of the economy.

For the rapid political and economic strengthening of the camp of democracy and peace we are indebted to Comrade Stalin's wise policy and his daily concern for strengthening friendship between the Soviet Union and the fraternal peoples of countries in the democratic camp. (Applause.)

In 1952 the Soviet Union's deliveries of machinery and equipment of the latest design to the people's democracies had increased tenfold in comparison with 1948.

The Soviet Union is supplying the people's democracies with improved equipment, it is giving them the least expensive, first-class technical assistance and, without charge, patents, licenses and the technology of production.

All this has enabled the people's democracies to establish new industries and entire branches of industry equipped with modern machinery, which they did not have and could not have under other conditions.

Let us take the example of Rumania, which, after expanding oil production to the limit, has become a country with a developing machine-building industry and now, thanks to the Soviet Union's fraternal assistance, is itself producing almost all the necessary equipment for oil extraction and is beginning to produce complex apparatus for oil refining. This is the world's only example of a small state with oil resources also having its own oil machine-building industry. The countries of Latin America and the Middle East, from which the Anglo-American monopolies rapaciously extort tremendous amounts of oil, cannot even dream of this.

On the world capitalist market economic relationships among the countries have reached a profound state of disorder as a result of the deepening of the general crisis of capitalism. This disorder has been intensified by the expansionist policy of the United States, which aspires to world domination. American imperialism is waging a feverish struggle to seize markets, endeavoring to find a safety-valve for the internal contradictions of its economy in increased exports. America wants to sell a great deal and buy very little from other countries. This is evident if only from the fact that in the postwar period the annual average of U.S. exports amounted to \$12,500,000,000 whereas imports amounted to \$7,300,000,000 and, consequently, the annual surplus of American exports exceeded \$5,000,000,000.

The economic absurdity of this kind of trade is graphically evident from the example of America's trade relations with Western Europe, to which in the postwar period the Americans annually have shipped more than \$4,000,000,000 worth of goods and imported from Europe only to the value of \$1,000,000,000, closing their frontier to European imports by high tariffs.

Can trade really develop when sales of American goods are

fourfold the volume of American purchases in Western Europe? No, such trade inevitably leads to further collapse of the international capitalist market and aggravation of antagonisms among the countries of the bourgeois world. Such expansion, with the aid of all devices of trade warfare waged by the U.S.A., including dumping on an unprecedented scale, is aimed at impinging upon the interests of Britain, France and other capitalist countries which are being hemmed in by the Americans on the world market and even in Britain's and France's own colonies.

All the forms of American "aid" to other countries are only a screen for intensification of the plundering and exploitation of other peoples.

The return to the world market of vanquished Western Germany and Japan is further aggravating the antagonisms between the vanquished countries and the countries which seized their markets after the war.

In the postwar situation the imperialist countries are further intensifying the unequal exchange with dependent countries, purchasing raw materials and foodstuffs from them very cheaply and selling goods to them at very high prices. Thus, the United States has a monopoly on copper purchase at very low prices in Chile, tin in Bolivia, oil in Venezuela, coffee in Brazil and rubber in the Asian countries, a fact which gives rise to stormy protests and changes of the governments obedient to the Americans. For example, the American monopolies active in Saudi Arabia receive a profit of more than \$13 on every ton of oil extracted, which is seven times as much as the unit cost of the oil. Their profits are also no less in the other Middle Eastern countries, the peoples of which languish in poverty and ignorance.

The dominating imperialist countries are throttling the economy of underdeveloped countries, turning them into their agrarian and raw material appendages and markets for their unmarketed goods. In this way the ugly character of the international division of labor among capitalist countries is being intensified more and more.

In contrast to this the new world market is growing and developing on a healthy basis, the market which relies on friendly relations among the countries in the democratic camp and on the harmony of their interests, thus ensuring the creation of reasonable division of labor among these countries and planned development of their national economies without crises, in accordance with their natural resources and economic potentialities.

Comrades! It is difficult to comprehend and to assess appropriately the extremely great successes and achievements with which our country came to the 19th Party Congress. The hearts of all the world's progressive people are filled with joy for the great Soviet Union, for the rapidly growing and strengthening camp of peace and democracy.

Our successes are disturbing the peace of mind of mankind's sworn enemies—the magnates of monopoly capital, who are preparing military aggression and resorting to provocations and threats against the Soviet Union and all the democratic camp. Our Congress has stated clearly and firmly enough that we are not afraid of provocations and intimidations, that we are fighting for peace, that we are ready to meet any danger fully prepared and to administer a crushing rebuff to any aggressors. (Applause.)

After the 19th Party Congress our party will go forward still more calmly and confidently to the victory of communism, under the guidance of our leader and teacher, the brilliant architect of communism, our own beloved Comrade Stalin. (Stormy applause.)

Glory to the great Stalin! (Stormy, prolonged applause. All rise.)

SPEECH BY COMRADE A. F. ZASYADKO, MOSCOW. (Pravda, Oct. 12, p. 6. 2700 words. Condensed text:) ... As a result of the successful fulfillment of the postwar five-year plan, the level of coal extraction now exceeds the prewar level by more than 80%. In the Moscow Basin almost 3.5 times as much coal is being extracted as before the war, and in the eastern areas—the Kuznetsk Basin and Karaganda—two to three times as much. The Donets Coal Basin, restored by the heroic labor of all our people, is producing almost 24% more coal than before the war. These increases in coal production have made it

possible to meet the requirements of industry for fuel and to establish the necessary reserves. The increase in coal extraction has been accompanied by an uninterrupted increase in the productivity of miners' labor. During the postwar years labor productivity in the coal industry has increased 35.8%.

Thanks to the constant aid of the Party and government, an immense amount of work has been done to mechanize coal extraction. ...

Before the war there were no coal combines in our mines; there are now several hundred of them. The introduction of coal combines permitted the most laborious process—loading coal—to be mechanized almost 25% in 1952, while only four years ago this work was done entirely by hand. In the Kuznetsk and Karaganda Coal Basins the mechanization of coal loading has already reached 50%. Before the war there were no loading machines in the coal industry, but several thousand coal-loading and rock-loading machines are now in use in the entries. The introduction of these machines permitted the mechanization of coal- and rock-loading in preparatory operations and brought the level of mechanization of these processes up to 40%. This year about 800,000 meters of entry will be prepared by mechanized methods.

During the postwar years new types of props have been created in the coal industry which greatly lighten miners' labor. Industrial tests are being conducted on a number of mechanized propping methods, the introduction of which will permit complete elimination of manual labor in roof propping and will guarantee the safety of workers. The introduction of this type of propping will make it possible to complete the complex mechanization of all processes of coal extraction, beginning with cutting and ending with loading onto railroad cars.

Improvement in the organization of production will accompany the mechanization of the coal industry. The introduction of new equipment made it possible to transfer a considerable number of veins and mines to a cyclical work schedule and to improve greatly all technical and economic work indices.

The increase in coal extraction during the postwar years has also been a result of an expansion of capacity. The Ministry of the Coal-Mining Industry is carrying on large building projects as well as extracting coal. During the postwar years hundreds of mines with a total production capacity of several tens of millions of tons have been built and put into operation. Much attention is being devoted to improving the living conditions and raising the cultural level of miners. More than 8,000,000 square meters of housing [floor space] and 2000 cultural and service buildings have been erected during this period in mining areas. The coal industry, however, although it is near to fulfilling the capital construction plan, still lags in the expansion of mine capacity. ...

There are still many unused potentialities in the coal industry. Not all enterprises fulfill their state plans. Machinery is used unsatisfactorily at a number of mines. Violations of technological rules take place. Many enterprises still work uneconomically. ...

Three-fourths of the intended growth of coal production is to be provided by opening new mines and mastering their production capacities. ... These mines will be completely mechanized and furnished with automatic equipment. ...

The further development of the Donets Basin is of particular importance to the economy. Although the Donets Basin is now successfully carrying out the tasks assigned it, it must be remembered that the requirements of the national economy for Donets coal, especially coking coal, will greatly increase in the years to come. In this regard I think it necessary that the Fifth Five-Year Plan provide for measures ensuring still more rapid development of the Donets Basin.

The Fifth Five-Year Plan provides for the development of new coal bases as well as a maximum increase in coal extraction in the major basins. This will make possible an improvement in the geographical location of the coal industry and the establishment of new bases for extraction of coking coals. The development of new deposits will make it possible to obtain several million additional tons of coal in 1955 and will ensure considerable economy in the transportation of fuel.

Provision is made in the new five-year plan for further housing and social-cultural construction along with the construction of mines. About 7,500,000 square meters of housing

[floor space] are to be built in mining areas during these years.

One of the most important tasks of the coal industry is to increase the labor productivity of miners by technically re-equipping the coal industry and improving the organization of labor, which will ensure a considerable increase in coal output during the new five-year plan. Building new machines and introducing them widely and also making better use of those in operation will make it possible to increase mechanized coal piling 2.6 times and to increase the mechanization of loading and preparing entries 2.5 times over that of 1950. ...

The existing mining system and methods of working coal deposits are not in keeping with a high technical level and hamper a further increase in the productivity of labor. In connection with this the reorganization of mine work and the improvement of methods of operation, as is pointed out in the draft directives for the new five-year plan, represent one of the most important tasks, the fulfillment of which will permit much better use of the new equipment and an increase in labor productivity. ...

In recent years considerable work has been done in the coal industry to straighten out the financial system. Production costs have been lowered by more than 3,000,000,000 rubles. In a number of enterprises, however, there are still major shortcomings in the direction of economic and financial operations. There are still instances of wasteful spending and of an incorrect attitude by some managers toward the use of state funds. Certain enterprises are still unprofitable.

In this regard it is our urgent task to improve economic management and raise state discipline. The organization of planning and analytical work both in enterprises and in the Ministry of the Coal-Mining Industry itself cannot be considered satisfactory. Financial planning is not at its due level in planning agencies, either. This sometimes leads to financial difficulties at enterprises and construction projects. Although the work of supply organizations has improved recently, grave defects still exist. It is necessary to keep a huge number of supply organizations because of the unsatisfactory work of marketing agencies. At present there is too much centralization in marketing supplies. This leads to clumsiness at the center of the machinery of supply and to unavoidable mistakes in supplying and shipping materials, which are sometimes not needed by the enterprise. Putting financial planning and supply in order will also contribute to strengthening economic accounting at enterprises and to fuller use of working capital. ...

SPEECH BY COMRADE D. G. SMIRNOV, GORKY PROVINCE. (Pravda, Oct. 13, p. 3. 2400 words. Condensed text:) During the Stalin five-year plans Gorky Province, by the will of the Party, became one of the major industrial provinces of the country, with highly developed machine building and many branches of the chemical, power, metallurgical and lumber industries. By the end of the Fourth Five-Year Plan the capital equipment of all industry was more than double that of 1940. The volume of gross output of industrial enterprises was also more than double; if the gross output is compared with 1913, it shows an increase of almost 50 times.

More than half of all industry in our province is occupied with machine building. The largest Soviet auto plant, the Molotov Plant, is equipped with the most modern machinery and with first-class Soviet equipment. Hundreds of kilometers of conveyor belts intersect the plant's enormous shops, in which machinery and automatic lines have been installed. Automobile output has increased considerably over the prewar level. A necessary increase is also envisaged in the current five-year plan.

An abundance of new machinery is characteristic of all industrial enterprises in the province. During the Fourth Five-Year Plan the industry of Gorky Province supplied the motherland with many kinds of new products: the Pobeda, ZIM and GAZ-51 autos and trucks, various kinds of machine tools, gasoline engines, excavators, motors and other machines; it is mastering the production of new and better products. The Zhdanov Red Sormovo Plant has begun manufacturing new types of diesel electric passenger vessels for the Greater Volga, which, for size and comfort, are unsurpassed in the river fleet.

The latest achievements of Soviet science and technology and the advanced experience of the best enterprises and innovators of industry are being applied in the factories; broad mechanization of labor-consuming processes is being carried out; on this basis the workers' labor is made easier and labor productivity increased. The output per worker has almost doubled in comparison with the prewar year of 1940. The raising of workers' labor productivity has resulted in a 70% increase in industrial output.

Each year the government increases capital investments in industry and the construction of housing and cultural and service buildings. Capital investments have more than doubled in comparison with 1940. In the current five-year plan large new factories are being built in the province and large sums are being invested in the expansion of existing enterprises; much work is being done on reconstructing rail and water transport.

The draft directives for the Fifth Five-Year Plan for development of the U.S.S.R. provide for the completion of large hydroelectric stations, including Gorky station on the Volga. It must be admitted that this construction work has been lagging for some time; this has been our fault and the fault of the Ministry of Power Plants, which has permitted a substantial increase in the cost of construction and installation work. In 1951 and 1952 the builders have been fulfilling the production quotas more successfully. A great amount of machinery is concentrated in the construction project; large groups of workers, engineers and technicians are working there; among them are more than 1200 Communists and 1300 Young Communist League members. One hundred thousand square meters of housing [floor space], five schools, eight children's institutions, six clubs and motion picture theaters and a stadium have already been opened at the construction project; medical institutions and dozens of stores have been built. Wood-processing and repair and machine shops are working at full capacity. ...

But, alongside the great growth of industry, transport and construction and the fulfillment of the state plans as a whole, many industrial enterprises and construction organizations of Gorky Province are not fulfilling the state assignments. Our capacity in existing enterprises is still badly used and poor-quality goods are produced. A lax attitude toward introducing new machinery and advanced experience is found in some plants. There are also many of the other shortcomings which Comrade Malenkov pointed out in his report.

The lumber industry occupies a big place in the economy of Gorky Province. As is common knowledge, this industry is lagging. The lag in this branch of the economy, particularly in our province, is due primarily to the inadequate guidance provided by the province organizations. But this is not the end of the matter. About 16,000,000 cubic meters of timber are felled in the province, of which the Ministry of the Lumber Industry accounts for not more than 4,000,000, while 57 other ministries and departments, possessing 250 organizations and 1500 lumber camps, fell 12,000,000 cubic meters. For example, the U.S.S.R. Ministry of Light Industry, which fells 120,000 cubic meters of wood all in all, possesses 29 lumbering organizations in the province. In Krasniye Baki District of our province 34 organizations are engaged in felling timber.

Such fragmentation of the lumbering work prevents proper order from being introduced in the industry, the organizing of permanent bases, the building of roads, the assigning of forest areas for long periods to major lumbering enterprises. The wasteful conduct of the lumbering leads to large non-productive expenditures and high unit cost of timber. The average unit cost of a cubic meter of wood is nearly twice as high for the organizations which do the work themselves as for the enterprises of the Ministry of the Lumber Industry.

The province Party committee and the Executive Committee of the province Soviet have repeatedly raised this question. Last year a special commission was set up which basically agreed with our proposal for setting in order lumbering in Gorky Province. But the question remains unresolved.

In the U.S.S.R. State Planning Committee the department-oriented claims of individual ministries are still being supported by certain officials, and the interests of the state are thereby being violated. The ministries and departments do not

consent to turn over their bases to the Ministry of the Lumber Industry. They say that Comrade Orlov, the Minister of the Lumber Industry, will not keep them supplied with lumber. But such an explanation is ungrounded. Last year, for example, the Ministry of the Transport Machine-Building Industry surrendered its lumber enterprise and now it is one of the best enterprises in the system of the Ministry of the Lumber Industry.

We have to introduce order into the industrial exploitation of the forests of our province and of certain other provinces of the country. It is infinitely easier to fell timber in Gorky Province, with its highly developed rail and water transport, than in remote parts of the country. But it is wrong to fell timber at any cost, wastefully, in a way which is not state-oriented.

There are also many instances of disorganization in the matter of cooperation among industrial enterprises. The U.S.S.R. State Planning Committee is to blame for shortcomings in its planning work, as numerous facts show. The Red Sormovo Plant sends bars for rolling to a plant of its ministry in the town of Kulebaki, hundreds of kilometers away, while the Vyksa Iron and Steel Plant of the Ministry of Ferrous Metallurgy, which is situated right close to this town, sends bars of the same kind to a metallurgical plant in the city of Gorky for rolling. Another example: the Sormovo Plant ships bars to the Kirov and Izhora Plants in Leningrad, while Leningrad enterprises send the same kind of metal to the Red Etna Plant in Gorky. The Sormovo Plant receives parts for caterpillar tractors from the Urals in the raw form of rolled metal, merely cuts it and does simple boring of holes and then sends it to many regions of the country, including back to the Urals. Even firewood is brought into Gorky Province from Kirov Province, 800 kilometers away. At the same time Gorky Province ships millions of cubic meters of firewood to other regions of the country.

Successful accomplishment of the tasks facing the Party is indissolubly connected with the development of criticism and self-criticism. I believe that the periodic convening of economic *aktivs* of industrial ministries should be resumed. Economic *aktiv* meetings in the ministries must be conducted in a businesslike way, with the participation of Party organizers of the Central Committee, secretaries of the Party committees and also heads of the province committee and Party Central Committee departments concerned. Criticism from below will help the ministries improve the supervision of enterprises.

Comrades, together with the growth of industry and agriculture, the material well-being of our working people is steadily rising. During the postwar years alone about 900,000 square meters of housing have been completed and it is planned to build more than 1,000,000 square meters during the new five-year plan. ...

Culture has grown considerably. There are 13 higher educational institutions in the province, including a university and polytechnical institute and 62 technical colleges, attended by 47,000 students in all. There is a large number of scientific institutions. The province has 3327 schools, with 516,000 pupils and more than 23,000 teachers. It is planned to build hundreds of new schools during the current five-year plan. Much work is being done in the communist education of the masses through cultural and educational institutions. The province has four Palaces of Culture, 1419 clubs, 1529 libraries with about 11,000,000 books, 16 museums, nine theaters and a large number of reading rooms and Red Corners. ...

The Party organization of Gorky Province has nearly tripled since 1939. Then there were 11,000 Party members and candidates working in industry and transport; now there are more than 62,000. In 1939 there were altogether 6532 Communists with higher and secondary education in the ranks of the province Party organization, while now there are about 34,000. Now about 80% of the executive Party and Soviet officials have higher, incomplete higher or secondary education. More than half of all secretaries of district and city Party committees have obtained a higher or incomplete higher political education in Party schools set up by the Party Central Committee. ...

SPEECH BY COMRADE B. P. BESHCHIEV, MOSCOW. (Pravda, Oct. 13, pp. 3-4. 2800 words. Condensed text:) ... At the present time the volume of freight carried on the railroads of the country is about 80% more than in 1940. ...

Our railroad system has increased by many thousands of kilometers over its prewar lengths which has made it possible to open up new mineral deposits and vast new forest areas to economic exploitation. The scale of work of our railroads can be judged if only by the following comparison: in 1951 the Omsk line alone carried more freight than all the railroads of Britain taken together.

Soviet industry has furnished rail transport with thousands of new locomotives and hundreds of thousands of cars. Not only have the wartime losses been made good, but the necessary reserves have been created. Many railroad-line sectors have been electrified. In 1951 the volume of freight on the electrified sectors rose to 2.5 times as much as in 1946 and the volume of freight on diesel-served sectors rose to more than fourfold. The increased freight load on the principal trunk lines of the country has required the laying of heavier rails. Industry has put heavy rails into production and furnished transport with a substantial quantity of them. As a result of double tracking, expansion and reconstruction of stations, and introduction of automatic devices, which also improve traffic safety, the traffic capacity of the railroads has increased. The volume of mechanized loading and unloading has risen to 2.4 times as much as before the war.

Along with the growth of technical equipment of railroad transport, the cultural and technical level of the railwaymen is steadily growing. The number of specialists with a higher and secondary education increased 69% between 1946 and 1951. More than 327,000 locomotive engineers and crew men, dispatchers and other workers have been trained in technical schools. Every year more than 500,000 railwaymen improve their qualifications in classes and Stakhanovite schools. ...

Turnaround time of cars has been considerably improved in comparison with 1940. In the postwar years 68% of the total increase in loadings has been gained by acceleration of the turnaround of freight cars. Increasing the weight of trains and speed of traffic has enabled us to save 2.5 million tons of fuel in 1951 alone.

The task of lowering the cost of transport set by the Fourth Five-Year Plan has been overfulfilled. In the past two years the railroads have had considerable accumulations over and above plan. Railwaymen's wages are twice what they were in 1940 and engineers' wages are 2.3 times as great. As a result of systematic lowering of state retail prices, the real wages of transport workers and employees, as of all workers and employees of our country, are increasing every year. The government has established payment of additional wages for long years of service and increased pensions for workers in leading occupations and managerial jobs.

During the first postwar five-year plan more than 3,000,000 square meters of housing [floor space] were built for transport [employees]. Thousands of railwaymen built private homes with state aid. The number of new schools, higher and secondary educational institutions, clubs, sanatoriums and hospitals is steadily growing.

But unfortunately we cannot report to the Congress that all the tasks set the railroaders have been resolved or that certain rather old shortcomings have been done away with. There are still serious shortcomings in the system of transport, in the organization of its work. There are violations of discipline and of the rules of technical operation on certain lines.

In order to create normal conditions of work and rest for workers on locomotive and train crews, the length of runs has been reduced; new points have been organized for changing crews, as well as additional depots for turnaround of cars. New rest homes have been built and are still being built for crews. As a result of organizational and economic measures taken, the work of the crews has improved. However, it must be noted that on the Ufa, South Urals, Kuibyshev and certain other lines there are still violations of the work and rest order of locomotive and train crews. This is mainly due to delays of trains at approaches to junctions, failure to maintain scheduled speeds of train and of locomotives at stations.

The Party and government have pointed out to us a number of measures which must be taken to improve management and to strengthen discipline and unified management on the railroads; they have pointed out ways of speedy elimination of shortcomings.

Comrade Malenkov rightly noted that many railroads are not fulfilling the plan for loading and shipping of freight, have great idle time of freight cars, wastefulness and overexpenditure of funds. Some of the delegates who have spoken here have also revealed a number of defects in the work of rail transport. The Ministry of Railroads will take the necessary measures to liquidate the lag of individual enterprises and remove the shortcomings. ...

The Ministry of Railroads is taking serious measures for further strengthening and developing the railroad economy. Railroad builders have done a great amount of work in capital reconstruction of tens of thousands of kilometers of railroad lines, locomotive and freight depots, terminals, bridges, shops, stations and dwellings. They can also build such beautiful structures as the Moscow subway, new bridges across the Dnieper, Volga and Don, tall buildings in Moscow at Krasniye Vorota [where the ministry is located] and large railroad stations in various cities. Nevertheless, our building organizations still do not fulfill the plans set for them, in particular the plan for putting new production capacity into operation. High building costs are found at a number of projects and they work with losses. ...

Increases in the length of freight shipments in many instances take place not only because of shortcomings of us railroaders but also as a result of uneven fulfillment of the production plan for individual regions of the country. For example, nonfulfillment of the timber-felling plan in regions of the North caused a growth of shipments of Siberian timber over long distances. The disparity existing in various metallurgical plants in the development of blast furnaces and steel-smelting capacity and also steel-smelting and rolling mill capacity causes considerable irrational shipments of pig iron and steel. For instance, in 1951 hundreds of thousands of tons of pig iron were shipped from southern metallurgical plants to the Urals, while steel bars were returned to plants of the South for further processing.

Water transport must take over some of the long-distance shipments, particularly of mass freight. Strange as it may seem, last year the average length of shipments by sea and river was less than planned and this was one of the reasons for the rise in more expensive long-distance railroad shipments. Every year the railroads bring millions of tons of lumber from regions of the Urals and Siberia to the eastern Donbass and the Caucasus, whereas the best way to ship this lumber would be on the Kama and Volga. It is no accident that the average length of lumber shipments by internal waterways is less than half that by rail.

Improvement in planning of the distribution, supply and shipment of goods is a most important prerequisite for rationalizing shipments. There are substantial shortcomings in this field. The shipments plan is drawn up without sufficient coordination with the production plan and with the balance-sheet for production and consumption of the main categories of goods by individual regions of the country, which sometimes leads to irrational shipments. For example, ferrous metal supplies are allocated to the ministries without a regional breakdown and this entails two-way shipments of metal. The State Planning Committee and the State Committee for Material and Technical Supply of the National Economy must improve the planning of production by individual regions and the distribution, supply and shipment of goods. ...

Comrades! The pending increase in transport in the near future calls for a further increase of freight loads on the railroads. Toward the end of the Fifth Five-Year Plan more than 75% of the total freight turnover will be concentrated on the main railroad trunk lines. This requires a higher quality of all transport work. Therefore, along with measures for increasing the capacity and technical equipment of railroads, the draft directives of the Congress set the tasks of speeding up turnaround of cars by 18%, increasing the distance covered in 24 hours by locomotives 12% and further improving the utilization of freight car space and increasing the load per freight train.

Particularly important, not only for the railroads but for the entire national economy, is fulfillment of the basic qualitative index of work of transport—the turnaround of cars. The value of the goods regularly handled by railroads amounts to billions of rubles. Faster turnaround of freight cars means faster turnover of goods in our country. Therefore, we railwaymen must work with particular persistence at improving the qualitative indices which determine the time of freight car turnaround: increasing the speed of trains, lowering the percentage of empty runs of freight cars, reducing the average distance of transporting freight, lowering idle time of freight cars in loading and unloading and also at the yards, developing the routing of transport, and guaranteeing the plan for varieties of shipment.

But the solution of this task is not a matter for the railroaders alone. About three-quarters of all the loading and unloading of freight cars takes place not on the railroads but on the sidings of industrial enterprises. However, the loading work is insufficiently mechanized on some sidings. Mechanization of the unloading of freight cars particularly lags behind. Coal loading has been completely mechanized but more than one-quarter of the freight cars arriving with coal are unloaded by hand. Mechanization of the loading and unloading of lumber is on a low level. Frequently a routing which would greatly accelerate shipments is made difficult because of inadequate development of the loading and unloading work on the sidings. Hence it is no accident that the indices of freight car idle time in freight operations lag behind the prewar level, in contrast to all the other indices. ...

SPEECH BY COMRADE A. M. KUTYREV, SVERDLOVSK PROVINCE. (Pravda, Oct. 13, p. 4. 2200 words, Condensed text:) ... The gross output of the constantly developing industry of Sverdlovsk Province this year has increased to more than four times that of 1940.

Machine building is developing particularly rapidly on the growing metallurgical base. In the prerevolutionary structure of Urals industry the gross output of machine building and metal working amounted to only 8.3%; today the proportion of this output in Sverdlovsk Province has increased many times...

Dozens of enterprises in our province are engaged in producing means of production. Among them a high reputation is enjoyed by such mighty machine-building enterprises built during the prewar Stalin five-year plans as the Urals Chemical Machine Plant, the Urals Electrical Equipment Plant, the Urals Freight Car Factory, which is the leading enterprise for producing modern rolling stock for the country's railroads, and, finally, the factory of factories—the Urals Heavy Machine-Building Plant—which produces the most perfect and unique equipment for iron and steel and machine-building plants and for the mining and construction industries.

During the last five-year plan the Urals Heavy Machine-Building Plant produced excavators totaling in annual capacity more than 700,000,000 cubic meters of earth work, thus replacing the labor of 1,500,000 workers. The Urals Walking Excavator is widely known, with a bucket of 14 cubic meters and an arm of 75 meters. Fulfilling their pledge to the 19th Party Congress, the Urals Heavy Machine-Building Plant workers completed a design for a walking excavator with a bucket of 20 cubic meters. They are also prepared to design an excavator with a bucket of 35 cubic meters and an arm of 100 meters. Preparations are being completed at the factory for equipment for vertical drilling of mine shafts 6.2 meters in diameter and up to 200 meters in depth. ...

The progress of present-day machine building must rely firmly on the active participation of scientific organizations in working out theoretical and practical problems of this branch of industry.

There are 56 scientific research institutions in Sverdlovsk Province, including 29 scientific research institutes and a branch of the Academy of Sciences; but not one major scientific institution is occupied specifically with machine building. The heads of the Academy of Sciences still believe that the scientific tasks in the Urals are limited to working out problems connected solely with metallurgy and basic chemistry. But this is little for the present-day Urals. It is necessary to set up an institute of machine engineering as part of the branch of the U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences and several branch in-

stitutes to function in the sphere of the machine-building ministries, primarily in heavy machine building.

The need has arisen for construction in the Urals of plants for production of plastics, many of which are not only splendid substitutes for expensive metals or metals in short supply, but are themselves indispensable in machine building, instrument construction and the chemical industry. At the same time it is extremely necessary to organize scientific work in the Urals on organic synthesis and high-molecular compounds. ...

The task of raising the level of machine building makes it necessary to organize the training and retraining of cadres on a broader scale. We request that the Ministry of Higher Education be instructed to expand the number of specialties in evening departments of institutes in our province, to revise their study plans, to reorganize the system of correspondence institutes on a regional basis and to strengthen their teaching base. The industrial ministries should expand the network of evening technical colleges and introduce the training of personnel in a number of new specialties in which machine-building enterprises experience a sharp lack.

There are still major shortcomings in the supervision of machine-building enterprises by our Party organization. One of these is the practice, not yet eliminated, of last-minute rush and uneven functioning of factories, which leads to breakdowns in plan fulfillment and increases wasteful expenditures in production. Blame for this is borne not only by the heads of enterprises and not only by the local officials. A considerable share of the responsibility can be placed at the door of the ministries and planning agencies. It is necessary in particular to note that they are to blame for serious shortcomings in the planning of material and technical supply and delivery of products for further processing. Thus, for example, the Urals Heavy Machine-Building Plant sends thousands of parts for oil-drilling installations to Leningrad for further processing while in Sverdlovsk there is a special plant for this further processing. One ministry ships cement from Sverdlovsk to a point near Moscow while another ships cement from Moscow to Sverdlovsk. Not infrequently factories possessing powerful special-purpose equipment are kept busy manufacturing simple little parts.

For correct use of industrial capacity, groups of specialized plants and shops should be organized for the production of fastening members and other materials and standard spare parts and units for factories of the various branches of the machine-building industry.

In this connection I consider it necessary to present certain complaints against the U.S.S.R. State Planning Committee, from which we have a right to expect better planning of social production. One of the mistakes made by the State Planning Committee is that it essentially confines itself to industry-by-industry planning, to planning by ministries, and has lost contact with the localities except for the annually repeated instances of summoning province officials for so-called defense of the plans for development of agriculture. Moreover, even in this matter we not infrequently have to defend the plans against attempts by officials of the State Planning Committee to introduce confusion into them, especially into plans for sown areas and crop rotations. In our province nobody remembers a time when any officials of the State Planning Committee made use of the services of the communications facilities or transport in order to clarify the local situation.

In the course of the swift development of the productive forces, temporary disproportions may arise in various units of the economy. It is our task not to permit them to arise, that is, to observe strictly the law of planned development of the economy. But the State Planning Committee is not free of errors in this matter either. For example, a disproportion developed in our province between the volume of construction and the production of building materials, mainly brick and its substitutes. Better planning could have prevented it.

For the purpose of improving the planning agencies, it would be expedient, first, to carry out—in addition to industry-by-industry planning—integrated planning by economic regions, territories and provinces. Secondly, in the work of the planning agencies such functions as aid in fulfillment of plans and checkup on their fulfillment could be strengthened. Thirdly, the role and importance of the local planning bodies

increased to make them mainstays of the State Planning Committee in the planning and territorial allocation of industry, and also in checking plan fulfillment not only by the local economy but also by enterprises of Union ministries.

One of the vital shortcomings in the work of planning agencies and certain ministries is their underestimation of the task of complete utilization of raw materials. For example, such a remarkable raw material as apatite-mephelite has been used in incomplete fashion for a long time; this has been the fault of the Ministry of Nonferrous Metallurgy and the Ministry of the Chemical Industry.

This instance of an incorrect and formal approach by certain ministries and organizations to the complete utilization of raw materials is not unique. Certain copper and nickel enterprises, which work with sulphide ores, do not make use of the sulphurous gases. In one of our factories, 30 tons of sulphur are precipitated per day, but 145 tons escape. Many Urals ores are polymetals and in some ores the value of the secondary components is nine to ten times as great as the value of the copper itself, but a large part of the compounds is lost, thrown away with the waste and slag. In this way our enterprises lose tens of millions of rubles of valuable products every year.

Our institutes have worked out the technique of extracting the components of copper ore and effectively using the dust of copper plants; a number of experiments have been conducted; but beyond this the work has progressed very slowly. Waste continues and underestimation of complete utilization of raw materials is still very tenacious in the Ministry of Nonferrous Metallurgy.

Thorough use of the timber resources of our province is of especially great importance. Our rated timber cut is 41,000,000 cubic meters, but is exploited only by half. A hectare of timber yields an output worth 10,000 rubles when processed at the sawmill. The value of the output per hectare can be lifted to 72,000 rubles by hydrolysis, thermal and chemical processing of all the wood, including the usually burned sawdust.

The building of only five new hydrolysis plants in the province for production of cheap ethyl alcohol from wood would be tantamount to saving 1,000,000 tons of potatoes. The cost of building these plants would be paid off in less than two years. ...

For the purpose of complete utilization of raw materials I ask that the following proposal be considered:

(1) To evaluate and include in the gross output of the enterprise the waste products which can be extracted and utilized and which are raw material for other enterprises, making the director of the enterprise responsible for safekeeping of the temporarily unutilized raw materials.

(2) To require ministries and departments to organize at the factories, mines or mills the extraction or isolation of secondary components of basic raw materials and their full utilization, generally by the given enterprise, regardless of the specific nature of the enterprise's production program or, as an exception, to turn the raw materials over to another enterprise in those instances in which the processing of this raw material is impossible there or economically impractical.

(3) To carry out extensively in the current five-year plan complete utilization of raw timber supplies, developing to the maximum wood hydrolysis and wood chemistry.

(4) To charge the U.S.S.R. State Planning Committee with calculating the complex raw materials of U.S.S.R. industry and organizing a check of their full utilization. ...

SPEECH BY COMRADE V. A. MALYSHEV, MOSCOW. (Pravda, Oct. 13, pp. 4-5. 2200 words. Condensed text:) ... Our machine-building plants have built 500 to 550 types of new, efficient machines since the war, making it possible to replace old equipment almost entirely and to stop the manufacture of obsolete, inefficient machinery. The machine-tool plants have mastered the production of more than 340 new types of general purpose metal-cutting tools and more than 1000 types of special and aggregate tools. The output of large and heavy machine tools was 8.1 times as great in 1951 as in prewar 1913. While the output of precision tools was dozens of times greater, the output of metal-cutting tools are ... and higher speeds,

and for their automatic controls, which ensure 50% to 100% greater labor productivity at these tools than before the war.

The automobile and tractor industry has converted almost entirely to the production of new passenger cars and trucks and new and more economical diesel tractors. The freight capacity of trucks has increased 2.7 times while fuel expenditure per ton-kilometer has been cut almost 40% in comparison with trucks produced in 1940. Operating on cheaper diesel fuel, the motors of the new tractors consume 30% to 35% less fuel per horsepower every hour than older tractors.

Where our industry produced 84 types of farm machinery and equipment in 1940, it was producing 222 types even in 1950. Agriculture has acquired more than 5,000,000 pieces of farm machinery and equipment in recent years, and the engineering of the farm machinery has also improved. Dozens of types of new, high-output, complex farm machines have been produced: self-powered grain combines, power mowers, cotton-picking machines, combines for harvesting flax, sugar beets, corn, potatoes, etc.

Steam turbine production in 1951 was 2.9 times that of 1940, while electrical equipment production had increased 3.6 times and production of petroleum equipment had increased almost five times.

Our machine builders have put special efforts into building and developing machines to mechanize heavy and labor-consuming work. More than 220 basic types of machines for mechanizing labor were developed and put into serial production during the Fourth Five-Year Plan, among them such outstanding achievements of Soviet technology as the 14-cubic-meter walking excavator of the Urals Heavy Machine-Building Plant, which weighs 1250 tons. This excavator can move more than 2,500,000 cubic meters of earth annually without depending on outside transportation facilities and can thus do the heavy labor of 7000 workers. The personnel of the Urals Heavy Machine-Building Plant have already manufactured eight such excavators. ...

The output of machinery to mechanize labor has increased literally dozens of times over the 1940 level since the war. In 1951 alone, 5.8 times as many dump trucks, 4.2 times as many mobile cranes and 21% more excavators were produced than during the three prewar five-year plans combined. ...

By developing a new series of modern, powerful machines for mechanizing large-scale construction work and mastering serial production of them in a short period, the machine builders have helped to achieve almost complete mechanization of the work involved in building such huge projects as the V. I. Lenin Volga-Don Canal and to complete this project in record time.

The personnel of the machine-building industry can now report to Comrade Stalin that they are able to produce all machinery whatsoever that is needed by the national economy, that they can master serial production of such machinery and meet our country's needs for it. (Applause.)

A number of gains, initial ones to be sure, have also been scored in work to achieve automatic operation of various production processes. Thirty-nine automatic machine-tool lines have been developed and put into operation for producing parts for automobiles, tractors, farm machinery and other products. An automatic factory for making automobile pistons has been developed and put into operation. All processes there—from feeding the raw materials into the electric oven to packing the finished product—are completely automatic. The factory is run by only a few workers. The unit cost of the pistons is considerably lower than that of pistons produced by ordinary methods, and labor productivity is almost five times that of nonautomatic production. Such factories are the prototype of technology in the communist society of the future.

Automatic operations have become most common in metallurgy and in the operation of power plants. The heat process in blast and open-hearth furnaces is almost entirely automatically controlled, enabling metalworkers to improve radically the coefficient of productive capacity of blast furnaces and to increase the amount of steel production per square meter of open-hearth area. Automatic operations have made possible a radical increase in the speed of rolling operations and in the productivity of many rolling mills.

Only the first steps have been taken in the field of auto-

matic operations, however. This work must be developed and advanced in every way. ...

One of the main tasks of the new five-year plan is to complete basic work on the mechanization of heavy and labor-consuming work in industry and construction work, the mechanization of basic field work on the collective farms and the complex mechanization of all labor-consuming tasks on the state farms. Fulfillment of this important task requires of the machine builders the development of hundreds of new types of machines for mechanizing not only individual labor-consuming operations and hard jobs but also of machines for mechanizing the entire technological process, for ensuring continuity of production and a mass conversion to complex mechanization.

Successful construction of such gigantic projects as the Volga hydroelectric stations, for example, necessitates the development of more powerful excavators and dredges. Soviet designers are already working on an excavator with a 20-cubic-meter bucket and a 65-meter arm. Such an excavator will be able to carry 35 tons of earth more than 100 meters in one minute and in one sweep of its arm.

Another important problem confronting the machine builders is that of providing equipment for the ever-increasing automatic operation of production processes in all branches of the national economy. Automatic operations must be more widely introduced at the machine-building plants themselves, more automatic lines must be installed, and more boldness must be shown in creating automatic factories for making such products as roller bearings and parts for automobiles, tractors, farm machinery, etc.

In addition to introducing automatic control of production processes the machine builders must considerably increase the production of machinery and equipment with automatic, semiautomatic and remote controls. Solution of the tasks involved in introducing automatic control of production processes entails a radical increase in the production of high-quality instruments and automatic control installations and of electronic and telemechanical equipment, as well as the training of new cadres of competent designers, technologists and workers. ...

Although the machine builders have scored certain gains in producing metallurgical and power equipment, equipment for the oil industry, heavy machine tools and presses, production of these types of equipment nevertheless still lags and does not meet the growing requirements of the national economy. The machine builders must eliminate this lag during the new five-year plan and bring about a sharp increase in the output of such equipment. ...

At the present time the equipment of the machine-building plants is used an average of only 35% to 40% of total calendar time, i.e., it operates approximately one and one-half shifts. Improved utilization of equipment will permit increased output in a number of branches of machine building without the building of new shops and factories. Production methods are still rather poor at a number of machine-building plants. This is especially true of casting and forging work, in which manual labor still predominates and in which efficient technological processes are little used. The role of the technologists is still underestimated at many machine-building plants, and cadres of technologists are often made up of poorly qualified persons who are unable to create new things or to improve production methods. ...

Machine designers also are confronted with great tasks in developing new types of machines, machinery, equipment and instruments which are far more dependable in operation, have lower weight, cost less to operate and are considerably less expensive.

In the report of the Party Central Committee Comrade Malenkov pointed out that the machine-building enterprises often put into production machinery which is not satisfactorily designed and does not meet operating requirements. Such things happen because our designers do not always take the latest achievements of science and technology into account in developing new machinery and fail to make a careful study of the experience gained in using machinery and equipment, while in a number of instances the heads of ministries and enterprises show inadmissible haste to put new machinery into serial pro-

duction without thoroughly testing it in advance, thereby harming the interests of the state. These mistakes can and must be eliminated in the very near future. ...

Soviet machine builders are engaged in peaceful, creative labor. But if the imperialist robbers foist war on us the machine builders will be ready at the first call from Comrade Stalin and the Soviet government to reorganize their peaceful production and to launch in a short time the mass production of all types of first-class arms and war matériel in quantities which will meet all the requirements of our Soviet Army and Navy. (Applause.) ...

SPEECH BY COMRADE U. Yu. YUSUPOV, MOSCOW. (Pravda, Oct. 13, p. 5. 2000 words. Condensed text:) ... The Soviet Union has considerably surpassed the capitalist countries in cotton yields. Considerably more fiber was processed last year than in prewar 1940, and the output of cottonseed, which is a valuable material for the food industry (oil, oil cake, etc.) also increased. ... The output of raw cotton in the Soviet Union will be 55% to 65% greater in 1955 than in 1950. ...

The Soviet state is doing everything necessary for strengthening the cotton-growing collective farms. A system of bonus payments to the collective farms for delivery of large cotton harvests was introduced back in 1935, and in 1949, despite the objections of certain so-called economists, procurement prices for cotton were raised on the recommendation of Comrade Stalin. This enables the cotton-growing collective farms to have sufficient funds for developing their communal sectors and makes a steady improvement in the material well-being of the collective farmers possible.

The practice of "commodity exchange," of exchanging raw cotton for manufactured goods and foodstuffs, is playing a great role in the development of cotton production. This practice gives the cotton-growing collective farms tremendous benefits and is a powerful stimulus to increasing cotton yields. When it is developed into an extensive system of product exchange in the future, it will serve, as Comrade Stalin says, as a real and decisive means of raising collective farm property to the level of public property.

The cotton producers are receiving a steady stream of the latest machinery, including a large number of tractors and farm machinery, and mineral fertilizers. Almost all cotton-cultivating work is mechanized at the present time. The introduction of cotton-picking machines is a matter of tremendous economic importance. The problem of picking cotton, which is the most labor-consuming process in cotton production, may be considered basically solved. The problem now is to make highly productive use of the machinery which the country has provided for us.

The irrigated land area is increasing year after year. The amount of irrigated land under cultivation in Uzbekistan, for example, totaled 1,900,000 hectares in 1939, a considerable part of which used to have little water, was saline or swampy and produced low harvests. The Uzbek Republic now has 2,100,000 hectares of irrigated land and, with the exception of a few districts, the water shortage has been almost entirely eliminated. Much work has also been done to overcome the salinity and swampiness of lands, which has improved the fertility of the soil. ...

Work has been done in the cotton-growing regions to shift 1,375,000 hectares of land to the new irrigation system, in which connection opportunities have been provided for extensive use of powerful tractors and farm machinery. It is the task of agencies of the Ministry of Cotton Growing to complete the transition to the new irrigation system in the shortest possible time and in accord with the decree of the U.S.S.R. Council of Ministers.* ... Several collective and state farms in the irrigation zone are now harvesting 30 centners and more of cotton per hectare. The problem now is to see that all collective and state farms in the irrigation zone achieve such harvests by the end of the five-year plan. It is necessary to see that most collective farms in the nonirrigation zone achieve cotton harvests of seven to ten centners per hectare.

Scientific cotton growing based on careful study of advanced experience and the specific conditions obtaining in each cotton-

growing zone must be introduced on a broad scale. The U.S.S.R. Ministry of Cotton Growing made a mistake in its work by underestimating local experience in dealing with certain agricultural problems. The Party Central Committee has set us right on this matter.

Rapid introduction of grass-field crop rotations on all cotton-growing collective farms is a matter of immediate importance. Work to eliminate salinity and to drain swampy land, to put the intercollective farm irrigation network in order and to eliminate excess canals and water storage facilities is a matter of great importance in increasing cotton yields on a number of collective farms and in a number of districts.

Increased labor productivity and the utilization of labor resources in cotton-growing areas is important to the further development of cotton growing. At the present time there is an average of one able-bodied collective farmer for approximately one hectare in irrigation-farming areas, as was the case several years ago. On many collective farms, however, each collective farmer handles only six-tenths to seven-tenths of a hectare of cotton. Now that conditions have been created for mechanization of all work, such small sown areas per collective farmer are entirely inadequate. Such a situation precludes correct use of existing potentialities for considerably increasing the labor productivity of the collective farmers and, consequently, for bringing about a general advance in cotton growing.

Experience and practice have shown that outlays for cotton growing can be cut at least 50% through complex mechanization. On the Fifth Year of the Uzbek Republic State Farm, for example, not more than 65 to 75 workdays of manual labor are required to cultivate the two or three hectares assigned to each permanent worker, where such labor usually requires 150 to 180 workdays. At the same time cotton yields of 30 to 32 centners a hectare are assured. Every worker on this state farm produces from five to six tons of raw cotton, whereas workers on most collective farms and a number of state farms produce only two to two and one-half tons. ...

Comrades, we have been criticized here because the quality of cotton fiber still does not satisfy the textile industry. I consider this criticism correct. Actually, the cotton still has a high percentage of foreign matter. This is because the cotton-picking machines still need improvement. The machine builders share with us the responsibility for this because they are paying insufficient attention to improving the machines. I think that with the U.S.S.R. Ministry of Agricultural Machine Building we will remedy this situation. We would be happy if our comrades in the textile mills would also help the cotton workers in every way to introduce the use of cotton-picking machines. ...

SPEECH BY COMRADE M. A. SUSLOV. (Pravda, Oct. 13, pp. 5-6. 3000 words. Condensed text:) ... Communist upbringing aims at making all the working people, especially our country's young people, profoundly cultured and educated, cheerful and stalwart, unafraid of difficulties and obstacles, at training them in a socialist attitude to labor and communal property, in ardent Soviet patriotism and proletarian internationalism, in selfless devotion to the great cause of communism. The communist education of the workers is a major factor in the struggle for high labor productivity, for strengthening socialist labor discipline, for strengthening and developing communal property, and for the further growth of the might of the Soviet state.

The building of communism is taking place among us not in the form of a smooth, "no-conflict" advance, without difficulties and struggle. The so-called no-conflict theory, which attained some currency among workers in literature and the arts and harmed our literature and art, leading them away from an active struggle against the vestiges and influence of bourgeois ideology, against everything old and obsolete which hampers the Soviet people in moving forward to communism, is profoundly erroneous and alien to Marxism-Leninism.

Above all, we cannot forget the capitalist encirclement, headed at present by the most reactionary imperialist circles of the U.S.A. and Britain, who are carrying on preparations—including ideological preparations—for a new world war, employing all the means of bourgeois culture and ideology to stupefy the broad masses in their own countries and to poison with the venom of the most base and crafty falsehood and slander the

* Current Digest of the Soviet Press, Vol. II, No. 32, pp. 11-15.

minds of certain less stable elements in our society.

The forward movement of our society is taking place not smoothly but in the struggle of the new with the still numerous and tenacious vestiges of the past, with the old, harmful, sometimes repulsive habits and practices inherited from the bourgeois system. Comrade Stalin teaches that "something is always dying out in life; but the dying element does not want simply die. It continues to struggle for its existence, defending its moribund cause.

"Something new is always being born in life, but that which is being born is not simply born; it shouts and cries loudly, defending its right to existence.

"The struggle between the old and the new, the dying and the newborn—such is the basis of our development."

That is why all the ideological work of the Party, its work for the communist training of the masses, for the formation of new, high moral and spiritual qualities in our people, as members of communist society, cannot be abstract or merely explanatory. Its edge must continue to be pointed toward a merciless struggle against reactionary bourgeois ideology and the latter's penetration into our science, literature and arts, toward overcoming and eradicating the vestiges of capitalism in the minds of people, toward strengthening Bolshevik irreconcilability with all ideological distortions.

The building of a socialist culture and the communist training of the working people is an assault against reactionary bourgeois ideology, against idlers and plunderers of communal property, against bureaucrats and violators of state discipline, against persons who fawn before reactionary bourgeois culture and the capitalist way of life, against nationalist and cosmopolitan distortions hostile to Soviet ideology and to friendship among peoples, against the apolitical and the lack of ideological content in literature, art and science.

Public education is a powerful lever in building a socialist culture and in communist training of the working people.

The Party and the Soviet state exhibit unabated concern for the education of the broad masses of the people and their mastery of all achievements of culture. Successes of historic importance have been achieved in this important matter. Our country had accomplished a genuine cultural revolution even by the time of the 18th Congress. In his report to the 18th Party Congress Comrade Stalin put forward a new historic task—to make all the workers and peasants cultured and educated.

This task is being successfully and undeviatingly carried out. Universal seven-year education has been introduced and is being realized, and general and special secondary education have been considerably expanded. Great gains have been scored in extending and improving higher education. The number of students in higher educational institutions reached 1,400,000 in 1952, or 73% more than before the war.

Not one capitalist state has or can have public education of such scope. The ruling classes need darkness and ignorance among the working people in order to hold them in submission and beat out maximum profits through merciless exploitation. Public education in the U.S.A. is undergoing a profound crisis. There are more than 10,000,000 illiterates in that country, and about one-third of all school-age children are not in school. As for secondary and particularly higher education, it is the monopoly of the ruling classes and is inaccessible to children of the working people.

While the Soviet state appropriates large funds every year for the development of public education, the government of the U.S.A., with a catastrophic situation in public education, appropriates for this purpose less than 1% of the budget. Yet 74% of the budget funds are appropriated in the current year for military expenditures involved in preparing for a new war. One per cent for public education and 74% for military expenditures! These figures give a convincing picture of the direction in which the antipopular policy of the U.S. ruling circles is aimed.

On the basis of the successes scored in the development of general education in our country and in consideration of the vital need of Soviet society for further improvement in the cultural and technical level of the working people, the Fifth Five-Year Plan directives of the 19th Party Congress set new goals of major importance in the field of public education.

The draft directives of the 19th Party Congress envisage completion, by the end of the five-year plan, of the transition

from seven-year education to universal secondary education—the ten-year system—in the republic capitals, cities under republic jurisdiction and province, territory and large industrial centers. They also envisage the preparation of conditions for the completion during the next five-year plan of the introduction of universal secondary education—the ten-year system—in the remaining cities and in rural localities.

The task is thus posed of shifting to universal compulsory ten-year education in the course of the present and subsequent five-year plans.

It is difficult to overestimate the significance, the grandeur of this task, possible only for a socialist state. The very posing of such a task is possible only in a society where the people are master, where concern for the people, for improving their material and cultural status, is an immutable law. The guarantee to the entire younger generation in our country of the opportunity to obtain a secondary education signifies a major stage in the solution of the historic task posed by Comrade Stalin: to make all the working people cultured and educated. It also marks a great step in the direction of eliminating the basic distinctions between mental and physical labor.

The achievement of universal compulsory ten-year education will also have a great influence on speeding the development of the national economy because the ranks of the working class will be supplemented by increasingly cultured and educated people capable of rapid and efficient application and development of modern technology.

On the initiative of Comrade Stalin, another great goal has been set under the new five-year plan in the field of public education. It is to launch polytechnical training in secondary schools and to introduce measures indispensable for the transition to universal polytechnical education.

Higher and secondary specialized education will be further developed during the new five-year plan. In order to provide education for the working people without job interruption, the network of correspondence and evening higher and specialized educational institutions is being expanded, as well as that of correspondence and evening schools of general education.

Accomplishment of the great tasks in the field of public education envisaged by the Fifth Five-Year Plan will call for a considerable improvement in the work of the Ministries of Education and the Ministry of Higher Education, as well as for much work by the local Party and Soviet agencies, in building new school buildings, training and providing refresher training of teaching personnel, improving the quality of the instruction and training of pupils and preparing and carrying out measures for the introduction of polytechnical education.

The new stage opened in the development of general education by the Fifth Five-Year Plan will lead to a further tremendous improvement in the cultural status of the masses of the people and will be a firm basis for even greater progress in science, technology, literature and the arts in our country.

Comrades! In carrying out the tasks set by our party in the sphere of cultural development and communist training of the Soviet people, in organizing and mobilizing them to carry out the economic and political tasks facing the country, newspapers, magazines and books are of great importance.

The Soviet people love their press and express a great need for it. Our press has grown into a powerful force actively facilitating the building of communism. Books and magazines are being published in large numbers in scores of languages of the peoples of our country. As for the newspapers, Pravda alone now has a circulation considerably greater than the circulation of all newspapers published in Russia in 1913.

In the Fifth Five-Year Plan extensive growth of our press is planned. This makes new demands on publishing organizations and also on the printing and paper industries. The personnel of the publishing houses must considerably improve publishing work, bear increased responsibility for the ideological content and appearance of the books published and exclude the possibility of publishing ideologically defective and hack books—which, unfortunately, still frequently appear.

Measures must also be taken to provide additional printing facilities, modern and highly productive equipment, and to see that paper requirements are met.

The serious tasks confronting the Party urgently require all Party organizations to raise the level of their ideological and political work and to remove the serious shortcomings which

still exist in this sphere of work and were so fully pointed out in Comrade Malenkov's report.

The historic decisions of the 19th Party Congress, J. V. Stalin's outstanding work "Economic Problems of Socialism in the U.S.S.R." and the mobilization of the working people for the fulfillment and overfulfillment of the new five-year plan must be the center of attention in all ideological work by the Party organizations.

The main requisite for improving the ideological and political work of Party organizations and successfully solving all problems confronting the Party in the sphere of economic and cultural construction is the improvement of Party propaganda.

The great teaching of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin is the scientific basis of the entire policy of the Communist Party, the basis of the communist training of the working people. It lights the road to communism for us. By revealing the laws of the development of society Marxism-Leninism helps the Party, the working class, the working people to make conscious and skilled use of known laws to build communism in the shortest possible time and with the fewest difficulties.

The Party has created favorable conditions for our cadres to master revolutionary theory. The classics of Marxism-Leninism have been published in the languages of the peoples of the U.S.S.R. in a total of 511,000,000 copies since the 18th Party Congress. A fourth, more complete and well-edited edition of the works of V. I. Lenin has now been completed, and 13 volumes of the works of J. V. Stalin have been published, representing an inexhaustible treasury of creative Marxist-Leninist thought.

Despite a certain increase in propaganda of the ideas of Marxism-Leninism, however, it should be emphasized that this matter is still unsatisfactorily organized among us.

Justly criticizing shortcomings in the organization of Party propaganda, Comrade Stalin has pointed out that one of the main shortcomings is the lack of a study manual to provide Communists with the necessary minimum knowledge of Marxist-Leninist theory. Comrade Stalin has recommended that an elementary course be prepared for Party members and candidates for Party membership. Such a course would greatly aid our cadres.

Party education and control over assimilation by Communists of the necessary minimum knowledge of Marxism-Leninism are a paramount task for all Party organizations. Nevertheless, the facts show that due control over the political training of Communists is almost nonexistent. This is another major shortcoming in the organization of Party propaganda, which Comrade Stalin also pointed out. The facts show that because of this lack of control many Communists now studying theory independently are not doing any work to improve their ideological and political qualifications.

The problem now is to eliminate the disorganization, drift and lack of control in Party propaganda, to increase the responsibility of the Party organizations and the Communists themselves for political studies, introducing systematic control in the entire Party education network over assimilation of minimum knowledge of Marxism-Leninism by Party members and candidates for Party membership. Special attention should be given to improving the ideological content of propaganda work, to resolutely eradicating the dogmatic, doctrinaire approach to study of Marxism-Leninism, to raising the ideological and theoretical standards of studies in all kinds of Party education.

Comrades! Comrade Stalin personally pays exceptional attention to all ideological and political work of the Party and to cultural construction. It would be difficult to name a branch of science, culture or the arts, a sector of the ideological front, where the inspiring and guiding role of our great leader and teacher and the beneficent influence of his brilliant ideas are not felt. (Applause.) ...

SPEECH BY COMRADE A. N. KOSYGIN. (Pravda, Oct. 13, p. 6. 5500 words. Condensed text:) ... The Party's wise Stalinist policy has secured the powerful development of heavy industry and socialist agriculture in the country, and on this basis has ensured the comprehensive development of light industry and a steady growth in the output of consumers' goods.

Large textile, knitwear, clothing, fur, footwear and tanning factories have been set up and equipped with modern machinery. New branches of industry are being developed to produce arti-

ficial and synthetic fibers, leather substitutes and tanning extracts, and for the primary processing of fiber crops. Many light industry enterprises have been built or restored and supplied with new equipment in recent years. Out-of-date equipment of low productivity is being replaced by machines of improved design. More than 170,000 new machine tools and machines have been installed in light industry since the war. The reconstruction of the enterprises has been directed primarily toward securing a systematic reduction of labor expenditure per unit of output and toward improving the technological process of production through further mechanization and automatization of production, through the introduction of production lines and through reduction of the number of operations.

Let us take the cotton industry as an example. Until recently the cotton industry worked with old, inefficient mules, which are technically outmoded. New high-output looms have now been installed in their place. They occupy one-fourth the area, but their output per spindle is 60% to 65% higher than that of the mules. The number of basic machine operations is being reduced from 12 to six with the installation of new equipment in the spinning mills.

Old machines are being replaced with automatic ones in the spinning mills, making possible a 50% to 100% increase in the labor productivity of the weavers.

Radical changes have taken place in the technical equipment of enterprises in the knitwear industry. The synthetic fibers industry is being rebuilt and provided with new machinery, and new technical methods have been worked out with the result that synthetic fiber production is now 4.5 times what it was in 1940.

Most enterprises of the footwear, clothing, knitwear, fur and leather goods and haberdashery industries have shifted to the conveyor-belt production-line system. This has made it possible to transform them into large, mechanized branches of light industry and to increase labor productivity at rebuilt enterprises 20% in the footwear industry, 40% in the fur industry and 30% in the garment industry.

As a result of the successful restoration and further development of all branches of light industry, the prewar level of output of cloth, footwear, knitwear and other products has been reached and considerably exceeded. Output of light industry products will be 43% higher in 1952 than before the war, including: woolen fabrics 60%, knitwear products more than 60% and silk fabrics 180% higher.

We find quite a different picture in the capitalist countries. The conversion of industry to carry out the military program unleashed by the American imperialists and the subjugation of the economy of capitalist countries to the interests of the American monopolies has resulted in a sharp reduction in civilian industry and in the output of consumers' goods, in the closing down of many enterprises, the growth of unemployment and a sharp cut in the purchasing power of the working people.

Let us take, for example, the British textile industry, which incidentally not long ago was the most highly developed and held in its hands almost all the main markets for textile goods.

In 1951 production of cotton cloth in Britain had decreased 40% in comparison with the prewar level. During the postwar years the capacity of textile enterprises, measured in terms of cotton spindles, has declined 28%, and measured in terms of looms 24%. A large number of textile mills are idle, and those in operation work with old equipment. Suffice it to say that about 70% of the equipment in British industry at the present time is unproductive old spinning mules which, as is known, have already been completely discarded in our industry.

The number of workers in the British cotton cloth industry has been reduced 26% in recent years, and the British woolen industry is going through no less a crisis. The capacity of woolen mills has been curtailed 30%, and the already great poverty and unemployment among the numerous workers of the British textile industry are increasing.

Great stagnation is found in the French silk industry, where the work week has been reduced to 20 to 24 hours. In the Norwegian textile industry the mills work two to three days a week. In Turkey, after the decision of the Turkish government to permit imports of American textiles, up to 50 textile mills closed down and the workers were thrown into the streets.

While peaceful branches of production are closing down in capitalist countries, the production of civilian goods is being reduced more and more and the purchasing power is falling and the

material status of the working people is deteriorating, here in the Soviet Union production of consumers' goods increases steadily from year to year, prices are being regularly reduced and the material welfare of the Soviet people is improving.

Carrying out the instructions of the Party, the government, and Comrade Stalin personally on steadily increasing the production of light industry goods and improving the quality of production, light industry personnel have done considerable work toward reorganizing the industry in recent years, with the object of broadening the range of goods, improving quality, increasing assortment and improving the appearance of the goods produced. Trained by the party of Lenin and Stalin, production innovators in light industry have through their creative initiative called forth a remarkable movement among the workers, engineers and technicians for excellent-quality production, for economical use of raw materials and supplies and for reducing the cost on each production operation.

Light industry has scored certain gains in improving the quality of production and broadening the range of goods, but we still have many serious shortcomings in this work that we must eliminate.

Comrade Malenkov noted in his report that output of inferior-quality products is still high at light industry enterprises. Comrade Malenkov's statement that state discipline with respect to the quality of output is being violated in a number of branches of industry is fully applicable to light industry and to many of its enterprises.

Much work is also needed to eliminate shortcomings in the clothing industry. We must in the future expand the production of ready-made clothing, improve the quality of sewing and improve designs. Our clothing industry is poorly developed in eastern areas, the Urals and Central Asia. We are obliged to send products of the clothing industry to these regions, which we cannot regard as normal. Under the Fifth Five-Year Plan we must build clothing enterprises in the majority of provinces and reduce long-distance shipments of clothing to a minimum.

Our cotton, woolen, silk, and linen cloth, knitwear products and footwear are durable and of good quality. However, the finish of a number of articles is not satisfactory. Where many light industry products were still in short supply not long ago, many of these products are now on sale in sufficient quantities. This obliges our industry to improve its work more systematically, to reorganize it for new and better assortment, for the output of more beautiful, durable goods in order to satisfy fully the growing demands of the Soviet consumer. Much work must therefore be done to improve finish in the near future, and radical improvement must be ensured in the quality of finish of all light industry products.

The output of cloth with bright colors and fast dyes is being increased in all branches of the textile industry. The work of further improving the quality of production and expanding the assortment necessitates organization of the production of a number of new dyes, chiefly of especially fast dyes and bright colors. It is also necessary to master the production of a number of new chemical products which make fabrics wrinkle-proof, water-repellant and nonshrinkable and improve its quality, and to expand considerably the production of raw materials for manufacturing synthetic fibers.

We must ensure a radical improvement in the work of light industry marketing organizations and achieve timely and uniform goods supply services to all provinces, territories and republics. Together with the trade organizations we must organize broader studies of consumer demand and promptly reorganize industry in order to produce what the consumer needs.

The new five-year plan provides for radical reconstruction of all branches of light industry, introduction of the latest types of equipment, more extensive automatization and coordinated operation of machinery and still higher operating speeds.

Constant improvement of production on the basis of superior technology is basic to the successful development of industry. It is not just machines that we require, but machines of the most advanced design which will satisfy the demand for a further increase in labor productivity, ensure the possibility of manufacturing a more complex and valuable range of goods, and increasingly facilitate the worker's labor during production. Some of the machines now manufactured by the machine-building enterprises do not meet all these demands.

The tasks confronting light industry in further improving the quality of its output and increasing labor productivity persistently demand that the machine-building plants be prompt in completing plans for introducing first pilot production of new models of machines and then serial production.

It is necessary to dwell briefly on problems involved in providing certain types of raw materials for light industry.

Thanks to the exceptionally great attention paid by Comrade Stalin to the creation of a mighty raw-material base for light industry, our socialist agriculture is satisfying the need for raw materials for all branches of light industry.

Soviet cotton production is marching along the path of further advance, increasing the cotton yield year after year. The current five-year plan envisages another large increase in raw cotton production.

However, it is impossible to overlook problems involved in ginning raw cotton. The Ministry of Cotton Growing does not show sufficient interest in the work of the ginning industry, which even now does not gin all the raw cotton in the

periods stipulated. It appears to me that Comrade Yusupov tries in vain to represent cotton ginning as a difficult problem to solve. Technically this problem was solved long ago. Our cotton is the best in the world both in length and in fineness. But the fact of the matter is that Comrade Yusupov and the Ministry of Cotton Growing have not organized ginning work properly. The quality of ginning has deteriorated in the past two years and cotton is regularly being supplied to the textile mills with an extremely large amount of foreign matter, which lowers the quality indices of the industry's work.

The Ministry of Cotton Growing must radically improve the work of the cotton gins and also secure a further increase in deliveries of the highest grades of cotton, increased output of fine-staple cotton and intensification of selection work with the aim, above all, of cultivating new, quick-ripening grades of high-yield cotton, especially for the new cotton-producing regions.

A number of provinces and republics have until recently underestimated the importance of developing flax cultivation, as is shown by the unsatisfactory condition of flax production in a number of flax-growing regions. Even in such provinces as Kostroma, Smolensk and Yaroslavl, which have a large flax industry and are major consumers of flax fiber, insufficient attention is paid to flax cultivation. The plan for flax procurements in these provinces is not being fulfilled, and consequently the enterprises of the flax industry have been operating under difficult conditions.

The low marketed output of flax is caused principally by large losses of flax in all stages of the harvest and the primary processing. The large harvest losses are due to delays in harvesting work, which as a rule is carried out after work on all other crops. In a number of provinces the flax is left standing too long and deteriorates. Harvest losses are also caused by the relatively low productivity of labor in flax cultivation, resulting from insufficient mechanization of harvesting work.

Many benefits have been granted by the government to the collective farms; procurement prices have been raised and more mineral fertilizers have been made available. Measures are being carried out to mechanize the cultivation and primary processing of flax.

The Party, Soviet and agricultural organizations of the flax-growing provinces and republics must considerably increase the area under cultivation, at least double or treble the marketed output of flax and radically improve the average quality of fiber and flax straw.

Receipts of raw materials by the leather tanning and footwear industry are being increased each year. The supply of leather could be considerably increased if losses in agriculture and in procurement organizations were combated more diligently.

For many years a very large portion of untreated skin deliveries has been low in quality. Because of unsatisfactory skinning more than 25% are defective; 25% are spoiled by moths and leather eaters. A considerable percentage of cattle hides received are damaged by flies and ticks, resulting in lower output of high-quality leather and inflicting major losses on the collective farms and the state.

Unsatisfactory work is being done to preserve hides obtained from animals killed at the farms, where the so-called fresh-dry method of preservation is generally applied. The preserv-

ing of skins by the so-called wet-salted method ensures high-quality leather in the later stages of production. Therefore the collective farms and collective farmers should be urged to stop using the fresh-dry method of preserving hides, and preservation of hides with the help of salt only should be introduced generally.

It is necessary in the immediate future to change over everywhere to the killing of livestock at slaughtering points, which will insure improvement in the quality of untreated skins, greatly improve its preservation and eliminate the great losses now prevalent.

The problems of supplying raw materials to light industry must be considered in close connection with the plan for assortment of goods. A start on such work has been made in cotton production, where the yearly plan for regionalization of the cotton crop by grades is, actually, an order from industry to socialist agriculture. This practice must be extended to the supplies of flax fiber, tanned leather and other agricultural raw materials for light industry.

Comrade Saburov's report set forth a concrete program for developing the economy of the U.S.S.R. from 1951 to 1955.

On the basis of the tasks laid down in the draft directives on the new five-year plan, the average annual increase of production in light industry is to amount to approximately 11%. Sixty-one per cent more cotton cloth, 76% more linen, 54% more woolen cloth, 55% more leather footwear, and 90% more knitwear products will be produced than in 1950.

The tasks set before light industry in the new five-year plan vividly reflect Stalinist concern for further growth in the material well-being of the Soviet people.

The expanding raw-material base for the woolen industry will permit a radical increase in the output of cloth for the manufacture of suits, coats and women's dresses in the current five-year plan. The output of cloth with applique designs is being increased.

Production of especially durable woolen cloth with kapron fiber is being expanded.

Production of silk fabrics in wide assortment is growing rapidly. More than three times as much silk fabric will be produced in 1952 as in 1940, and more than five times as much will be produced in 1953. Production of multicolored and velvet cloth is being increased.

The artificial fiber industry—the new branch of the economy created on the instructions of Comrade Stalin—will increase output during this five-year plan to 4.7 times the 1950 level and to almost 11 times the 1940 level. The foundations will be laid during the Fifth Five-Year Plan for developing the production of new types of higher-quality synthetic fibers.

A large number of cotton, silk, clothing, knitwear, leather and footwear enterprises and of artificial fiber factories are being built under the new five-year plan. The volume of capital investment is being increased almost 150% in comparison with the previous five-year plan, and approximately 750 enterprises will be built or rebuilt over and above the budgeted [i.e., subsidized] construction program.

On the instructions of Comrade Stalin, large new textile centers are being built under this five-year plan in Kamyslin, Engels, Barnaul, Krasnodar, Kherson and Stalinabad. This will result in a considerable improvement in the geographical distribution of the textile industry. Cotton cloth production will move closer to the sources of raw materials and to the areas which consume the finished product. The capacity of the majority of these combines will considerably surpass that of any textile enterprise in the world. The Kamyslin Cotton Combine, for example, will produce about 1,000,000 meters of high-quality cloth each 24 hours. The new enterprises will be the most advanced in technical equipment and in planned assortment of production and will mass-produce a very valuable assortment of various fabrics. ...

SPEECH BY COMRADE D. G. ZHIMERIN, MOSCOW. (Pravda, Oct. 13, pp. 6-7. 2700 words. Condensed text:) ... Approximately 3,000,000 kilowatts of additional capacity were brought into operation in the U.S.S.R. in 1951. This is greater than for all power plants in operation in such countries as Belgium, Switzerland or the Netherlands.

The electric power generation plan for the

whole was fulfilled in 1951 and was more than double the amount generated in prewar 1940. The draft directives of the Congress envisage considerable further development of electrification, with power plant capacity to increase approximately 100% and power production to increase 80%.

On the initiative of Comrade Stalin construction has been launched on the world's largest hydrotechnical installations, on the Volga, Dnieper and Amu-Darya. These tremendous projects will ensure comprehensive solution of problems involved in developing electric power, irrigation and inland shipping. ...

Progress to date makes it certain that construction of the Kuibyshev Hydroelectric Station will be completed in 1955, while the Kakhovka Hydroelectric Station will be completed one year ahead of the time set by the government. ...

The Ministry of Power Plants has started building a unique transmission line with a tension of 400,000 volts for transmitting power from the Kuibyshev Hydroelectric Station to Moscow. Plans call for applying all of the latest technical developments on this line, making it possible to provide Moscow with a dependable supply of electricity with an over-all capacity of 1,200,000 kilowatts. ...

Because of the special attention given by the Party and by Comrade Stalin personally to problems of electrification, capital investments in power development by the Ministry of Power Plants have increased 2.2 times during the past three years alone. However, the Ministry of Power Plants considers that there are many shortcomings in power plant construction and that the criticism made of our work by delegates to the Congress is correct. In addition to well-functioning projects like those at Kakhovka, Mingeaur and Gorky, there are still quite a number of projects which are not making use of allocated funds and are holding back the use of equipment. In this connection the draft directives of the Congress on the new five-year plan correctly provide for strengthening the construction organizations of the Ministry of Power Plants. The Ministry of Power Plants holds that complete and comprehensive mechanization of construction and assembly work is vital to success in construction. Excavation work was 92% mechanized at the construction projects in 1952, concrete preparation was mechanized as much as 98%, concrete pouring was mechanized as much as 93%, and assembling of structural steel parts was mechanized as much as 86.4%. However, much construction equipment at projects such as the Kama and Narva Hydroelectric Stations, as well as at a number of steam plants, is not being fully utilized. If it were fully used, the level of mechanization could be raised, work could be speeded and construction costs could be lowered.

We have worked out measures for speeding mechanization, for improving the use of machinery and also for economical expenditure of building materials and elimination of waste in construction. However, the opening of the power plants depends to a large extent on deliveries of equipment.

In order to avoid delays in putting the power plants into operation, the machine-building plants must ensure accurate and complete supplying of high-quality equipment for the power plants.

The Ministry of Power Plants is taking steps to meet the growing power needs of industry, transport, agriculture and everyday community services. In accord with the government's decree, the ministry has begun building a number of large steam plants in the Donets Basin and Dnieper River area in addition to the Kakhovka Hydroelectric Station. In addition, plants now in operation are being expanded. These measures will ensure power for industry in the Donets Basin, the Dnieper area and Rostov in the near future. Irrigation and electrification of agriculture in the southern Ukraine and northern Crimea will also be assured.

In order to assure a normal power supply for industry in the southern Urals a large steam plant has been put into operation, the capacity of which will be quadrupled during this five-year plan. In addition, a number of steam plants now in operation are being expanded and new ones are being built in the central Urals. A large hydroelectric station is being built on the Kama to provide power for Urals industry. It will begin operating in 1954, and will be followed by construction of a major hydroelectric station at Votkinsk.

In the central part of the country we are rushing work on a power electric station at Gorky on the Volga River and plants in Moscow and in Ivanovo and Tula

Provinces. Powerful hydroelectric stations at Ust-Kamenogorsk in Kazakhstan and Gyumush in Armenia will be completed late in 1952 and will ensure not only a normal power supply to consumers but the creation of reserve capacities as well. Work will begin in 1953 on the construction of a Bukhtarma Hydroelectric Station, and a large hydroelectric station will be completed at Mingechaur during the first half of 1953 in order to provide a dependable power supply for Azerbaidzhan's oil industry.

The capacity of power plants and the amount of power generated in the Estonian, Lithuanian and Latvian Republics has increased considerably in recent years. However, the rapidly growing socialist industry of these republics necessitates further increase in power generation. For this reason the Ministry of Power Plants is taking steps in accord with the draft directives in order to ensure the construction of new power plants and the expansion of ones now in operation in the Latvian, Estonian and Lithuanian Republics. It is necessary to begin building a new hydroelectric station in the Tadzhik Republic as well, in view of the fact that the capacity of the Varzob Hydroelectric Station is inadequate.

The capacity of the power plant in Novosibirsk Province is being increased in connection with electrification of the Siberian Trunk Line and the growth of industry in Siberia. A large hydroelectric station is also being built in this area.

In accordance with the instructions of the Party and Comrade Stalin the Ministry of Power Plants has begun building a hydroelectric station on the Amur River. This remarkable river has tremendous hydroelectric resources and can ensure the output of more than 60,000,000,000 kilowatt-hours of electric power a year. ...

One of the major shortcomings of the power plants now in operation is still the high rate of breakdowns, which harms the national economy. This is why elimination of breakdowns and improved discipline of power plant personnel in order to ensure normal and dependable functioning of equipment has been and remains a major task of the power workers.

The increase in power plant capacity in recent years has been accompanied by qualitative changes, above all due to the introduction of new equipment and automatic control methods. The use of high-pressure and high-temperature steam is a major technical achievement for the power plants and makes it possible to reduce fuel expenditures by 12%. Even now 27.2% of the steam plants in terms of total capacity, or 18 times the prewar level, operate on high-pressure steam. Work to combat unproductive losses in fuel combustion is now in progress at medium-pressure power plants. Many leading power plants are finding additional ways of saving fuel and are thereby making great gains. The Kashira State Regional Power Plant, for example, used 523 grams of fuel per kilowatt-hour in 1940. By applying a number of rationalization measures and improving the operation of equipment fuel expenditures at these power plants were reduced to 494 grams in 1951. Similar successes have been scored by a number of other power plants: the Central Urals, Krasnaya Gorka, Chelyabinsk, Stalinsk and Frunze.

Power plants of the ministry saved the country more than 4,000,000 tons of fuel in comparison with 1940 through the use of new equipment and through improved operation of equipment in 1951. Our power plants have saved about 300,000 tons of fuel above plan during the first eight months of 1952. These savings could have been even greater if all power plants and grids had functioned well. However, some power plants in Leningrad, the Donets Basin and Novosibirsk have not yet achieved economical operations and are consuming too much fuel.

In view of the particular importance of fuel savings to the national economy power plant personnel are adopting measures for further reducing fuel expenditures and for saving fuel in all power systems. The problem of central heating must be mentioned in this connection. Everyone knows that the coefficient of productive operation of a combined heat and power plant is greater than that of a condenser power plant and several times greater than that of individual boiler plants. This is why the proportion of combined heat and power plants in the over-all steam plant picture is constantly increasing. Thus the capacity of heat and power plants of the Ministry of Power Plants at the beginning of 1952 was more than double what it was in 1940. However, the work of installing steam conduits is lagging, with the result that the capacity of the heat and power plants is being

artificially held back and heat users are being compelled to build uneconomical boiler plants. As a result of all this the heat and power plants of the Ministry of Power Plants, for example, consume about 900,000 tons of extra fuel every year because they do not operate at full capacity on both counts. The State Planning Committee and State Supply Administration must take this into account and must see that the necessary funds and materials—especially pipe—are provided during the present five-year plan. ...

Automatic and remote control operation, the highest achievement of the new technology, have been widely introduced at steam and hydroelectric plants in recent years. The automatic equipment and machinery used in the power plants relieve the personnel of all physical labor. At the present time 91% of all hydroelectric stations of the Ministry of Power Plants have completely automatic operation, and the operating personnel do no physical work to start, stop or control the equipment.

Remote control operations are also being introduced at the hydroelectric stations, making it possible to operate installations without any personnel at all. Seven hydroelectric stations, for example, now operate without the usual control personnel. These stations are operated from a dispatcher's office dozens of kilometers away.

As is known, the most difficult job in steam plants is that of the stoker. At the present time 61% of the plants in terms of boiler capacity have automatic equipment for stoking and for putting water in the boilers as well as for controlling the load of the boiler unit. Stokers have been supplanted by qualified boiler engineers on these boiler units.

Automatic operation of hydroelectric stations and boilers has made it possible to reduce the number of operating personnel and thereby to effect a radical increase in labor productivity. Our task now is to finish converting all hydroelectric stations to automatic operations in 1952, to convert to remote control operation during the next three to five years and to complete the automatic operation of steam plants in coming years.

Two serious problems arise in connection with automatic operations. First, the plants which manufacture turbines, boilers and other generating equipment are lagging behind in the development and production of automatic equipment. The Ministries of the Heavy Machine-Building, Electrical Equipment and Communications Equipment Industries must provide the power plants with the necessary equipment. Second, the widespread introduction of new equipment and automatic controls at power plants again raises the question of personnel. The operation of automatic boilers and turbines with a capacity of 50,000 or 100,000 or 150,000 kilowatts cannot be entrusted to personnel who lack the proper technical training. In order to solve this problem the Ministry of Power Plants, upon the instructions of the Party Central Committee, is developing an extensive network of evening and correspondence technical schools and plans to provide technical training for workers in leading occupations at the power plants within the next five years. The Ministry of Higher Education must solve the problem of training engineers for automatic equipment and especially mechanical engineers for construction work. ...

SPEECH BY COMRADE I. F. TEVOSYAN, MOSCOW. (Pravda, Oct. 13, p. 7. 3600 words. Condensed text:) ... Southern metallurgy has been restored and provided with modern equipment. The average daily pig-iron smelting at southern mills of the Ministry of Ferrous Metallurgy was 35% higher and the average steel smelting was 40% higher during the first nine months of 1952 than before the war. The average daily smelting for the U.S.S.R. is considerably higher than before the war. The national economy is now receiving more than twice as much rolled metal as before the war.

Major gains have also been scored in the geographical distribution of metal production. The proportion of metal smelted in the East has increased considerably: from 20% of all pig iron in 1940 to 44% in 1951 and from 32% of all steel and rolled metal in 1940 to 51% in 1951.

The proportion of large metallurgical mills and powerful mechanized units has increased considerably. Thirty-nine per cent of the pig-iron mills produced 1,000,000 tons a year or more than in 1940, while 63% did in 1951. Thirty-nine per cent of the steel mills produced 1,000,000 tons a year or more than in 1940.

while 59% did in 1951. The proportion of powerful mechanized units has radically increased. As of July 1, 1941, i.e., at the beginning of the war, 31% of the blast furnaces had a productive capacity of 1000 cubic meters or more, while 51% had as of Jan. 1, 1951. Forty-six per cent of the furnaces in the United States had such a capacity at the beginning of 1951. As of July 1, 1941, 28% of the open-hearth furnaces of the Ministry of Ferrous Metallurgy had a tonnage of 200 tons or more, while 35% had as of Jan. 1, 1951. The analogous figure for the U.S.A. at the beginning of 1951 was only 12%.

Metal smelting was increased through the restoration, construction and opening of new facilities and, to a considerable extent, through improved utilization of metallurgical installations. This can be seen from the following technical indices: the coefficient of blast furnaces for the Ministry of Ferrous Metallurgy as a whole for the first eight months of 1952 was 0.88, as opposed to 1.19 in prewar 1940, i.e., it increased 35%; the volume of steel per square meter of open-hearth furnace area was 6.19 tons as opposed to 4.37 tons in 1940, i.e., it increased 42%. The productivity of the rolling and pipe mills increased considerably, as did the productivity of workers in ferrous metallurgy. The average monthly pig-iron output per worker at the blast furnaces and the average monthly steel output in the steel shops was 61% higher in 1952 than in 1940.

The steady rise in metal production, the improved utilization of existing facilities and the increase in labor productivity have been brought about through intensification of metallurgical processes, reduction of the technological cycle of production, improvement in the quality of metal, the introduction of automatic control of production processes, improved organization of productivity and labor, and the mechanization of heavy and labor-consuming jobs. ...

One of the greatest shortcomings in the work of ferrous metallurgy is that, although plans have been fulfilled for the ministry as a whole, not all mills, shops and units are fulfilling the plans set. ...

Comrades, a new and powerful advance in metallurgy is inseparably linked with future technical progress. A whole series of major technical measures have been carried out and are being carried out in ferrous and nonferrous metallurgy in order to increase the productivity of metallurgical equipment, mines and concentration plants, to increase labor productivity and to reduce unit costs.

Automatic control of the temperature of the blast for blast-furnace operation has been introduced on a wide scale. Ninety-five per cent of all pig iron was smelted in blast furnaces with automatic controls for the temperature of the blast in 1951, and 87% of all open-hearth steel was smelted at mills of the Ministry of Ferrous Metallurgy in furnaces with automatic temperature controls. Work has been done lately to install automatic equipment in rolling mills. ...

Favorable results have been attained by using oxygen in metallurgical work. In order to intensify steel smelting further, even more mills will use oxygen by the end of the five-year plan.

In nonferrous metallurgy, work to perfect production methods has been directed primarily at increasing the amount of nonferrous metals obtained in concentrating the ores and producing the metals.

The problem now is to finish introducing these and other technical measures in all metallurgical enterprises and to

speed up work on a number of important experiments.

The technical progress achieved in all branches of the national economy places ever greater demands on increasing the variety of items produced. More than 100 new types of steel and alloys were developed and put into production during the Fourth Five-Year Plan, 156 complex new types of rolled metal were put into production and the number of types of pipe manufactured was considerably increased. A whole series of new types of rolled metal will have to be put into production in the near future.

The extensive development of power resources in our country through the construction of large hydroelectric stations opens up tremendous opportunities for electrification of technological processes in metallurgical production and for supplying the national economy with high-quality electroplated metals. ...

On Comrade Stalin's instructions, new production capacity will be extensively introduced at enterprises now in operation. New metallurgical, coal-tar chemical and fire-resistants plants will also be completed and put into operation.

Great attention is being paid to further improving the housing and cultural and service facilities of the metalworkers. Plans under the current five-year plan call for building and making available at least 5,000,000 square meters of housing for workers in ferrous metallurgy and at least 3,000,000 square meters of housing for workers in nonferrous metallurgy. ...

Comrades! The new five-year plan sets tremendous tasks before the Ministry of the Heavy Machine-Building Industry and the Ministry of the Electrical Equipment Industry with respect to planning and manufacturing rolling mills and complete electrical aggregates. Almost tentimes as many rolling mills must be built during the present five-year plan as during the preceding one, and approximately four times as much electrical equipment must be produced for them in 1955 as was in 1951.

The plants and planning organizations of the ministries are not meeting assignments for planning and supplying rolling mills at the present time. The U.S.S.R. State Planning Committee and the ministries concerned must make a detailed study of the five-year plan and the annual plans, beginning with 1953, and outline important steps, first of all to ensure the introduction of all new production facilities in ferrous and nonferrous metallurgy and to strengthen considerably the construction organizations of the Ministry of Heavy Industry Enterprise Construction for this purpose, and, second, to ensure the planning and manufacture of rolling mills within the times specified. ...

A checkup has shown that workers in the main shops involved in the crucial sectors of production are not being included satisfactorily in production and technical training programs. The training is undergone primarily by workers in the secondary occupations. In a number of instances courses have been given by poorly qualified personnel rather than by administrative engineering personnel, above all by those in production sectors whose workers were studying in the courses. The latter would be able to give the workers the technical training needed for perfect mastery of production methods. The heads of a number of enterprises are not paying due attention to technical studies of the workers and in many instances have entrusted this matter to lower-echelon officials.

We must work seriously to improve the production and technical training of workers at the enterprises. ...

XIII. - DISCUSSION OF KHRUSHCHEV'S REPORT

Discussion of the Report Delivered by Comrade N. S. Khrushchev on Changes in the Statutes of the All-Union Communist Party (of Bolsheviks).

SPEECH BY COMRADE M. F. SHKIRYATOV. (Pravda, Oct. 13, p. 8. 3500 words. Condensed text:) ... By the nature of our work on the Party Control Commission we encounter various cases of violations of the Party Statutes by Party members and candidates for membership in the Party. It is evident from personal files and from the statements and letters [i.e., appeals and complaints] sent to the Party Central Committee by Communists and non-Party persons that we still have instances of violation of Party and state discipline, suppression of criticism and self-criticism, lack of vigilance and concealment of the truth from the Party.

A very important task of the Party organizations is to strengthen Party control over observance of the Party Statutes. Violations of the Statutes can be promptly exposed and eliminated not only by systematic on-the-spot checkups but also by correct handling of the letters and statements sent to the Party organizations.

It is about the importance of this work and the nature of the shortcomings revealed that I wish to speak.

Our party has always taught and still teaches us to pay careful attention to letters and statements. Vladimir Ilyich Lenin pointed out repeatedly how strictly and attentively warnings from below must be handled, and demanded the eradication of formalism, red tape and bureaucratic settlement of complaints and statements.

Not everyone is carrying out these instructions.

Comrade Stalin teaches us how to handle statements, how to handle criticism from below.

Criticism and self-criticism are the most dependable means of improving our work, a means of training cadres by pointing out their mistakes. By exposing shortcomings we point the way to eliminating them so that all our work can improve from day to day and can advance from one success to another.

But have we done everything there is to be done in carrying out the instructions of Lenin and Stalin? In my opinion we have not.

Statements and letters are an expression of high activity and creative initiative on the part of the working people, who look on the work of the enterprise, collective farm or institution as

their own cause and who notice every shortcoming, point it out and help to improve the work.

These statements often reveal and eliminate many irregularities and incorrect actions and expose dishonest persons who permit malpractices, pilferers of state and communal property.

By correctly handling these letters and by promptly eliminating the shortcomings revealed in them we will help to advance our cause more successfully, to strengthen state and Party discipline and to combat various negative phenomena in our life, in the conduct of Communists. By remedying shortcomings we increase the initiative of the masses and inspire them to even more active participation in fulfilling the tasks of the Fifth Five-Year Plan.

What attitude is taken toward statements and letters by a number of organizations?

If one considers this aspect of the matter one finds that many organizations do not ignore the statements. These organizations can always tell how many statements were received, how many were checked directly and how many were sent where for action to be taken on them. But often this is only a façade.

When one looks into the letters sent by the Party and Soviet agencies for on-the-spot checkups one is struck by the fact that some letters are sent to the organizations and individuals about whom the complaints have been made.

Such a system for handling statements is incorrect and has always been condemned by the Party and government. Lenin wrote:

"To limit oneself to paper disposition of the questions raised and passing them on to other institutions amounts to indulging in red tape and to wasting paper."

As can be seen from some of the letters which have been sent to the people complained about by the writers of these letters, real action on the complaints is often actually not taken, the irregularities are not eliminated, time passes and affairs go badly.

There are many cases in which a statement is not sent back to the source but is checked by the organization to which the

statement has been sent. Even in these cases, however, the checkups are often not made conscientiously but are formal and superficial and do not make a careful study of the facts. It also happens that informal questions concerning a statement are asked of those against whom the complaint is made, their replies—which allegedly “refute” the complaint—are written down and the statement is written off as unsubstantiated.

Because of the lack of concern shown locally in handling statements and letters the Central Committee receives some statements with the following sort of note appended: “Please do not send this statement to the area concerned; the complaint will not be acted upon there,” or “Be sure to send your own representative.”

I will cite examples concerning only two Party organizations, which does not mean that such things do not happen in other organizations.

The Party Central Committee received a communication, the writers of which declared that they had previously written several statements to the local prosecutor's office, the district executive committee and the city Party committee about the criminal actions of personnel of the Balashikha Industrial Combine, but the statements were not investigated. The authors then wrote: “Please look into this statement but do not entrust investigation of the matter to district officials.”

And what did a checkup show? Major thefts made with the connivance of certain officials of the combine were revealed at one of the enterprises. The guilty persons have now been punished as a result of the checkup: They have been expelled from the Party and their case has been referred to the prosecutor's office for trial action.

It often happens, moreover, that a statement should be investigated immediately but is subjected to long delays: It is sent from office to office, while the matter brought up by the writer of the statement remains unsettled.

I will cite the following instance by way of illustration. An official of the Pilna District Food Combine wrote to the district organizations, to the food industry department of the Gorky Province Executive Committee and to the province Party committee about irregularities at the enterprise and about the fact that the director of the combine was persecuting people who reported his misdeeds.

The Party Central Committee received a statement about this. And what did a checkup show? The first statement had come to the province executive committee's food industry department, but no one there wanted to conduct a checkup, and so the letter was sent to the Pilna District Executive Committee.

A second statement addressed to the province Party committee was handed over to the committee's light industry department for verification and from there was sent to the province executive committee. There it was sent to the food industry department with the instructions: “Conduct immediate investigation,” which was not done.

What was revealed when the charges made by the writer of the statement were investigated? It was found that the former director of the district food combine had violated state discipline, had consistently abused his official position and had illegally taken a large amount of various materials and food-stuffs from the enterprise for his own use. When two women employees who are Young Communist League members wrote about this to the district organization the director persecuted them, threatening them with dismissal and then transferring them to work for which they were not qualified. They were subsequently obliged to leave the enterprise. This suppressor of criticism has now been expelled from the Party.

I also wish to call attention to those statements and letters which checkups show to be partly true and partly unsubstantiated. Instead of focusing attention on eliminating the irregularities revealed in a letter, much is often made of the fact that certain details in it have not been substantiated. In such cases the writer is not supported where he is right, is not told where he has made his mistake, and sometimes is even treated unjustly: unfounded accusations are brought against him and in some cases he is subjected to punishment.

Such incorrect actions are in violation of Comrade Stalin's injunction that criticism should not be shut off because some of it is not completely accurate.

Comrade Stalin said:

“Critics are sometimes condemned for the imperfection of their criticism, for the fact that in some instances their criticism is not 100% correct. Demands are often made that criticism be correct on all points, and when it is not it is slandered and condemned.

“This is incorrect, comrades. This is a dangerous mistake*** If you are going to demand 100% correct criticism you will thereby eliminate the possibility of any criticism from below, the possibility of any self-criticism. This is why I think that if criticism is even 5% or 10% correct it should be welcomed; it should be carefully heeded and its healthy core should be taken into consideration. Otherwise, I repeat, you would have to silence hundreds and thousands of persons devoted to the cause of the Soviets, persons who still lack sufficient experience in framing criticism but through whom we get the truth.”

We have encountered individual cases in which those who have given information about shortcomings in their statements have been persecuted. Such disgraceful actions are incompatible with Party membership and harm the cause. They stifle the initiative of persons who are helping the Party combat all manifestations of evil, irregularity and shortcomings.

This was the outcome of a statement by Comrade Isabekov, a Party member and collective farmer who once wrote to the Pavlodar Province Party Committee about large-scale embezzlement of farm products on the Thaelmann Collective Farm. The province committee should have checked on this statement, inasmuch as it pointed out that not only collective farm officials were involved in the embezzlement but district officials as well. Instead, this serious charge was forwarded to the Pavlodar District Party Committee.

Despite evidence of the embezzlements at the collective farm the guilty persons were not punished—time passed, and the embezzlements continued. What is more, the district committee administered a severe Party reprimand to Comrade Isabekov for raising the question.

The province committee overlooked this unjust treatment of the author of the statement and did not react at all to the suppression of criticism and the covering up of crimes. It is only recently, as the result of a checkup on material sent to the Party Central Committee, that the guilty persons have been punished by the Party and by process of law and the former secretary of the district committee has been expelled from the Party. Severe Party disciplinary measures have been imposed on the former officials of the province committee.

As the revised Party Statutes require, it is our duty to intensify the struggle against such occurrences, to punish bureaucrats and suppressors of criticism severely, regardless of who is involved. It is our Party duty to defend those persons who help the Party reveal shortcomings, to support them in every way and to protect them from persecution and infringement upon their rights.

There are also statements which, on the contrary, hamper the development of criticism. I refer to the question of slanderers. A word should be said about these people because under the guise of criticism they invent false accusations, write about nonexistent happenings and concoct all sorts of fables, ridiculous rumors and absolutely unfounded accusations. There are also those who from personal, selfish motives seek maliciously to defame and slander honest persons. These slanders obviously operate according to the saying: “Slander is like coal—where it burns it leaves its mark.” (Stir in the hall; applause.)

Here is an example. We expelled a certain Baranov from the Party for slander. He had sent more than 120 statements to Party and Soviet bodies in five years' time. In these statements he made unfounded political accusations against a large number of officials of Party and Soviet organizations. About 40 officials were kept busy checking on his statements, which were discussed in the primary Party organizations and in the borough and city Party committees. In time the slanderer was prosecuted.

Slanderers cause harm not only to the individuals they have selected as their victims. They are also harmful because they divert the attention of our organizations from the disclosure and elimination of real shortcomings.

It is the task of the Party to support and

defend in every way those honest and devoted persons who help the Party reveal and eliminate shortcomings. Slanderers must be severely punished upon exposure, and those whom they have falsely defamed must be protected from slander.

It was pointed out in the reports by Comrade Malenkov and Comrade Khrushchev that instances of concealment of the truth by certain Communists, of a dishonest and untruthful attitude toward the Party, the divulging of Party and state secrets and the selection of officials not for their political or professional qualifications but on the basis of personal friendships constitute a great evil.

A large number of examples could be cited from the experience of the Party Control Commission to show that the actions of such Communists do in actual fact cause great damage and show that this evil must be resolutely fought.

Comrade Malenkov's report confronted all Party organizations with the task of comprehensively strengthening Party control and checkup. This was also stressed in the draft revised Party Statutes, which require that every Communist struggle actively to carry out the decisions of the Party.

In this connection the creation of the position of representative of the Party Control Committee independent of local Party bodies in the provinces, territories and republics will have a favorable bearing on the intensification of Party control. This measure will help to prevent violations of the Party Statutes and to intensify the struggle against the defects and unhealthy phenomena which exist in the life and work of Party organizations.

Comrades! The broad discussions on the draft revised Party Statutes which took place at meetings of all primary Party organizations and at Party conferences have raised to still greater heights the activity of members of our party. The free and businesslike discussion of the draft revised Party Statutes and the draft directives on the new five-year plan in Party organizations and in the Party press has demonstrated the full strength and importance of inner Party democracy, based on the growing activity and consciousness of the Party masses.

The publication of the draft revised Statutes and discussion of them by the 19th Congress mobilize all Communists for carrying out the new tasks of the Party. Strictest observance of the Statutes—the inviolable basis of Party life—will serve to further strengthen the political organizational work of the Party and all its local organizations. ...

SPEECH BY COMRADE Ye. A. FURTSEVA, MOSCOW. (Pravda, Oct. 13, pp. 8-9. 2500 words. Condensed text:) ... Much experience has been gained in Party work since the 18th Congress. In his report Comrade Khrushchev convincingly established the need for reflecting this Party experience in the Party's Statutes, for making the proper additions and revisions in the Statutes. ...

The Moscow city Party organization, like our party as a whole, came to the 19th Congress closely rallied around the Communist Party Central Committee and the great leader and teacher, Comrade Stalin. (Applause.)

Feeling the constant guidance and help of the Central Committee, the capital's Party organization has grown considerably and has become stronger organizationally and ideologically. It now has more than 475,000 Party members and candidates for Party membership, or twice as many as before the 18th Congress. ...

More than one-third of all Moscow's Communists work in ministries and Soviet institutions. Recently the Party organizations have begun to exert more influence on improving staff work. However, not all Party organizations are as yet making determined efforts to combat violations of state and labor discipline and manifestations of bureaucracy and red tape.

Quite a few instances were disclosed at the report-and-election Party meetings in the ministries of delays and carelessness in carrying out the instructions of higher agencies, of bureaucratic ways and red tape and of a formal approach toward the needs of local organizations. It was noted at the Party meetings that official correspondence has greatly increased in a number of ministries and departments. The

U.S.S.R. Ministry of the Fishing Industry received an average of 178 letters and telegrams a day in 1949, while it received 1114, or six times as many, in 1952. This increase is not only the result of increased work and increasing complexity in the tasks confronting the ministry, but is also to a large degree the result of slipshod work, which leads to repeated letters and inquiries from local organizations and much correspondence within the ministry, something which often supplants effective action on problems.

In the U.S.S.R. Ministry of the Oil Industry, for example, 10% of all correspondence consists of messages within the ministry among the chief administrations, institutions and departments. It must be stated that some ministry officials not only fail to train their staffs to be intolerant of bureaucratic ways and red tape but they themselves not infrequently set a bad example in this respect.

I wish to give only one example. On May 31 this year the U.S.S.R. Ministry of Inland Shipping received a letter from the Vice-Chairman of the U.S.S.R. State Supply Administration requesting the shipment of important freight. A chief administration drafted a reply to this letter on June 5 and it was sent to Comrade Vakhturov, Deputy Minister of Inland Shipping, for his signature. The letter remained in his office for six days and was returned with the notation: "Bring this up to date." The letter was "brought up to date" (amused stir in the hall): four new signatures of approval were supplied and returned to Comrade Vakhturov. The letter remained in his office eight days more and was then returned to the chief administration with this notation: "Poorly drafted." (Laughter.) The reply was "improved" by attaching five new signatures and stamps of approval but five days later it was again returned, this time without any decision marked on it, but simply crossed out. Finally, on June 30, one more notation from Comrade Vakhturov appeared on the newly drafted reply: "Comrade Solovyov, Assistant Director of the Chief Administration: I have reported the action taken to the Supply Administration by telephone, so no letter will be necessary." Thus 30 days of useless correspondence were spent when the question could have been settled in a matter of minutes.

Such shortcomings indicate poor development of criticism and self-criticism in a number of the Party organizations of the ministries and Soviet institutions.

It must be granted that the Moscow City Party Committee itself is not yet paying sufficient attention to the work of the Party organizations of Soviet institutions. The Moscow city committee has not given them enough help in developing criticism and self-criticism and in providing for the ideological and political training of officials.

Comrades, the clannishness and vestiges of group interests which are still to be found in a number of organizations constitute a real brake on the development of criticism and self-criticism. How can there be any talk of criticism and self-criticism in the Physics Institute of the U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences, for example, when 102 of its personnel are relatives (stir in the hall, laughter), some of whom are working under direct supervision of their relatives?

Another example of what happens when criticism and self-criticism are lacking is shown by the case of the Moscow State Pedagogical Institute, one of the largest higher educational institutions in the country. Degrees were awarded there for dissertations which had no scholarly value and even for dissertations which contained gross distortions of Marxist-Leninist theory and which falsified the history of the heroic struggle of our people. The Higher Certifying Commission has rejected eight such "dissertations" during the past two years alone.

It must be stated that such things occur in a number of other Moscow institutes as well. ...

Guided by the Party Central Committee's decrees on ideological questions, the Moscow city Party organization is taking steps to intensify the propaganda of Marxism-Leninism and to improve the ideological and theoretical standards of personnel. More than 740,000 persons are now enrolled in the Party education system, including 450,000 Communists. More than 45,000 Communists are engaged in propaganda work, 227 of whom have higher and secondary education. Approximately 20,000 have been graduated from the evening university of

Marxism-Leninism in the past three years, and 17,000 Party, Soviet and economic administrative officials are studying at the present time. ...

It must be admitted, however, that the general level of ideological work in the Moscow city Party organization still does not meet requirements. In his report Comrade Malenkov criticized the Moscow Party organization for paying insufficient attention to ideological work. This criticism is entirely correct and reflects our serious shortcomings in Party propaganda work, in the ideological and political training of the intelligentsia and in the communist education of the working people.

The city Party committee and the borough Party committees are still making inadequate use of the wealth of opportunities at the disposal of the capital's Party organization: the large numbers of Party, Soviet and economic officials and the large number of Palaces of Culture, clubs and other cultural-enlightenment institutions. The number of the intelligentsia in Moscow has more than tripled since the 18th Congress. This places great responsibilities on the Party organizations for organizing ideological and political work. However, this work is still unsatisfactory in regard to certain categories of the intelligentsia.

The Party organizations and the administrators of creative professional associations, above all the Unions of Soviet Writers, Composers, Artists and others, are not paying sufficient attention to the ideological and political education of their cadres. As a result, a considerable proportion of literary and art works has been weak, and some productions and motion picture films have been removed from repertoires.

Comrades! Without denying the responsibility of the Moscow City Party Committee for shortcomings in the work of the Party organizations of agencies dealing with literature and arts—shortcomings in the ideological and political education of personnel—I deem it necessary to call attention to the poor guidance provided Moscow's theaters by the U.S.S.R. Council of Ministers' Committee on Affairs of the Arts. The following example will suffice. Because of the committee's lack of attention to the Moscow Art Theater, this outstanding company has failed its debt to Soviet audiences. The theater has presented only three of the nine new plays slated for production in the past two years. The theater company worked a long time to produce plays which were ideologically and artistically inferior: Mikhalkov's "Lost Home," Kron's "Party Candidate," and others. Because it wasted time and money in this way the theater has not produced a single play on a Soviet theme in the past two years. If the Committee on Affairs of the Arts had paid attention to this leading theater of the country it would have been able to prevent such a situation.

Comrades! It is also necessary to present a complaint against the Ministry of Higher Education. At one time the Party Central Committee expressed dissatisfaction over the teaching of the social sciences in the higher educational institutions and charged the Ministry of Higher Education with improving the training of instructors in the departments of Marxism-Leninism, philosophy and political economy. There is no indication that the Ministry of Higher Education has drawn the necessary conclusions from this major directive of the Central Committee, however. Many of the social science instructors at Moscow higher educational institutions do not have higher degrees. Meanwhile the training of young graduate students is poorly organized. Only half of all graduate students have defended dissertations in the past three years. The ministry pays insufficient attention to training Doctors of Sciences. Only 13 out of 153 or less than 10% of the instructors in Moscow departments of socio-economic sciences have doctorates.

Comrades! Carrying out the decisions of the 19th Party Congress, the Moscow city Party organization will ensure extensive development of criticism and self-criticism, will work for improvement in ideological-political and Party organizational work and will put every effort into improving the work of the Party organizations still more, in accord with the new, higher demands of the Party Statutes. ...

SPEECH BY COMRADE M. V. ZIMYANIN, BELORUSSIAN REPUBLIC. (Pravda, Oct. 13, p. 9. 2800 words. Condensed text:) ... Comrades! Together with the entire Party,

Communists of the Belorussian Party organization have unanimously approved the Party Central Committee's draft "Text of the Revised Statutes of the Party." ...

The observations on shortcomings in Party work which were made by Comrade Malenkov in the report of the Party Central Committee and by Comrade Khrushchev in the report on changes in the Party Statutes are profoundly just. They are also fully applicable to the Belorussian Communist Party organization and to its Party governing bodies. Party organizational and political work in the Belorussian Communist Party still lags behind life's demands, behind the tasks posed by the Party. Self-criticism and especially criticism from below have by no means fully or in all Party organizations become that main method by which we must reveal and overcome our errors and shortcomings, our weaknesses and sore spots.

Lack of discipline and the holding of a formal, passive attitude toward Party decisions, toward cases of political carelessness and laxity, are still to be found in Belorussia's Party organizations.

There are serious shortcomings in the work of the Belorussian Communist Party Central Committee and other Party governing bodies of the Belorussian Communist Party with respect to selecting and training personnel, instances of violation of the principle of selecting cadres on the basis of political and professional qualifications, instances of selecting people on the basis of kinship and of personal loyalties to individual officials, something which of course has nothing in common with loyalty to the Party cause.

There are also serious shortcomings in the work of checking implementation of Party decisions. Some Party organizations underestimate ideological work, political work with the masses, Marxist-Leninist training of Communists and administrative cadres, with the result that this work still falls short of the aims set by the Party. Serious errors of an ideological and theoretical nature have been committed in some scientific and literary works.

Guided by the directives of the 19th Party Congress and the provisions of the Statutes, which increase the responsibility of Communists for the Party cause, the Belorussian Party organization will remedy these serious shortcomings, will raise the level of Party organizational and political work to meet the demands of the Party and on this basis will ensure further improvement in guidance of economic and cultural work.

Many recommendations and observations were made during discussion of the text of the revised Party Statutes in the Belorussian Party organization. These have been reported to the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party.

Many observations were occasioned, for example, by the formulation of Article 2 of the Party Statutes, i.e., that any working person who is a Soviet citizen not exploiting anyone else's labor may become a member of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

I should like to express my stand on the observations made by comrades who held that this passage was unnecessary. Under the conditions of our socialist society it is obvious that a person who exploits anyone else's labor cannot be a Communist. But this does not at all mean that this passage can be stricken from the draft Statutes. The greatest victory of our party and of Soviet society is that exploitation of man by man has been eliminated in the Soviet Union. This victory is reflected in the draft Party Statutes. The Communist Parties, workers and working people of the whole world are learning from the example of our party. When they turn to the Statutes of our party and find this statement there they perceive the essence of the struggle and achievements of our party. This formulation is profoundly revolutionary in essence and should be retained in the Statutes.

Although Article 3 of the Statutes was generally approved, Communists remarked that the following statement should be added to this section: It is the duty of a Party member to support everything new and progressive, abide by the rules of the socialist community, show concern for the family, for children, etc. I think that these proposals should not be included in the text of the Statutes because they would make them too ponderous: these ethical norms are obligatory for all

citizens. The Statutes expound the basic tenets of Party ethics, being guided therein solely by the correct criterion advanced by Lenin when he said that "at the basis of communist ethics lies the struggle to strengthen and perfect communism." Comrade Stalin developed and supplemented Lenin's injunction with respect to the duties and rights of Communists, profoundly and comprehensively evolved the basic tenets of communist ethics, by which not only all Communists are guided but all Soviet society as well.

It seems to me that the proposal is correct to convene province and territory Party conferences and republic Party Congresses not once every one and one-half years but once every two years, which would fit in well organizationally both with the periods for convening the Party Congress (once every four years) and for convening district and city conferences (once a year). ...

SPEECH BY COMRADE A. N. POSKREBYSHEV. (Pravda, Oct. 13, pp. 9-10. 4500 words. Condensed text:) Comrades! The present 19th Congress of the Communist Party is a major milestone in the history of the heroic struggle of our party to build a communist society in our country.

The historic significance of the 19th Party Congress consists precisely in the fact that its decisions define the task of building communism as the main task of this period.

Only the mighty party of Lenin and Stalin is capable not only of posing but also of solving such imposing tasks.

Our party has always considered organizational problems in direct connection with the solution of political problems. Application of the political line of the Party depends upon correct solution of the organizational problems.

The draft revised Statutes discussed at this Congress, the need for adopting which was cogently argued in Comrade Khrushchev's report, represent a new and higher stage in the development of the organizational principles of our party. Unless organizational problems are correctly defined and solved we cannot solve successfully those political problems set before the Party and the entire country by this Congress.

Soviet people, inspired by the imposing program of building communism set forth in Comrade Stalin's speech of Feb. 9, 1946, have fulfilled the first postwar five-year plan ahead of schedule and are now laboring with fresh energy to meet the goals set by our leader and our party for implementation in the Fifth Stalin Five-Year Plan.

The building of communism is the creative work of millions, the inexhaustible initiative of the working people, and innovation and relentless struggle against all that is old, obsolete and bureaucratic. It is high organization and discipline of people, truly universal labor heroism and unparalleled growth in the culture of the working people in town and country. It goes without saying that we have made tremendous gains in all of this. However, the level of people's thinking still lags behind that of their material life. Consequently, our task is to overcome this lag to as great a degree as possible and in a short period. This means that we must raise all our ideological and educational work to an immeasurably higher level.

Together with the millions-strong army of working people who are selflessly building communism there are among us individuals who instead of taking an active part in constructive work sit and wait for the advent of communism as for some sort of "heavenly paradise." They sit and ask: "When at last will communism be proclaimed, and how soon will society provide for us according to our needs?" (*Laughter in the hall.*)

These people evidently do not realize or do not wish to realize that the building of communism is a complex and difficult process, one which requires intense material and spiritual efforts, that therefore the better all able-bodied Soviet citizens work and the better organized their work is, the sooner will communism be achieved.

Models of the communist attitude toward labor must of course be set first of all by Party members. Every Party member, as the new draft Statutes state, must set an example in labor, must master the technology of his work and must constantly improve his qualifications.

Everyone knows how labor discipline has developed among us, especially in industry and transportation. But it is precisely for this reason that people who violate labor discipline cannot be tolerated in our midst.

Means of social influence (the press, meetings, trials by comrades, etc.) must play a very important role in strengthening labor discipline. Experience shows that where measures of social influence on violators of labor discipline are forgotten the number of labor violations increases. The importance and role of political-educational measures for strengthening labor discipline must also be particularly stressed. Where this part of the work lags, violations of labor discipline are most frequent.

The facts also show that sometimes violations of labor discipline occur because of lack of proper order in certain enterprises, because of violations of labor discipline by administrative personnel, of lack of due concern for the material, everyday requirements of the working people, and lastly because of poorly organized political education work.

Elimination of the above shortcomings will point the way to solution of many problems involved in further strengthening labor discipline.

A checkup made by the Party Central Committee of the work of a number of province and territory committees and of the Party Central Committees of the Union republics as regards their direction of the selection, placement and training of administrative personnel, and also the discussion of these questions at the recent Party conferences and Congresses have shown that many Party organizations have paid insufficient attention to this work.

The major mistakes and shortcomings in the work with cadres revealed by the Central Committee are also to be found in many ministries and agencies. The officials of some ministries and agencies do not show real interest in the selection and training of cadres; they regard this highly important duty as a secondary matter and detach themselves from work with cadres, handing it over entirely to staff personnel.

The requirement of the new Statutes that Party members in all posts abide undeviatingly by the Party's injunction on the correct selection of cadres according to their political and professional qualifications will be of tremendous importance in further developing and improving all our Party and Soviet work.

Our Soviet system is based on socialist property as the source of the wealth and might of the homeland and a prosperous and cultured life for the working people. This is why, in my opinion, the proposals made by many Communists and published in Pravda, to supplement Article 3 of the Party Statutes with a statement that Party members must set an example in strengthening and safeguarding socialist property merit all possible attention.

Comrade Stalin teaches that the safeguarding of socialist property is one of the basic functions of our state. Soviet law strictly punishes pilferers of public property. The Stalin Constitution states that persons who infringe on socialist property are enemies of the people.

This is why every Party and Soviet official, every honest Soviet citizen must regard pilferers of socialist property not only as enemies of the state but as their own personal enemies as well.

Comrade Stalin has pointed out that "****a thief who pilfers public property and undermines the interests of the national economy is the same as a spy and a traitor, if not worse."

Nevertheless events indicate that many local Party organizations obviously underestimate the full danger of the pilfering of public property. Such events occurred, for example, in the Kiev and Zaporozhye Party organizations in the Ukraine.

Little effort is being made to fight against pilferers of public property in Kirgizia, with the result that there have been major pilferings of collective farm property, especially on collective farms of Frunze and Tien Shan Provinces.

Lenin and Stalin teach that the slightest lawlessness is a crack which our enemies use to undermine our social and state system.

And we have enemies: capitalist encirclement continues to exist. It is not a coincidence that the brazen U.S. imperialists are allocating tremendous sums for subversive work in the U.S.S.R. and the people's democracies. We must not forget this.

The Party member is required to keep Party and state secrets and to display political vigilance, remembering that

the vigilance of Communists is essential on all sectors and under all circumstances, as is stated in the new Statutes.

It may be said without any exaggeration that many negative phenomena in our public life are the result of the incorrect attitude toward Party and state discipline and toward our Soviet laws which has taken root in the minds of certain of our officials.

The new draft Statutes state very well and clearly that there cannot be two disciplines in the Party: one for the leaders and one for the rank and file. The party has one discipline, one law for all Communists, regardless of the positions they hold. This means that Party and Soviet laws are the same for all without exception.

Soviet law, as the socialist superstructure, plays a very important and active role in strengthening and developing the socialist base.

In the land of Soviets, for the first time in history, the law has become the expression of the will and interests of the working people, and consequently the observance of Soviet laws is a matter of honor and a high patriotic duty for the workers of our country.

Unfortunately we have, among our Party and Soviet officials, persons who for some reason are sure that it is not they who should observe the laws but someone else, and that they themselves can circumvent the laws, violating or applying them at their own discretion according to the principle that "the law is like a cartshaft—it goes whichever way you twist it." (Stir in the hall.)

There can be no doubt that it is only one step from such an extremely queer interpretation of the law to abuses and crime.

Communists, no matter on what work sectors they find themselves, must set a model and example in carrying out Party decisions and observing Soviet laws.

The greatness of the historic tasks that confront the party of Lenin and Stalin, the new tasks of building a communist society, demand of Party members a higher sense of responsibility for the cause of the Party. The new Party Statutes raise even higher the title and significance of the Party member. Our successes have been tremendous and could give rise to false tendencies among people who are insufficiently tempered politically, tendencies toward a show of well-being and toward being carried away by successes. ...

I should like to say something about certain manifestations of philistinism which, unfortunately, occur in our Party life when individual Communists, instead of immediately disclosing shortcomings and disgraceful situations on the spot, either keep quiet about them altogether or, after some reflection, write anonymous letters to the appropriate agencies. There are also shameful instances in which certain dishonorable persons use anonymity as a means of slander and settling personal scores.

There are also instances in which certain arrogant officials, abusing their authority, carry out reprisals for criticism, directly or indirectly subjecting their subordinates to reprisals and persecution. But everyone knows how strictly our party and its Central Committee punish such petty tyrants, regardless of their rank, titles or past services.

Our party attaches special importance to criticism from below, criticism from ordinary people, criticism intended to improve matters.

Some administrative officials for some reason think only subordinates can be criticized but that subordinates have no right to criticize their superiors. This queer interpretation of criticism and self-criticism has nothing in common with the Party spirit. Officials who pay lip service to criticism but actually shield themselves from the criticism of their subordinates are deliberately digging an abyss between themselves and the masses. Criticism and self-criticism, however, are intended not to disunite but rather to unite administrative and rank-and-file workers in a single, healthy and efficient collective.

Criticism and self-criticism are held in disrespect only by people who do not have a clear conscience, who are either violators of Party and state discipline or despicable cowards or wretched philistines unworthy of bearing the lofty title of Party members.

Those officials are greatly mistaken who think that criticism and self-criticism demean an executive and undermine his

authority or even, as some say, sling mud at him. These absurd ideas do not even deserve refutation. Criticism and self-criticism do not demean but rather elevate a person, pull him out of the mud. They are a clear stream of water which washes away the dirt, philistinism and other faults.

Our party has received for its ideological arming a powerful new theoretical weapon, a new program document and valuable contribution to the theory of Marxism-Leninism: Comrade Stalin's newly published "Economic Problems of Socialism in the U.S.S.R."

The basic economic laws of the development of socialism and contemporary capitalism discovered by Comrade Stalin ideologically arm and inspire Communists of our country and of the whole world to fight selflessly for the final triumph of socialism and communism.

Comrade Stalin has shown a remarkable example of critical analysis of the mistakes and anti-Marxist views of certain economists. Comrade Stalin's injunctions on economic questions and on problems of linguistics provide a clear orientation for the development of criticism and self-criticism in all fields of science so as to overcome the moribund and obsolete theories which hamper the further flourishing of Soviet science.

There are still fields of science which have not been touched by the fresh breeze of criticism and self-criticism—for example, law. It seems strange and incomprehensible that jurists have drawn hardly any theoretical or practical conclusions from the discussions which have taken place in recent years on various branches of science. What is more, there has not been any really serious discussion of the most topical and vitally important questions of the state and law in recent years. It cannot be said that there have been no discussions at all: there are discussions. But what kind of problems are treated in these discussions? For example, the "problem" of what is meant by guilt and what is meant by culpability has been discussed heatedly for a long time. Some say that it is one and the same thing, others have said that these are different concepts, and still others consider that guilt should be interpreted both in the narrow and the broad sense. There have been disputes and more disputes until this question has been hopelessly confused. (Laughter in the hall.) And now, as sober people say, without wine [vino] there's no telling what guilt [vina] means. (Laughter in the hall; applause.)

And yet what vast opportunities there are for students of law to investigate really topical questions of the state and law in the light of Comrade Stalin's teaching on the base and superstructure and on economic problems of socialism, and also in connection with the drafting of vitally important all-Union laws and with the need for generalizing upon the practical experience of state agencies.

Many questions of public and state life which are in need of strict legislative regulation have not found good solutions.

The further strengthening of socialist law and order and state discipline requires the coordination of certain areas of Soviet legislation on an all-Union scale.

The necessity of unifying Soviet legislation on an all-Union scale, put forward by experience in state construction, is reflected in the Stalin Constitution.

Although more than 15 years have elapsed since the Constitution was adopted, certain branches of legislation have nevertheless not been properly coordinated, and this has an unfavorable effect on the practical work of state agencies.

There can be no countenancing, for example, a state of affairs in which, in addition to a large number of all-Union criminal laws, almost all the Union republics still have their own criminal codes, which in many instances decide the same questions in different ways.

I shall cite only one example: the laws of the Russian Republic provide up to two years imprisonment for bribe-taking committed without aggravating circumstances; the laws of the Azerbaïdzhan Republic provide up to three years, the Turkmenian up to five years and the Belorussian up to ten years. (Laughter in the hall.) Quite a number of such cases of disparity between the sanctions in the criminal codes of the various republics could be cited.

One wonders what national, "climatic" or other characteristics explain this disparity. (*Stir in the hall.*)

Other branches of Soviet law, such as civil and labor law, should also be coordinated.

The need for clearer legislative regulation of various spheres of social relations is also closely linked with the many tasks set by the five-year plan for the development of the U.S.S.R. in 1951-1955.

Comrade Malenkov pointed out in the report of the Central Committee that in 1951 the number of people receiving education in the U.S.S.R. was 57,000,000. Nothing like this is possible in any bourgeois country. This tremendous scope of public education raises the question of changing the structure of the state agencies in charge of this branch of culture. In particular, the work of the republic Ministries of Education is not organizationally coordinated at all on a Union-wide scale at the present time, and such questions as the development of a common set of regulations, curricula and textbooks for general education schools of all types, examination and approval of syllabuses, planning of the development of the network of general education schools and a number of other questions undoubtedly require coordination on a Union-wide scale. (*Applause.*)

Consequently, the question has arisen of the expediency of establishing a single Union-republic ministry or some similar agency for general supervision and control of public education on a Union-wide scale. The establishment of such an agency is without doubt also dictated by the tasks which have been set in the field of cultural construction and the further development of public education in the new Fifth Stalin Five-Year Plan.

Comrades! Our party has come to its 19th Congress united, monolithic, and closely rallied around the Central Committee, around our beloved leader and teacher, Comrade Stalin. (*Stormy and prolonged applause.*) ...

The Soviet people know that there is no force which can stop their mighty nationwide movement toward communism. The Soviet people are confident of their strength as never before and know that we are now not alone, that more than one-third of mankind now marches in our ranks, and that the overwhelming majority of working humanity sympathizes with us and with our cause.

The peoples of the mighty united socialist camp, inspired by the great leader and teacher of all progressive mankind, Comrade Stalin, will wage their world-wide historic fight for peace, democracy, and socialism still more confidently and boldly. (*Applause.*)

Long live the great and heroic battle-tempered party of Lenin and Stalin. (*Applause.*)

Long live our pride, our glory, our great leader and teacher, Comrade Stalin. (*Prolonged applause; all rise.*)

SPEECH BY COMRADE L. M. KAGANOVICH. (*Pravda*, Oct. 14, p. 3. Complete text:) Comrades! The Party Central Committee has instructed me to submit to the 19th Congress a proposal for revision of our Party Program.

At the 18th Congress a commission was elected to revise the Program of the All-Union Communist Party (of Bolsheviks). As is well known, the Party has lost prominent comrades who were members of the commission—Comrades Kalinin, Zhdanov, Shcherbakov and Yaroslavsky. The commission was deprived of the opportunity of carrying out its assignments. The great patriotic war and the work of eliminating the consequences of the war, the huge job of restoring the economy, prevented the commission from completing its work.

Now, after the 19th Party Congress, conditions will be more favorable for carrying out this complex task. We are richer by the experience acquired during the great patriotic war, in which our Soviet social and state system, our socialist system of economy and our valiant Soviet Army were victorious. We are richer by the experience of postwar restoration and further development of the economy.

The present period of our party's work differs fundamentally from the 1919 period, when our Party Program was adopted. In the period since the Eighth Congress, when the present Program was adopted, fundamental changes have taken place

both in the sphere of international relations and in the sphere of the construction of socialism in the U.S.S.R.

In the years since the Eighth Party Congress our country has been turned from a backward agrarian country into a mighty industrial and collective farming socialist power. The previous multiplicity of economic forms has been eliminated, the socialist system of economy completely prevails, together with socialist property in its two forms—public and collective farm property. Our country has changed beyond recognition. Under the leadership of Comrade Stalin socialism has been established in our country.

In the past 30 years, particularly as a result of the Soviet Union's historic victory in the great patriotic war, the might and authority of the Soviet state have grown immeasurably. The results of the struggle and victories of our party and the Soviet people, our achievements, have been clearly shown in the reports and speeches at the 19th Party Congress.

In connection with all these changes many of the propositions set forth in our Party Program and the tasks expounded therein, since they have already been accomplished in this period, no longer correspond to present conditions and new Party tasks. This is why it is urgently necessary to revise our Party Program.

In the more than 30 years that have passed since the adoption of the Program, the Party and its leader, Comrade Stalin, guided by creative Marxism-Leninism, have advanced the Party theory and have developed and enriched the theory of Marx, Engels and Lenin with new scientific discoveries.

In his brilliant works Comrade Stalin has elaborated all the most important program issues: the building of socialism and communism in one country, the two sides of the question of the building of socialism and communism in our country amid capitalist encirclement, the socialist industrialization of the country, the collectivization of agriculture, the socialist state, socialist nations, the Marxist theory of linguistics and a number of other major theoretical and practical problems.

The revised Program must embody all the new things that have been introduced in the treasury of Marxism-Leninism by our leader and teacher, the great Stalin. (*Stormy applause.*)

The new, revised Party Program must generalize the world-historic experience of the great October socialist revolution and the experience of building socialism in the U.S.S.R. and must outline additional means of fulfilling the Party's chief task—building a communist society by a gradual transition from socialism to communism.

The fact that for its 19th Congress our party has received a new classic by Comrade Stalin, "Economic Problems of Socialism in the U.S.S.R.," is of decisive importance in revising the Program and determining the future road to the establishment of communism.

This brilliant work is a major event in the ideological and theoretical life of our party, of all the peoples of the Soviet Union and all the fraternal Communist Parties.

It is our great fortune that our party, our people, while building communism, are constantly enriched and armed by the brilliant theoretical work of the great Stalin. (*Stormy, prolonged applause.*)

In "Economic Problems of Socialism in the U.S.S.R." Comrade Stalin posed and solved fundamental problems—the nature of economic laws under socialism, commodity production under socialism, the law of value under socialism, measures for elevating collective farm property to the level of public property, the basic economic laws of present-day capitalism and socialism, the three basic preliminary requirements for the transition from socialism to communism, liquidation of the essential differences between town and countryside, between mental and manual labor, the disintegration of the single world market and the deepening of the crisis of the world capitalist system, the inevitability of wars among the capitalist countries.

The historic significance of Comrade Stalin's new work is determined by the fact that the task of building socialism has been completed in the Soviet Union and now the new tasks of ensuring a gradual transition from socialism to communism have arisen before the Party in all their grandeur. Comrade Stalin's new work gives theoretical and practical solutions for the most important problems confronting the Party in the new

historical conditions. In revising the Party Program it is necessary to use the basic tenets of Comrade Stalin's work "Economic Problems of Socialism in the U.S.S.R." as a guide.

Comrade Stalin's brilliant work is of tremendous international significance. With the searchlight of Stalin's genius it illuminates for the Soviet people, led by our party, the way to further strengthening of our state and to the swiftest possible establishment of communism in our country. (Applause.)

Revising the Party Program in accord with the basic tenets of Comrade Stalin's "Economic Problems of Socialism in the U.S.S.R.," our great party will lead the Soviet people forward still more rapidly to the complete triumph of communism. (Stormy applause.)

I shall read the following draft of a resolution of the 19th Congress on revising the Program of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union:

The 19th Party Congress notes that in the period since the Eighth Party Congress (1919), when the existing Party Program was adopted, fundamental changes have taken place both in the sphere of international relations and in the sphere of the construction of socialism in the U.S.S.R., in which connection many of the propositions set forth in the Program and tasks of the Party expounded therein, since they have already been accomplished in this period, no longer correspond to modern conditions and the Party's new tasks.

On this basis, the Congress resolves:

1. To consider it necessary and timely to institute a revision of the existing Party Program.

2. In revising the Program, to be guided by the fundamental theses of Comrade Stalin's work "Economic Problems of Socialism in the U.S.S.R."

3. To entrust the work of revising the Program to a commission composed of the following members: Comrade Stalin, chairman of the commission. (Stormy applause, turning into an ovation.) Members of the commission: Comrades Beria, Kaganovich, Kuusinen, Malenkov, Molotov, Pospelov, Rumyantsev, Saburov, Chesnokov and Yudin.

4. To submit the draft revised Party Program for consideration by the next Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. (Stormy applause. All rise.)

SPEECH BY COMRADE S. Z. BORISOV, YAKUT AUTONOMOUS REPUBLIC. (Pravda, Oct. 14, p. 3. 1800 words. Condensed text:)

... The peoples of the Far North—Yakuts, Eveny [Lamuts], Evenki and Chukchi—like all the Soviet people, have discussed with great joy and unanimously approved the draft directives on the Fifth Five-Year Plan and the draft revised Party Statutes. At numerous meetings of Yakut working people each person has expressed in his own native tongue ardent, inextinguishable love and gratitude to him who has brought warmth and light to the Polar region, whose great designs have been embodied in the historic drafts of the Party Central Committee—our own beloved father and teacher of the peoples, Comrade Stalin. (Applause.) ...

During the years of the Stalin five-year plan great socialist industry, equipped with modern machinery, has been established in Yakutia. The working people of the republic are annually increasing their contribution to the common cause of communist construction by supplying gold, minerals, coal, lumber and a great variety of furs for the country's economic requirements.

Tremendous changes have taken place in agriculture. It is typical that now the farmers of Yakutia are successfully raising all the grain and vegetable crops in regions of permafrost and are securing high yields with the aid of Machine and Tractor Stations and advanced Soviet agrobiology. An old truck gardener, Stalin Prize Winner Comrade Yegorov, a Yakut, in recent years has harvested an average of 270 centners of cabbage per hectare, 174 centners of carrots, 184 of cucumbers, 137 of tomatoes and 120 of onions. Communal animal husbandry is growing and developing. During the post-war five-year plan the number of cattle increased 37% and of horses 30%, while the number of reindeer in the collective farms has more than doubled in recent years. ...

Yakutia, which was a land of illiteracy in the past, has become a republic of universal literacy. One-fifth of the population is studying in higher and secondary educational

establishments and in schools of universal compulsory elementary education and schools for working youth. Health care, literature, the arts, the press and publishing are developing successfully in Yakutia. The working people of the republic read the works of V. I. Lenin and J. V. Stalin, the works of Pushkin, Lermontov, Tolstoy, Gorky, Mayakovsky and the best of Soviet and world literature in their own tongues. There are more than 2000 cultural-educational institutions in the republic doing educational work among the working people. The establishment of a branch of the U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences and of a number of research institutions has been an outstanding cultural achievement of the Yakut people. The increase of workers in science from the indigenous population attests to the extensive development of science. At the time of the 18th Party Congress there were only four Masters of Sciences in the republic, while today there are 70 Masters and Doctors of Sciences.

Is it possible to compare the free, happy life of the present-day Soviet Yakuts, Evenkis, Eveny and Chukchi with the bitter life, without rights, of the Aleuts, Eskimos and Indians of neighboring Alaska, who are mercilessly exploited and destroyed by American imperialism? No, they cannot be compared. The Aleuts, Eskimos and Indians, who were once numerous peoples, living in the territory of the U.S.A., have been ruined and plundered by the American imperialists, have been reduced to the status of slaves and live in medieval conditions. The Soviet Yakuts are in a quite different position. The working people of Yakutia, with the help of the great Russian people, have passed from primitive forms of economy to socialism, bypassing the stage of capitalist development, and are now building communism. ...

We clearly realize that the draft revised Party Statutes set new tasks before the Party and immeasurably increase the responsibility of every Communist for the Party's cause, for building communism. It must be said that there are many unresolved tasks and many serious shortcomings in our work. But Communists in the Yakutia Party organization have a great desire and opportunity to correct these shortcomings, to work still better and to create a steady rise in the economy and culture of the republic.

Working out the great tasks of building communism requires fresh impetus in organizational, political and ideological work within the Party. The organizational structure of the Party, the forms and methods of its work, should correspond to the great tasks of building communism, to the tasks of communist education of the working people. If one examines the situation in the Party from this point of view, then one must admit that serious shortcomings exist. They are particularly noticeable in ideological work. The Yakutia Party organization is exerting every effort to eliminate existing defects of commission and omission.

Certain observations must be made in connection with the discussion of the draft Party Statutes.

First, the following point should be added to Article 3, which speaks of the duties of Party members: "[It is the duty of a Party member] To preserve strictly a Communist attitude to his family and in his everyday life." Spelling out this duty of a Party member, in my opinion, is required by the task of further strengthening the family, of combating instances of dissoluteness and an un-Party-like attitude to the family on the part of individual Communists.

Second, concerning the intervals for convening plenary sessions of province, city and district Party committees, the draft Party Statutes provide for convening province Party committee plenary sessions at least once every two months and plenary sessions of city and district Party committees at least once a month. However, the past practice of convening plenary sessions confirms the correctness and practicality of the intervals for convening plenary sessions set forth in the present Party Statutes. The [old] Statutes took into consideration the special features of the work of a number of local Party organizations (a certain degree of territorial dispersal, etc.) and all aspects of the activity of Party organizations, which have the duty of on-the-spot organizational work, exercising control over and supervising the functioning of all public organizations. ...

Comrades! I should like to raise certain questions concern-

ing further developing the economy and culture of the Yakut Republic. The Yakut Autonomous Republic has large deposits of high-grade rock salt. The question of building enterprises in Yakutia for mining salt should be included in the Fifth Five-Year Plan. Further, the aim of increasing deliveries of furs makes it necessary to establish a single state agency uniting all branches of the fur industry. My third observation relates to public education. The pupils in our schools study the great Russian language and one foreign language along with their native language. It is desirable to increase the number of hours spent on study of the Russian language, and instruction in the foreign language should begin in the eighth grade, not the fifth. ...

SPEECH BY COMRADE F. R. KOZLOV, LENINGRAD PROVINCE. (Pravda, Oct. 14, p. 4. 2100 words. Condensed text:) ... The draft revised Statutes met warm support among Party members and candidates. They were widely discussed in the Leningrad Party organization and received unanimous approval at meetings of primary Party organizations and at district, city and province Party conferences. The Party meetings and conferences showed graphically how the ideological and political level of Communists has grown, what immense experience they have acquired during these years and how their responsibility for the work of the Party has increased. There is evidence of this in the numerous changes and additions proposed by Party members in the course of the discussion of the draft Statutes. ...

Strict observance of discipline by all Communists is an essential condition for the effectiveness of Party organizations. However, there are still cases of individual Party members violating Party discipline and not wanting to take into consideration the procedures established in the Party. A certain Saltykov, former director of the Leningrad Forestry Academy, was recently expelled from the Party as politically and morally corrupted and not deserving the trust of the Party. He surrounded himself with politically unreliable people and took them under his protection, organized drinking parties, set himself in opposition to the Party organization and suppressed criticism. Enjoying the support of some high-ranking officials of the U.S.S.R. Ministry of the Lumber Industry, Saltykov and a group of toadies organized a malicious attack against just criticism in the press and even demanded that those who criticized him be "called to order."

This instance indicates that there are still Communists among us who think that Party discipline is not obligatory for them, that they are permitted to do anything and can with impunity violate the requirements of the Party. ...

The Leningrad Party organization is persistently working to train personnel in a spirit of truthfulness and honesty to the Party, to promote and cultivate cadres devoted to the Party's cause. Recently more than 2000 persons, including 930 women, have been promoted to executive positions. About 80% of the administrative officials now have a higher or incomplete higher education, and in Leningrad all the borough committee secretaries have a higher education. Work is systematically conducted to raise the political level of executive Party personnel.

In connection with the steady improvement in technology and the further development of technical progress, considerable attention is being devoted to training industrial personnel and raising their professional skills. Industrial personnel are perfecting their skill and are working tirelessly to raise their ideological level. Recently more than half the workers completed courses or schools of one kind or another. During the past year hundreds of thousands of workers, engineers and technicians undertook studies without discontinuing their work; this number includes 40,000 persons in higher educational institutions and technical schools and 70,000 in schools for working youth. ...

The draft Statutes point out that a Communist in any post is obligated to carry out steadfastly the Party's instructions on correct selection of personnel on the basis of political and work qualifications. The violation of this injunction, selecting personnel for reasons of friendship, personal ties, family relationship or on the grounds of having come from the same area is incompatible with Party membership. Nevertheless,

we sometimes encounter instances of violation of these principles. Baranov, a Leningrad architect, taking advantage of his friendly relations with certain administrative officials, undeservedly received the title of professor, although he was neither the author of scientific work nor recipient of an academic degree. When this was disclosed, Baranov nevertheless found patrons in the Russian Republic Council of Ministers' Administration on Affairs of Architecture and in the U.S.S.R. Academy of Architecture. These patrons made every effort to promote him to an executive position. ...

In his report Comrade Malenkov pointed out that ideological work is a duty of the first order for the Party and under-estimation of this work can cause irreparable damage to the interests of Party and state. We must always remember that any weakening of the influence of socialist ideology means strengthening the influence of bourgeois ideology.

There are a great number of writers, composers, painters, architects, motion picture directors and actors in Leningrad. There are dozens of higher educational institutions in the city, in which about 100,000 students study. Besides that, tens of thousands of students are enrolled in technical colleges. In 1952, 23,000 more people are studying in institutes and technical colleges than there were in 1940.

The Leningrad Party organization, guided by the Party Central Committee's resolutions on ideological questions, shows constant concern for raising the intelligentsia's ideological level and knowledge of theory and is arming it with Marxist-Leninist science. The work which Party organizations have done among the intelligentsia is promoting an increase in the creative activity of the intelligentsia.

Leningrad writers and painters have begun to take up contemporary themes more boldly and to work them out better and more fruitfully, a fact indicated by the number of works which they have produced. ...

At the same time there are serious shortcomings in the work of Party organizations in Leningrad's ideological institutions. A part of the intelligentsia is doing less and less to raise its ideological-theoretical level, and there are many cases of formal, pedantic study of the Marxist-Leninist classics. In order to eliminate these shortcomings the Leningrad Party organization will take every step to enhance ideological training among Communists and the non-Party intelligentsia. ...

Comrades, discussion of the materials published for the 19th Party Congress provoked exceptional political and work enthusiasm among the working people of Leningrad and Leningrad Province. About 80,000 persons spoke in the course of the discussion on these materials at meetings and conferences. The high political activity at meetings and conferences is a clear index of the great development of Party cadres, the over-all development of Party democracy, of criticism and self-criticism. ...

SPEECH BY COMRADE V. K. KLIMENKO, VOROSHILOVGRAD PROVINCE. (Pravda, Oct. 14, p. 4. 2300 words. Condensed text:) ... The requirement that Party members observe Party and state discipline, obligatory for all Party members alike, was greeted enthusiastically by the Party masses during discussion of the draft Party Statutes. ...

Some Communists have up to this time incorrectly assumed that we have two disciplines in the Party: one for rank-and-file members and another for the leadership. Such a lordly, un-Party-like notion of discipline leads to a situation in which some Communists fail to meet very important Party obligations, isolate themselves from the masses and violate the laws of the Party and the Soviet state. For a long time a certain Yanshin was director of the Krasny Luch Coal Trust. He abused the confidence vested in him, led a disgraceful personal life, embezzled state funds and padded his reports on coal extraction. It goes without saying that if criticism and self-criticism had been developed in this trust these things would have been disclosed much sooner. The province Party committee did not correct Yanshin in due time and was then obliged to dismiss him from administrative work and to call him strictly to account before the Party.

The struggle for steadfast observation of Party discipline requires comprehensive development of criticism from

below. The draft Party Statutes state that a Party member is obligated to expose and seek to eliminate shortcomings in work and to fight against bragging and being carried away by success in work. No matter what position a Party member holds, he must be exacting toward himself and others and implacable toward shortcomings. We frequently encounter leaders who merely propagandize and advocate the development of criticism but attempt to hold themselves aloof from criticism, and some have taken the path of outright suppression of criticism. ...

One of the very important duties of a Party member set forth in the draft revised Party Statutes is "to be truthful and honest before the Party and never permit concealment or distortion of truth." This requirement has found wide support in Party organizations. In ours, the Voroshilovgrad Party organization, there are still those leaders who put up with untruthful and dishonest conduct by some Communists, who tolerate shortcomings and mistakes and who indulge in bragging and self-satisfaction. This leads to deceiving the Party and becoming oblivious to public interests. Comrade Zheltukhin worked as director of the Sverdlovsk Coal Trust. By conniving with administrators in the Donets Basin Anthracite Coal Combine and in the U.S.S.R. Ministry of the Coal Industry he created an appearance of well-being in the trust. A checkup established that Comrade Zheltukhin was guilty of misrepresentation and dishonesty, having used deception to obtain a certificate for completing higher engineering and technical courses at the Donets Industrial Institute, though he had never studied there. ...

Our party enjoys the infinite trust and love of the people. In all their tasks the Soviet people take their own vanguard—the Communists—as a model. But certain Party members lead an incorrect mode of life, sometimes break off family ties without reason and do not concern themselves with raising their children. Therefore Communists proposed that a point be formulated on how a Communist should conduct himself in his personal behavior and private life.

Many Communists have proposed adding a point to the Party Statutes heightening the responsibility of Party organizations for supervising admission to the Party and for training Party candidates. In the Voroshilovgrad Province Party organization there are 6670 Party candidates, of whom 4577 have an overextended candidate status. This is indicative of serious shortcomings in the work of Party organizations, which still give insufficient help to Party candidates in their training for admission to Party membership. Hundreds of proposals introduced by Communists in the discussion of the new Party Statutes make it possible to generalize and utilize the tremendous organizational experience accumulated by Party organizations in work with candidates and members and make it possible to correct the shortcomings in this sphere. ...

SPEECH BY COMRADE M. T. YAKUBOV, AZERBAIDZHAN REPUBLIC. (Pravda, Oct. 14, pp. 4-5. 2300 words. Condensed text:) ... At meetings of primary Party organizations, at district meetings of the Party aktiv, at district, city and province Party conferences and at the recent 19th Congress of the Azerbaidzhan Communist Party discussion of the draft revised Party Statutes was very actively conducted by the Communists and demonstrated the growth of political awareness among the broad Party masses. More than 100,000 Communists, more than 90% of the Azerbaidzhan Party organization's membership, participated in meetings devoted to discussion of the All-Union Communist Party Central Committee's documents for the 19th Party Congress. About 40,000 Communists, more than one-third of the membership in the republic's Party organization, spoke in the discussions. ...

The meetings of Party organizations sharply criticized the situation in Party organizational and Party political work. Communists noted that many correct and good resolutions passed by Party organizations are executed poorly, that some Communists vote to adopt resolutions but do not work energetically to put them into practice.

The critical observations made by Communists were the basis of practical measures for eliminating the shortcomings disclosed, for improving Party organizational and political work and for raising the role of Party organizations in resolving political and economic tasks.

Many district Party conferences criticized the work of the Azerbaidzhan Oil Trust and Azerbaidzhan Offshore Oil Trust, the work of a number of ministries and republic organizations, district and city Party committees, the Baku Province Party Committee and the Azerbaidzhan Communist Party Central Committee and the work of individual Party, Soviet and economic administrative workers. The delegates noted in their speeches that some secretaries and directors of departments of the Baku city and province committees and of the Azerbaidzhan Communist Party Central Committee rarely visit enterprises, do not study the organization of Party political work and give poor assistance to secretaries of primary Party organizations in work within the Party.

Delegates at Party conferences in a number of Baku boroughs pointed out that the Azerbaidzhan Oil Trust and the Azerbaidzhan Offshore Oil Trust poorly supervise the work of oil fields and enterprises, particularly the work of their departments of prospecting, drilling and power engineering. These departments do not investigate why lagging enterprises fail to fulfill plans and do not give effective help to eliminate shortcomings. ...

Many Communists consider it necessary to supplement Article 3, Section I, of the Statutes, which states Party members' duties, with the injunction that one of the duties of a Party member is to raise his general education level. This addition is proposed because many Communists do not have adequate general education. Without steady work to raise their general educational and cultural level it is difficult to extend the knowledge of Marxism-Leninism and to cope with all the growing tasks in one or another sector of work.

Many Communists propose that there be included in Article 3 of the Statutes a special point dealing with the moral aspect of a Party member and that it be stated that a Party member is obliged to be exacting toward himself and his associates in observing the standards of Communist ethics, that immoral behavior of a Communist, which undermines his authority and discredits him, is incompatible with Party membership. This addition is necessitated also by the fact that, as Comrade Malenkov quite correctly observed in the Party Central Committee report, survivals of bourgeois ideology, of private-ownership psychology and ethics, do not die away by themselves; they are very tenacious and a resolute struggle must be waged against them. These survivals are particularly tenacious in the national republics, a fact which also indicates the weakness of our educational work. ...

We also consider it expedient to establish a compulsory length of Party membership of not less than five years for secretaries of district and city Party committees so that Communists with sufficient experience in Party work would be in charge of district and city Party organizations. This is all the more possible now that our party has numerous cadres of Party officials.

Further, it is essential to define more clearly the tasks and functions of Party groups under primary Party organizations in Article 54, Section VIII, of the draft revised Party Statutes. The practice of Party work shows that Party groups frequently do not know what to do and take unusual functions upon themselves; many district Party committees themselves do not have a proper idea of the tasks and functions of Party groups. The work of Party groups should be organized so that Party political and educational work among the masses of working people is decidedly improved, so that every Communist is kept at the center of their attention and his ideological and political growth and his vanguard role in production is assured. ...

SPEECH BY COMRADE A. ALIMOV, UZBEK REPUBLIC. (Pravda, Oct. 14, p. 5. 2300 words. Condensed text:) ... During the period since the 18th Party Congress, the Uzbek Party organization has grown considerably, has been strengthened organizationally and has come to the 19th Party Congress as a detachment of 142,000 members, united in 8000 Party units, rallied as never before around the Central Committee and the great Stalin, and ready to carry out any Party assignment. (Applause.) ...

Discussion of materials for the 19th Party Congress evoked unprecedented political activity on the part of Party members and candidates. The draft revised Statutes were discussed

in all primary Party units in the republic. More than 120,000 Communists attended meetings to discuss the draft revised Party Statutes and more than 36,000 members and candidates, or about 30% of those present at the meetings, participated in the discussion. The draft revised Party Statutes were also discussed at 177 city and district Party *aktiv* meetings, at ten province Party conferences and at the 11th Congress of the Uzbek Communist Party. There was an especially lively discussion of the Statutes in the Tashkent Party organization, where more than 14,000 Communists spoke. ...

The new Party Statutes further elevate the title of Communist Party member and increase the responsibility of Party organizations in the matter of admitting persons to the Party. If the work of the Uzbek Party organization is reviewed by these standards, it must be admitted that there are serious shortcomings and errors on the part of the Central Committee, province committees and many city and district committees in the supervision of admission to the Party. As a result of this our Party organization has grown largely through admitting employees, while an inadequate number of new Party members has come from among workers in leading occupations, leaders in collective farm production and representatives of the intelligentsia. Some Party organizations even now, after repeated warnings by the Party Central Committee, are following the mistaken path of seeking a large number of Party admissions, which directly damages the cause of qualitative strengthening of the Party ranks. We must eliminate this serious shortcoming more rapidly, remembering Comrade Stalin's directive that our party is a stronghold, the doors of which open only to the deserving.

The Uzbek Party organization has done considerable work in preparing and training cadres, particularly national cadres.

As early as 1925 Comrade Stalin, at a meeting of students of the Communist University of Working People of the East, set the task of developing national culture and establishing a broad network of courses and schools for both general education and professional-technical training in the native language in order to develop Soviet Party and economic [i.e., industrial, farm and professional] cadres from among the indigenous inhabitants.

We can report that this task of the Uzbek Party organization has been basically carried out. We have created large national cadres capable of successfully carrying out any tasks set by our party.

However, along with the achievements in the work of our Party organization, serious errors and shortcomings still occur in the selection, placement and training of cadres. Persons are frequently promoted to executive work who do not have the qualifications needed for guidance of the work entrusted to them and in some cases do not inspire political trust. ...

It should be pointed out that there are many Party members in the Uzbek Party organization who do not carry out Party assignments and who have a formal and passive approach to the fulfillment of Party decisions. We still have Party members among leading officials who think that there are two disciplines in the Party: one for rank-and-file Party members and the other for leaders. Therefore the Party organization met with the warmest response the demand contained in the draft revised Party Statutes that all Party members are strictly to observe Party and state discipline, binding upon all Party members alike. ...

In the course of discussing and studying the draft revised Statutes, the Uzbek Party organizations made a number of proposals, of which, it seems to me, the following merit attention:

1. The Communists request that the words "under the guidance of Lenin and Stalin" be added to the second paragraph of Article 1 of the Party Statutes, after the words "having organized***" Thus, this paragraph would read as follows: "Having organized, under the guidance of Lenin and Stalin, the alliance of the working class and working peasantry, the Communist Party," etc.

2. The Communists request that in the third paragraph of Article 1 of the Party Statutes the words "guided by the teachings of Marxism-Leninism" be added after the words "The chief tasks of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union***" and to include the words "in Soviet patriotism" after the words "to educate the members of society."

3. To change the lines concerning holding Party conferences stipulated in the draft of the new Statutes; namely: to hold district and city Party conferences once a year and province conferences and Congresses of the Communist Parties of Union republics once every two years. This will eliminate the unevenness in the timing of district, city, and province Party conferences and Congresses of republic Party organizations.

4. Experience has shown that in district Party organizations which unite less than 300 Communists it is expedient to convene not conferences but district report-and-election Party meetings. This year, for example, 26 district report-and-election Party meetings were held in Uzbekistan. Therefore we consider it desirable for the Statutes to stipulate this form of reports and elections in small district Party organizations and to state in Article 49, after the first paragraph: "Party conferences will not be held in district Party organizations numbering less than 300 Communists, but district report-and-election Party meetings will be convened."

5. In connection with the amalgamation of the collective farms, the tasks of guidance both on the part of the boards and the Party organizations of collective farms have become more complicated. This is particularly felt on cotton-growing collective farms. Therefore, we think it necessary to have a full-time secretary of the Party organization on collective farms where there are more than 50 Communists and to make suitable provision for this in the new Party Statutes. ...

SPEECH BY COMRADE I. I. AFONOV, KAZAKH REPUBLIC.
(Pravda, Oct. 14, p. 5. 1800 words. Condensed text:) ... Communists of the Kazakhstan Party organization, along with all the Party, enthusiastically discussed the draft revised Party Statutes. About 100,000 Communists spoke in the discussion of the Congress materials in the republic's 11,000 primary Party organizations. ...

Article 1 of the draft revised Party Statutes states that now one of the chief tasks of the Communist Party is the education of all members of society in the spirit of internationalism. This is a great and important task.

By faithfully carrying out the Leninist-Stalinist instructions on strengthening fraternal cooperation among peoples of the Soviet Union and by fighting all deviations from Leninism on the national question, our Party has created an indissoluble union of peoples, a monolithic multinational state which has no equal in the world. ...

Further, I wish to dwell on the question of guarding socialist property.

Socialist property, both state property and collective farm and cooperative property, is the basis of the Soviet social structure. To augment socialist property means to create one of the very important conditions for successful development of the socialist society along the road to communism. ...

The Leninist-Stalinist instructions on guarding socialist property are reflected in the Stalin Constitution, which describes persons who encroach on socialist property as enemies of the people. ...

Despite the repeated demands of the Party and government that an end be put to violations of the Collective Farm Statutes and that collective farms be guarded from infringement on their communal property, these violations exist in Kazakhstan at the present time.

There are still many instances of embezzlement and misappropriation of public funds in state and cooperative merchandising organizations. This causes considerable damage to the Soviet state.

One of the reasons for this situation is the tolerant attitude of certain Communists to plunderers of socialist property and the lack of proper struggle against them. Some Communists overlook instances of pilfering of socialist property. ...

Article 3 of the draft Party Statutes quite correctly points out: "A Party member has no right to conceal an unsatisfactory state of affairs or ignore wrongdoings which damage the interests of the Party and state. He who hinders a Party member from carrying out this duty must be severely punished as violating the will of the Party."

I consider it necessary to phrase the final sentence of Point h, Article 3 [above] approximately as follows: "He who

hinders a Party member from carrying out this duty, who ignores wrongdoings which damage the interests of the Party and state, who does not fight despoilers of socialist property, must be severely punished as violating the will of the Party." ...

SPEECH BY COMRADE A. I. KIRICHENKO, UKRAINE REPUBLIC. (Pravda, Oct. 14, p. 6. 2800 words. Condensed text:) ... The Ukraine Communist Party organization, which has a membership of more than 800,000 Communists, has discussed and unanimously approved the draft revised Party Statutes. ...

All those who spoke stressed the great importance of the revision made in the Statutes. The vital necessity of these revisions and additions is best confirmed by the fact that the stipulations in the draft Statutes have already had a tremendous influence on raising the level of political and organizational work, on all the activities of Party organizations and on strengthening work in the communist education of the working people. Communists are already now evaluating their work, the work of Party, Soviet and economic organizations and of their officials, on the basis of the requirements of the draft Statutes.

A more precise definition of the tasks of republic, territory, province, regional, city and district Party committees and primary Party organizations is very important. As Articles 43, 48, 51 and 57 of the draft Statutes note, these organizations see to undeviating fulfillment of the Party's directives, to developing criticism and self-criticism and educating Communists in an uncompromising attitude toward shortcomings; they direct the study of Marxism-Leninism by Party members and candidates and organize the communist training of the working people. These are the very questions which frequently slip out of the sight of certain Party organizations, as a result of which their guiding influence upon work at factories, in collective farms, in the districts and the provinces is weakened. For example, the Ternopol Province Party Committee over a short period has heard reports by the bureau of the backward Zolotniki District eight times, but despite the fact that the province committee, it would seem, has kept the district constantly under its guiding influence, work in the district has not been improved. Why? Because this influence was one-sided. The province committee has attempted to overcome the backwardness of the district without observing the principle of combining economic work with political work; the committee has remained aloof from questions of ideological training of Communists and political work among the masses. It overlooked the fact that criticism and self-criticism in this district are very poorly developed.

Experience in the work fully confirms the great importance of the injunction in Article 43 of the draft Statutes that province and territory committees and Central Committees of the Union republic Communist Parties should keep the Party Central Committee regularly informed and should submit reports on their activities to the Central Committee at specified times. Indeed, the role of informing the Party has been minimized in a number of local Party bodies; frequently it has a sporadic character, lacks objectivity, is very much smoothed over and does not deal deeply with the most important aspects of Party and political life. We came across such instances while checking up on the work of province, district and city Party committees. For example, the secretary of the Bryukhovichi District Committee in Lvov Province pictured everything in a rosy light in his reports to the province committee. His reports were full of such expressions as "done on a high level," "made new progress," "attained outstanding successes." A checkup by the Ukraine Communist Party Central Committee showed that this secretary covered up the poor work of the district Party committee and his own unworthy conduct with his pompous phrases. It was necessary to dismiss him and expel him from the Party for this. This instance indicates once again that province committees pay little attention to checking on information.

Regular reports to the Central Committee will increase responsibility and discipline in Party organizations, will improve the checkup on execution of Party directives, will help disseminate helpful experience in Party work and will have a

good influence on raising the level of all Party organizational work.

Communists welcomed with great satisfaction the Stalin thesis in the draft Statutes of a single discipline for all Party members without exception. Communists sharply criticized and condemned officials who try to claim a special position in the Party and try to remain aloof from criticism and Soviet laws. At Party conferences there was sharp criticism of certain Party executives and officials of ministries and investigation agencies who show a lenient attitude toward violators of Party and state discipline of this kind. ...

In the course of discussion of the draft Statutes Communists of Ukraine Party organizations expressed biting criticism of officials who advocate and propagandize criticism in words while in deed they stifle criticism coming from below, by one means or other; they exposed the careerists, bureaucrats, self-seekers and people still among us who play clever with the Party. The new Statutes will be of great assistance in correcting those executives who have mistaken ideas about criticism and self-criticism, who do not set an example in developing criticism and who create an appearance of the existence of criticism where there is none.

It happens that at a plenary session or a city Party aktiv meeting there is an absence of criticism of the city committee, but the secretary of the city committee gets up and says: "The criticism directed at the city Party committee was correct. All the necessary measures will be taken by the committee. The criticism has helped us. The city committee will draw conclusions from the criticism, etc." The chairman of the city [Soviet] executive committee repeats the words of the city [Party] committee secretary: "All criticism directed at the city Party committee applies equally to the city executive committee." Instances of this kind have taken place in the work of officials of the Belaya Tserkov city committee in Kiev Province.

There was unanimous approval by all Communists also of the section of the draft Statutes which raises the responsibility of Party organizations for training Party candidates and the responsibility of the candidates themselves for their training for admission to the Party. The criticism in Comrade Khrushchev's report of shortcomings in work with Party candidates fully applies to the Ukraine Party organization, particularly to the Poltava Party organization, in which 82%, or 3469 candidates have overextended candidate status, and also to the Kiev Party organization, in which 76%, or 7782 candidates have overextended candidate status. This is evidence of the insufficient attention of province committees and the Ukraine Communist Party Central Committee to work with candidates, a fact which the all-Union Party Central Committee correctly points out to us. ...

Extensive discussion of the documents published before the Congress helped us reveal substantial shortcomings in Party, economic and ideological work. Party organizations regard it as their first duty not to be carried away by successes, to have an irreconcilable attitude toward shortcomings and to eliminate them rapidly.

Comrades, our great leader and teacher, Comrade Stalin, arms the Party and Soviet people ideologically in the struggle for the triumph of communism. Comrade Stalin's new work, "Economic Problems of Socialism in the U.S.S.R.," is of inestimable importance for Marxist-Leninist theory, for all practical Party activity. Armed with this brilliant work by Comrade Stalin and with the historic decisions of the 19th Congress, the Ukraine Party organizations will devote all their strength and energy to building a communist society, will ensure the undeviating observance of the demands of the Statutes by every Party member, will raise the level of Party work and in every way develop criticism and self-criticism and will carry on a merciless struggle with the Ukrainian bourgeois nationalists—the mortal enemies of the Ukrainian people. ...

SPEECH BY COMRADE K. P. ZHUKOV, VORONEZH PROVINCE. (Pravda, Oct. 14, p. 6. 2500 words. Condensed text:) ... The revisions made in the draft Statutes are required by life itself.

We know that our ... and guards the stability of its Leninist-Stalinist ... party has never turned its

Statutes into dogma, into a lifeless scheme. It has changed and developed the Statutes, depending upon the historic tasks which were presented by various stages in the struggle for the triumph of communism.

The revisions now made in the Party Statutes are directed at further strengthening the Party's guiding role.

The Voronezh Province Party organization unanimously supports and approves the draft revised Party Statutes. Approximately 20,000 Communists spoke on the draft revised Statutes at Party meetings, at district and city aktiv meetings and conferences, and at the province conference. ...

A considerable number of those who spoke, expressing their opinion on Article 2 of the Statutes, which states that "any working person may become a member of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union," proposed that the word "any" be omitted and the words "a progressive and politically aware working person" be substituted. This proposal is indicative of the Communists' desire to guard the Party from penetration of its ranks by persons unworthy of bearing the lofty title of Party member. Our party, Comrade Stalin teaches, is a stronghold, the doors of which open only to the deserving.

Communists also proposed giving certain other more precise definitions and making additions to individual points in the draft Statutes. It was proposed in particular to point out that a Communist should be truthful and honest not only before the Party, as the draft states, but also before the socialist state. Unfortunately we still come across cases in which some Communist administrators tolerate padded figures in reports on plan fulfillment and conceal instances of inefficient and incomplete utilization of production capacity and violation of agrotechnical requirements. This greatly harms the state. Therefore, it is essential to stress in the Statutes that dishonesty of Communists before the Party and state and deceiving the Party and state are very serious evils, incompatible with membership in the Party.

In many speeches there was reference to the need for intensifying the struggle to safeguard and strengthen socialist property, as the firm economic base for socialist society. Communists pointed out that not only he who plunders public property but also he who condones this cannot be a Party member. Intensified guarding of socialist property and safeguarding public wealth are sacred obligations of every Communist.

In 1952 the province Party committee disclosed many cases of theft and embezzlement of state and, particularly, collective farm and cooperative property. It is relevant in this connection to remark that the thefts and embezzlement take place in the majority of cases precisely where officials are careless and lax and thus wink at rogues, crooks and other antisocial elements. There have been such practices in some districts of the province, where officials have proved incapable of firmly upholding the interests of the state and have begun to conciliate and conceal thieves of state and collective farm funds. ...

The German fascist invaders caused tremendous damage, amounting to 13,000,000,000 rubles, in the temporary occupation of our province. In a short time the province's national economy has not only been fully restored; the prewar level of industry and agriculture has been surpassed. ...

At the same time, there is poor fulfillment in the province of Party and government tasks in further raising the yields of crops and the meat and dairy yields of communal animal husbandry; the construction of housing and certain industrial installations is done slowly; a number of industrial enterprises frequently do not carry out state plans. The reason for a great deal of this is that some Party committees do not fight persistently enough for fulfillment of Party decisions and do poor organizational and political work among the masses. ...

Comrade Khrushchev correctly pointed out in his report that the formal, passive attitude of some Communists toward putting Party decisions into practice is a great evil against which the Party should struggle, for such an attitude weakens the effectiveness of the Party's ranks. Vigorous participation by Communists in carrying out Party decisions and developing criticism and self-criticism from below is the most effective means of check to the masses on the work of their leaders and administrative bodies, a means of exposing and

eliminating shortcomings and mistakes in their work.

The draft revised Party Statutes, after receiving the force of Party law, will raise even higher the vanguard role of Party members in building communism and will promote an even more extensive development of self-criticism and criticism.

The reports by Comrades Malenkov and Khrushchev correctly pointed out that it is necessary to carry on a determined struggle against those who hamper the development of criticism, that the suppression of criticism is a very great evil and that he who suppresses criticism and replaces it with bragging and complacency cannot be a Party member. It is impossible also not to agree with the indisputable statement that in practice there are still cases of incorrect selection and placement of personnel. We still have frequent cases of one or another official being guided not by Bolshevik principles of selecting personnel, but by other considerations and, in the name of friendship, personal loyalties or kinship, sacrificing the interests of the work, promoting to administrative positions people who are untrained and sometimes not worthy of trust. Delegates at many Party conferences remarked correctly that the governing Party bodies and their officials consult very little with primary Party organizations in deciding personnel questions. An end must be put to such practices. "It is the duty of a Party member," the draft revised Party Statutes state, "at any post entrusted to him by the Party, to carry out without fail the Party directives on correct selection of cadres with regard to political and working qualifications."

The requirement in the draft of the new Statutes of comprehensive strengthening of Party and state discipline applies to Communists in all sectors of the Party and state apparatus. It should be observed that matters of discipline are also not altogether satisfactory among officials of certain ministries. Take such a question as that of supplying enterprises with raw materials, semimanufactured goods and various parts. There is a state plan and it must be law. However, some ministries violate this plan. Thus, through the fault of some officials of the Ministry of the Communications Equipment Industry there are stoppages in supplies to the Voronezh Electric Signal and Radio Parts Factories. There are also similar instances in the Ministry of the Automobile and Tractor Industry. In order to prevent disruption of the fulfillment of plans, the province Party committee was obliged to apply for assistance to the Party Central Committee and it was only after its intervention that the ministry took the necessary measures.

In increasing Party and state discipline, we should above all strengthen it among executive officials, for a lack of discipline on their part is frequently reflected in the work of enterprises and prevents the staffs from carrying out their duties. ...

SPEECH BY COMRADE G. A. BORKOV, SARATOV PROVINCE. (Pravda, Oct. 15, p. 3. 2700 words. Condensed text:) ... Comrades, at the end of 1948 the Party Central Committee heard a report on the work of the Saratov Province Party Committee. The Central Committee noted that the province Party committee was making serious errors and pronounced its work unsatisfactory. The Central Committee pointed out that the province Party committee's work was completely unsatisfactory in the selection, placement and training of administrative personnel, in educating them in strict observance of Party and state discipline and intolerance of shortcomings in work.

The Party Central Committee pointed out to the province Party committee that it was giving inadequate attention to the improvement of work of primary Party units, to increasing their role and responsibility for work of industrial enterprises, collective and state farms and M.T.S. The Central Committee particularly emphasized that criticism and self-criticism was poorly developed in the Saratov Party organization, as a result of which existing shortcomings were not disclosed or were not taken for correction in time. The Party Central Committee instructed the province Party committee to improve the supervision of the development of all branches of the economy and culture of the province, to rectify the Party organization and the broad masses of workers, collective farmers and intellectuals in the struggle to speed up the building of a better life in agriculture and for fulfillment and complete fulfillment of state plans in industry and transport.

The province Party organization enthusiastically set about the tasks set us by the Party Central Committee. With the constant help of the Party Central Committee, the government and Comrade Stalin personally, the Party organization has managed to make some improvement in its Party organizational and Party political work. During this time the province Party organization has increased in size, has grown stronger ideologically and has come to our 19th Party Congress rallied as never before around the Leninist-Stalinist Party Central Committee and around our leader and teacher Comrade Stalin. (Applause.)

The province Party organization's ideological growth and unity of ranks have not been slow in having an effect on improvement of industry and agriculture in the province. Our industrial enterprises and transport are now working much better, more evenly and more economically. Today not only Saratov gas but also Saratov oil is flowing uninterruptedly to the capital of our motherland, Moscow, and to other cities of the country. The fixed capital of industrial enterprises has grown quantitatively and changed qualitatively. While 70% of industrial output in prerevolutionary Saratov was produced by small-scale, mainly food enterprises, now 65% of the total industrial output of Saratov is produced by machine-building and instrument-building enterprises.

The sown area on the province's collective and state farms, which reached the prewar level in 1952, has increased by 200,000 additional hectares under spring wheat, the basic food crop of the Volga area, 165,000 additional hectares under annual grasses and 45,000 additional hectares under perennial grasses. In the four years which have passed since the issuing of the famous decree of the U.S.S.R. Council of Ministers and Party Central Committee on the plan for transforming nature, 113,000 hectares of trees have been planted on collective and state farms and in state shelter belts.

Improved farming has made it possible for collective and state farms to increase crop yields and the gross harvest of grain and technical crops. In 1950 and 1951 the province fulfilled the state grain delivery plans ahead of schedule. And now, preparing to meet our 19th Party Congress in worthy fashion, the collective and state farms fulfilled the state grain delivery plan Sept. 30, giving the state 17,000,000 more poods of grain than last year and 24,000,000 more poods of the most valuable food crop, Volga wheat. Communal animal husbandry, which this year has considerably exceeded the prewar level in all kinds of cattle, is continuously developing on the province's collective and state farms. ...

More than 44,000 Communists took part in the province discussion of the draft directives for the new five-year plan for development of the U.S.S.R. and of the draft revised Party Statutes in the meetings of primary Party units alone. Particularly lively discussions were held in Party meetings on the draft revised Party Statutes. The Communists unanimously approved the draft of the new Party Statutes and noted that this document is filled with the great Stalinist wisdom which gives the Party the power not only to understand the present but to foresee the future. ...

At the Party meetings and conferences and in the province press many comments and additions to the draft revised Party Statutes were proposed. I will cite some of them.

In one of the Party meetings in the Rovnoye Party organization, the Communists expressed the desire that the draft of the new Party Statutes should include a point from the old Party Statutes which says that the Party is guided in its work by the advanced, revolutionary theory of Marxism-Leninism.

In his speech at the Saratov city Party conference Comrade Belyayev, Secretary of the Stalin Borough Party Committee of Saratov, also proposed that these words be added to Article 1 of the Party Statutes: "In all its work the Party is guided by the teaching of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin."

At the October Borough Party conference the delegates proposed that Article 2 of the Statutes, which defines who can be a member of the Party, add the words: "conscious, active and devoted to the cause of communism." It was suggested that it be mentioned here that a Party member pays the established membership dues every month, since there are many Communists who, by their own carelessness, do not pay their membership dues on time.

The suggestion was made at the Volsk city Party conference that the point be added to Article 3 of the Statutes: "Every Party member is obliged to contribute actively to the defense capacity of our motherland."

The delegates to the Kirov Borough Party conference suggested that it be pointed out that a careless, negligent attitude toward socialist property on the part of Communists is incompatible with membership in the Party. ...

In our opinion the many suggestions made by Communists concerning periods of convening province Party conferences and plenary sessions of province, territory, regional, city and district Party conferences merit attention. Actually, it is not practical to convene province, territory and regional Party conferences every year and a half, since in such cases the district and city conferences will have to be held once a year and then again six months later. It would be better to convene the province conferences every two years. Plenary sessions of province and territory committees should continue to be convened every three months and plenary sessions of city and district committees every two months, that is, the convening of the Party aktiv should alternate with the convening of plenary sessions of district and city Party committees. ...

SPEECH BY COMRADE F. F. KUZNETSOV, MOSCOW. (Pravda, Oct. 15, p. 3. 1900 words. Condensed text:) ... The Central Committee of our party devotes special attention to the strengthening of the local Party organizations, including Party organizations and political bodies of the Soviet Army. The Party has done a tremendous job in this sphere. The Central Committee of our party, both in war and peace, is tirelessly concerned with strengthening the army's Party organizations, with their close ties with the soldiers. During the war the Party sent more than 1,500,000 Communists to the front, in the ranks of the active army. Communists were on the most decisive sectors of the front; they explained to the soldiers the meaning and aims of our just and liberating war; they imbued them with love for the motherland; they implanted fearlessness, courage and high discipline; they cemented the army; they were the first to go into battle for the motherland, for Stalin, drawing all the soldiers after them. Therefore it is not accidental that of the 11,000 soldiers who were awarded the lofty title of Hero of the Soviet Union more than 7500 were Communists.

The personal example of Communists and the great educational work of Party organizations and political bodies was one of the most important conditions for achieving victory over the enemy. ...

During the great patriotic war the Party organizations of the Soviet Army grew immeasurably, both ideologically and organizationally, and were enriched by experience in political work under various conditions of the war situation. This experience is of inestimable importance in our present-day work of instilling high moral and combat qualities in Soviet soldiers. ...

The Central Committee of our party manifests constant concern that the political organs and Party organizations see to skillful execution of this task. The Central Committee gives constant assistance to the political apparatus and Party organizations; it directs their forces toward improving the quality of combat and political training, toward further raising the combat readiness of the Soviet Army.

Given the present level of military science and military technology, it is impossible to meet successfully the tasks of political support of the combat training of troops without thorough military training of political workers. In connection with this, the system of training political workers in the army has been changed. Today political workers for units of the Soviet Army are trained together with the whole command personnel and receive their military training on a par with them.

The Central Committee and Comrade Stalin teaches us to be attentive to and heedful of people, cadres, and to value them and train them carefully in practical work. Some of our political bodies and Party organizations have made mistakes, have condoned shortcomings in educational work and in some cases have had a negligent attitude in investigating misdemeanors of Communists. The Party Central Committee has corrected us, has shown us our mistakes, and this has been a good lesson for us. ...

All forms of Party political and cultural-educational work are subordinated to the tasks of the ideological training of military cadres. A thorough system of Marxist-Leninist training has been organized in the army and embraces all officers. Everyone studies, from the platoon commander right up to the military chiefs. Political studies are held regularly among privates and sergeants. This form of political education of soldiers is bringing good results in inculcating high political consciousness in our privates and sergeants. There are 135 universities of Marxism-Leninism in the army, and a broad network of Party schools, political schools and circles has been set up.

It is important to note that, in contrast to prewar years, more of the commanding personnel have begun to study in the system of Party education. Commanders comprise 74% of those who have completed their studies at the [army's] evening universities of Marxism-Leninism in the past two years.

Political bodies and Party organizations of the Soviet Army have every possibility for improving ideological education among the troops.

Comrade Malenkov pointed out in the report to the Party Central Committee that many Party organizations underestimate ideological work, and in a number of organizations it is neglected. This applies fully to the work of some political bodies and Party organizations of the army. Much still remains to be done to eliminate defects in the ideological training of cadres, and to raise still higher the level of the soldiers' political consciousness.

The draft revised Party Statutes raise with full acuteness the question of increasing the political vigilance of Party members. This demand applies especially to us workers in the army and reminds political bodies, Party organizations and every Communist of their first duty—to increase their vigilance, strengthen the fighting capacity of the army and oppose manifestations of carelessness, inattentiveness and complacency. The training of all personnel in the spirit of high vigilance is a most important task of political bodies and Party organizations of the Soviet Army. ...

The Young Communist League organization plays a tremendous role in the life of the Soviet Army. As is correctly noted in the draft Statutes, the Young Communist League is the active aide of the Party in all state and economic work. The Young Communist League is a great force in the army. We have a considerable number of regiments in which more than 80% of all privates and sergeants are Young Communist League members. Nevertheless, there are shortcomings in the work of guidance of the Young Communist League.

The report-and-election Party meetings in the army at the beginning of 1952 showed that many Young Communist League organizations were not receiving the necessary leadership and help from Party organizations and political bodies. We have to make a real improvement in this field of work.

I must also speak of the great importance of the point in the draft Statutes on the obligation of the political bodies to maintain close contact with local Party committees. Experience shows that constant close contact between political agencies and local Party committees enriches the political workers in the army with organizational experience and helps the cause of raising the fighting capacity of the army. The active participation of first secretaries of province and territory committees and of the Central Committees of the Communist Parties of Union republics in the work of the regional military councils contributes greatly to strengthening our contact with local Party organizations. This has extremely favorable results. Local Party officials help us improve our work by their advice and their criticism of our shortcomings.

Comrades! The draft revised Statutes discussed at the Congress are a most important historic document. The Statutes will contribute to further strengthening our party ranks.

Permit me to assure the Congress that the political bodies and Party organizations of the Soviet Army will work at training Communists in strict keeping with the new Party Statutes and will achieve greater successes in military and political training.

Long live our great Communist Party!

Long live our dearly beloved leader and great commander, Comrade Stalin! (Stormy applause.)

SPEECH BY COMRADE P. F. CHEPLAKOV, SAKHALIN PROVINCE. (Pravda, Oct. 15, pp. 3-4. 3200 words. Condensed text:) ... The Sakhalin Party organization is still young. It still has much to do in carrying out the instructions of Comrade Stalin and the directives of the Party Central Committee and the Soviet government. The shortcomings in the work of Party organizations noted in Comrade Malenkov's report are also characteristic of our Party organization. The Communists of Sakhalin Province will do everything necessary to eliminate shortcomings in Party work quickly and to fulfill the tasks set them.

Approving the revisions in the Party Statutes, the Communists of the Sakhalin Party organization particularly welcomed the additions and more precise definitions increasing Party members' responsibilities and obligations, because there are still comrades in our organization who do not meet their lofty obligations properly.

The point in the Statutes concerning the need for Party members' strict observance of Party and state discipline was warmly approved, since there are still persons in our organizations who violate Party discipline and thus cause harm to the Party. We have many instances of an incorrect attitude to criticism and suppression of criticism. Therefore, unanimous approval greeted the point in the Statutes concerning the development of self-criticism, particularly criticism from below, concerning the encouragement of criticism in all possible ways and the expulsion from the Party of persons who suppress criticism.

We have instances of deceit, dishonesty to the Party and state and deception, which do great harm to the Party and state. The Statutes demand honesty and truthfulness toward the Party on the part of every Communist.

Comrade Stalin teaches that, while capitalist encirclement exists, the enemy has sent and will send spies and saboteurs into our country and that we must constantly increase our revolutionary vigilance. Especially high vigilance is demanded of Communists and all Soviet people working in the border areas of our country. Unfortunately, all kinds of gullible persons, chatters, heedless and dissolute people, who are a windfall for American-British intelligence, are still to be found among us. They thoughtlessly mention facts and information which constitute state and Party secrets and these facts and information may fall into the hands of the enemy. It is clear that it is necessary to carry on a never-slackening struggle against such people. Communists of the province supported with great joy the inclusion of the point in the Party Statutes on the strictest guarding of Party and state secrets, on the need for increasing political vigilance, mindful that vigilance is needed on every sector. Disclosing Party or state secrets is a crime before the Party and incompatible with Party membership.

The Communists of our province consider it desirable to introduce certain additions and supplements to the draft text of the revised Statutes on certain questions of Party organizational work; these, in my opinion, merit attention. For example, it was proposed that plenary sessions of city and district Party committees be convened not once a month, as stipulated in the draft Statutes, but once every six weeks, since frequent convening of plenary sessions, particularly in territorially dispersed areas, would hamper the work of Party organizations and could have a bad effect on the efficient work of Party agencies and on checkups on fulfillment of both their resolutions and resolutions of higher Party bodies. Considering that our cadres have grown considerably, the Communists think it necessary to establish a period not of three but of five years of Party membership for secretaries of city and district Party committees and of seven years for secretaries of province and territory Party committees and of the Central Committees of Communist Parties of Union republics.

It would also be well to state briefly in the new Statutes the rights and duties of primary Party units in enterprises and institutions.

The names of many Communists in our and other organizations are not taken off the records when they leave and it is a long time before they are registered at the organizations where they have gone. It would be correct to state in the Party Statutes that Communists who leave an organization and whose names are not taken off the records and put on the [new] Party records within six months are considered automatically dropped from the Party.

Comrade Zimyanin, of Belorussia, and Comrade Borkov, of Saratov, who spoke in the discussions, have suggested that the period for convening province and territory Party conferences and Union republic Congresses be set not at intervals of a year and a half but of two years. I support this proposal for the same reasons.

Comrades! Sakhalin Province is the most easterly province and the only island province in the Soviet Union, on the far Pacific borders of our motherland; it includes Sakhalin Island and the Kurile Islands within its administrative boundaries; it was formed as a result of the victory of the Soviet people and the Soviet Army over the Japanese imperialists. ...

The Party Central Committee and the Soviet government have paid attention to every request of the province Party and state organizations on all questions of economic, political and cultural work and on matters of the material and cultural needs of the working people. We inhabitants of Sakhalin feel the fatherly care of Comrade Stalin for us at all times and in everything; for this we express to him our heartfelt, profound, Bolshevik gratitude. (Prolonged applause.)

The Party and government spare nothing for Sakhalin Province. First-class Soviet equipment has been assigned us for all branches of the economy, and immense sums are allotted for it every year. During the five years the province has existed—1947 to 1951—capital investments in its economy have amounted to several billion rubles. The entire country has taken and is taking an eager part in building up Sakhalin Province. ...

The population of South Sakhalin and the Kurile Islands is much larger today than it was before their liberation. The province Party organization has grown and gained strength.

Carrying out the instructions of the Party Central Committee, the Party organization and the working people of our province quickly restored the enterprises which were put out of commission by the Japanese Samurai before their defeat by units of the Soviet Army; they have done a big job in reconstructing primitive and technically backward coal mines, fisheries, paper mills, power plants, lumber camps, seaports and railroad transport, and in equipping them with modern Soviet machinery. Dozens of new industrial enterprises have been built. Local food, meat and dairy and bakery industries have been established. Collective farms and collective fisheries, state farms, M.T.S. and motorized fishing stations have been organized. New workers' settlements, well planned cities and district centers have been and are being built.

There are 594 schools in our province now. There is a branch of the U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences, a teachers' institute, 11 secondary and specialized educational institutions, 13 factory vocational and trade schools. There are three theaters, a philharmonic society, a regional museum, a planetarium, 22 houses of culture, 228 clubs and reading rooms, 166 libraries and 22 motion picture installations. Twenty-nine newspapers are published, with per-issue circulation [periodicity not stated] of 163,000. The province has 80 hospitals and 206 medical centers, at which 1026 doctors are employed. ...

The steady growth of the province's economy can be seen if only from the fact that in the five years since the formation of Sakhalin Province the gross industrial output has increased 63.2%. Sakhalin supplies the country with millions of tons of coal, hundreds of thousands of tons of oil, millions of centners of fish, millions of cans of various foods, tens of thousands of tons of paper and many other products. Together with the growth of the economy, outstanding cadres of Stakhanovites—the golden fund of our province—have grown up among us. In the period from 1948 to 1952, 7994 persons were awarded Orders and medals of the Soviet Union.

By the efforts of the Soviet people and our party and state, Sakhalin and Kurile Islands—an integral and organic part of the great Soviet Union—have been transformed into a strong and reliable bulwark of the Soviet regime on the Far Eastern borders. But we recognize that all that has been done is only a beginning. There are many flaws and gaps in the work of our Party organization in supervising economic and cultural construction and in Party organizational and Party political work; we will work to remove the flaws and gaps, sparing neither forces nor energy. The new Party Statutes will arm our Party organization, will help mobilize all the Communists' knowledge

and talents for successful fulfillment of the tasks facing Sakhalin Province.

Comrades! At a time when the American, British, French and other interventionists are spilling blood on the fields of Korea, Vietnam and Malaya and are exterminating their freedom-loving peoples, when the camp of imperialism is arming furiously and the American billionaires are restoring the military might of Western Germany and Japan and are preparing to kindle the flames of a third world war, the working people of Sakhalin Province, like all Soviet people, will heighten their revolutionary vigilance, will strengthen the defense of the country and, together with the troops of the Soviet Army, Navy and border guards, will do everything necessary to prevent both the American and the Japanese aggressors and other enemies of our motherland from disturbing the peaceful labors of the Soviet people building communism in the Far East. ...

Long live our mighty, invincible Communist Party!

Long live the great organizer of the victory of communism, the brilliant pilot of our party, the great leader and teacher, our own Comrade Stalin! (Stormy applause.)

SPEECH BY COMRADE S. A. VAGAPOV, BASHKIR AUTONOMOUS REPUBLIC. (Pravda, Oct. 15, p. 4. 1700 words. Condensed text:)

... During the past decade Bashkiria has become one of the country's highly developed industrial areas, with a great socialist agriculture. In 1951 the republic's gross industrial output increased 5.3 times in comparison with 1938. During the period between the 18th and 19th Party Congresses new branches of industry, such as the chemical, machine-building, textile, coal and some others, equipped with up-to-date Soviet machinery, have been established in Bashkiria. The oil industry has been especially strongly developed. Every year the Bashkir oil workers fulfill the plans for oil extraction. During the war and in the postwar period new oil deposits have been opened up and developed in the republic; high speeds have been achieved in oil drilling; oil refineries have been built and put into operation. Together with the growth of the oil industry, large cadres of oil workers have grown up among us. With the fraternal help of the Russian and Azerbaidzhan people, the Bashkir oil workers have mastered complex oil machinery and are now themselves rendering aid to oil workers of other fraternal republics and provinces.

The establishment and development of oil and other branches of industry have changed the face of Bashkiria. Within a short time new cities and workers' settlements have arisen and grown, as well as electric power stations, factories, plants, railroad lines and highways. ...

Bashkiria is also a major agricultural area of the country. Owing to the constant aid of the Party and government, the republic's agriculture has achieved certain successes. Every year the output of agricultural products increases and the proportion of marketed production in agriculture and animal husbandry grows. Every year collective and state farms increase the deliveries of agricultural products to the state. At the same time, it must be said that Bashkiria's agriculture still lags behind the tasks set it by the Party and government. The most serious shortcoming is the nonfulfillment of state plans for raising crop yields and for increasing the meat and dairy yields of communal animal husbandry on collective and state farms. Shortcomings also exist in the matter of organizational and economic strengthening of collective farms. At present the territory Party organization is directing its main efforts toward removing these shortcomings and reaching the point where our agriculture will completely fulfill the tasks outlined by the new five-year plan. ...

Discussion of the Party Central Committee's materials for the 19th Party Congress evoked a great wave of political and production activity. Suffice it to say that 40,000 members and candidates of the Bashkir Territory Party organization actively participated in the discussion of these materials. ...

During the discussion of the documents it was suggested that Party organizations of amalgamated collective farms having not less than 30 Party members and candidates have full-time secretaries. This suggestion is based on the fact that, as a result of the amalgamation of collective farms, the primary Party units have grown in size and their responsibility for the organizational and economic strengthening of collective farms

and the communist education of collective farmers has increased. At present the secretaries of collective farm Party organizations generally hold the position of vice-chairmen of collective farms or other management posts. Sometimes this hampers the initiative and independence of the secretaries of Party organizations, prevents them from being independent of the collective farm directors and at times creates certain obstacles to the solution of various questions.

Certain amalgamated collective farms of our republic have full-time secretaries of Party organizations, and it must be said that Party political work has noticeably improved on these collective farms. The Party organizations have begun to be more successful in meeting the tasks facing them; they have waged a more decisive struggle against violators of the Collective Farm Statutes and have headed the struggle for organizational and economic strengthening of collective farms.

During the discussion of the draft revised Party Statutes a number of Communists drew attention to the question of the periods of holding plenary sessions and Party conferences. It was pointed out in some speeches that the frequent convening of plenary sessions would center the attention of the Party committees' staffs mainly on matters of preparing plenary sessions. This could weaken the vital and concrete guidance and help to local organizations. Because of this, Communists proposed that plenary sessions of district and city committees be held not once a month but once every two months, and plenary sessions of province and territory committees once every three months. As for province and territory Party conferences it was proposed that they be held once every two years. ...

SPEECH BY COMRADE S.S. RUMYANTSEV, VELIKIYE LUKI PROVINCE. (Pravda, Oct. 15, pp. 4-5. 2000 words. Condensed text:) ... During the war the Hitlerite occupiers—fosterlings of the American imperialists—carried out their "scorched earth" policy in temporarily occupied Soviet territory, particularly in Velikiye Luki Province, reducing our cities, collective and state farms and Machine and Tractor Stations to heaps of ruins and ashes and burning more than 2000 villages to the ground. According to data of the State Extraordinary Commission, the damage inflicted on the economy of Velikiye Luki Province by the fascist marauders totaled more than 22,000,000,000 rubles. Now, in a short period, Velikiye Luki Province has been reborn: where once were ruins and ashes are new cities and villages. More than 60,000 homes and many farm buildings have been erected on the province's collective farms since the war. The collective and state farms and M.T.S. and almost all of the industrial installations and cultural institutions of the province have been completely restored.

On Nov. 1, 1945, the Soviet government adopted a decree on the restoration of 15 ancient Russian cities, including Velikiye Luki. We are happy to report today to the 19th Party Congress and to Comrade Stalin that with the help of the entire Soviet people the working people of Velikiye Luki Province are successfully carrying out this decree. The ancient city of Velikiye Luki is becoming more beautiful and well built than before the war. ...

Guided by the injunctions of Comrade Stalin, our party has accomplished much in selecting and training cadres. However, we still have Party members who take a formal, passive attitude toward implementing Party decisions. It is this which is largely responsible for the fact that some Party members at the head of industrial enterprises, collective and state farms and M.T.S. do not carry out the state plans and goals set for these enterprises and collective farms. In the case of our province, this applies to certain officials in the lumber industry and light industry, to certain heads of construction organizations and to some agricultural officials.

The local Party agencies—the province Party committee and district Party committees, which have not yet assured correct combining of Party organizational and political work with economic work and are not doing enough to train Communists in high responsibility for fulfillment of the decisions of the Party and government and of state plans—are of course primarily responsible for the shortcomings in the work of industry and agriculture.

As Comrade Malenkov pointed out in his report, organizational Party work and checkups on the fulfillment of Party and

government directives still constitute a weak point in our work. The attention of the Velikiye Luki Province committee was called to this shortcoming back in 1951 in a decree of the Party Central Committee, and we have been justly criticized for the same thing at the district, city and province Party conferences.

The Velikiye Luki Party organization will take every action to eliminate this very serious shortcoming. In this connection we would like to raise the question of also increasing the responsibility of Party members who are administrative officials in certain Union and republic ministries. Some ministries and agencies are not satisfactorily carrying out the decisions of the Party and government about helping the province to restore the economy and culture. I shall cite one example. Last year the government adopted a decision envisaging extensive help in the development of industry in the province. In particular, the U.S.S.R. Ministry of Light Industry was to build a linen combine, a leather and footwear combine and four linen mills. During 1953 and 1954 the U.S.S.R. Ministry of the Building Materials Industry is to build a silicate brick plant with a capacity of 60,000,000 bricks a year, while the U.S.S.R. Ministry of Agriculture was charged with building a motor repair plant and the Ministry of Railroads was entrusted with developing improvement work and housing construction in the area served by the Velikiye Luki Railroad Junction.

These ministries and their administrative officials have not yet done everything necessary to carry out the government's decision. We feel it relevant in this connection to raise the question of increasing the responsibility of Party members who are officials in the ministries and agencies for the fulfillment of Party and government decisions. The Ministers themselves, their Deputies and the heads of the chief administrations should exercise control over the implementation of decisions. ...

Although they unanimously approved the new draft Statutes, Communists introduced many additions and amendments in discussing them. I will dwell on a few of them.

The proposal has been made that Section I of the draft Statutes include a new article requiring Communists to wage a constant and persistent struggle against vestiges of capitalism in the people's minds—to combat an incorrect attitude toward labor and toward socialist property, to combat the improper conduct of individual Communists in their everyday lives, etc.

The political awareness of Communists has now increased considerably. Unfortunately, however, there are still instances of individual Communists violating labor discipline and the Collective Farm Statutes and committing acts which discredit the title of Party members. This is why it would be advisable to include in the new Party Statutes a statement that the violation of labor discipline and the harming of socialist property are incompatible with the title of Party member.

One more observation: concerning the periods for convening province, city and district conferences and plenary sessions of Party committees. We would consider it desirable to convene province and territory Party conferences once every two years, but to convene city and district Party conferences the same as at present, i.e., once a year.

Comrade Khrushchev pointed out in his report that more frequent convening of plenary sessions of Party committees activates their work and strengthens the ties of Party committees with the aktiv, with the Communists. In principle this is entirely correct. As for the specific periods involved, however, we have the following reservation. Much time is required to prepare for every plenary session, and in connection with this we consider it expedient to convene plenary sessions of territory and province Party committees once every three months and plenary sessions of city and district Party committees once every one and one-half months, i.e., to retain the periods provided in the present Party Statutes.

And the last question: concerning the primary Party organizations [units]. Article 54 of the draft Statutes provides that primary Party organizations can be formed if there are not less than three Party members. This was the provision made in the old Party Statutes. Experience shows, however, that small primary Party organizations are often very weak. If only one Party member of such a Party organization leaves or becomes ill the primary Party organization cannot hold a Party meeting. Hence we would recommend an amendment to this section of the Party Statutes, providing for the formation of primary Party

organizations if there are not less than five Party members. Such Party organizations would be stronger and more effective.

We would also consider it desirable to increase the responsibility of the primary Party organizations for guidance of the Young Communist League organizations. In this connection, the last sentence in Article 60 of the section entitled "The Party and the Young Communist League" should be phrased as follows: "The work of local organizations of the Young Communist League is guided and controlled by the respective republic, territory, province, city, district and primary Party organizations." ...

SPEECH BY COMRADE A. U. KHAKHALOV, BURYAT-MONGOLIAN AUTONOMOUS REPUBLIC. (Pravda, Oct. 15, p. 5. 2200 words. Condensed text:) ... The draft revised Party Statutes have been widely discussed in the Buryat-Mongolian Party organization and in their speeches the Communists of our organization unanimously expressed approval of the Party Central Committee draft. At the same time they proposed a number of suggestions, additions and amendments on some points, elaborating certain provisions of the new Party Statutes. We believe that the Congress will wholly and fully approve the draft Party Statutes introduced by the Central Committee.

Comrades, the discussion of the draft revised Party Statutes in Party organizations has raised the activeness of the Party masses to new heights and has contributed to the development of criticism from below. At the Party meetings and conferences the Communists boldly and frankly criticized the work of Party and Soviet organizations of the republic, regardless of personalities, pointing out serious shortcomings and lapses in the work. But this is only the beginning. There is no doubt that the Communists, armed with the resolutions of the 19th Congress and the new Statutes, will display a sense of great responsibility for the work of the Party, will disclose shortcomings in our work and will achieve a general advance.

The chief shortcoming in the work of the republic's Party agencies is the low level of Party organizational work. Many district and city committees, yes, and the province Party committee, too, are only superficially concerned with the most important problems of Party organizational work. They have not yet renounced the incorrect methods of directing the economy, censured by the Central Committee, whereby Party agencies supplant Soviet and economic agencies, trying to bypass them in deciding questions of directing the economy, forgetting about Party political and organizational work. In his report Comrade Malenkov quite correctly pointed out that "the level of Party political work still lags behind the demands of life and the tasks advanced by the Party."

Our task is to eliminate completely this major shortcoming in the work of Party organizations, in keeping with the directives of the Central Committee and the decisions of the 19th Party Congress. In this connection it is necessary to raise the question of increasing ministries' responsibility for the functioning of enterprises and for improving guidance and help to their enterprises. Many ministries direct their enterprises very unsatisfactorily, particularly those situated far from Moscow. They frequently rely on Party agencies and in effect divest themselves of responsibility. Furthermore, when local Party agencies raise questions with the ministries about helping a certain enterprise, the ministries respond very ineffectively and unwillingly and decide these questions very superficially. This applies particularly to the Ministry of Geology, the Ministry of the Building Materials Industry, the Ministry of Railroads and a number of others.

In recent years our province Party organization has done a good deal to raise the level of ideological work. However, the general level of this work still remains low. Above all it is necessary to speak of the state of Marxist-Leninist studies of Communists, particularly executives. As a result of Party bodies' inadequate attention to the direction of Marxist-Leninist studies, many Communists do not study or else have a formal approach to improving their political knowledge. ...

The work of creative professionals' organizations plays a tremendous role in raising the level of ideological work: the unions of writers, artists and composers, art institutions, publishing houses and scientific research institutions. There is no question but that the local Party agencies bear full responsibility for the state of work of these organizations. How-

ever, the Party agencies, particularly those in remote republics and provinces, far from the large cultural centers, need serious help from the U.S.S.R. Union of Soviet Writers, the U.S.S.R. Council of Ministers' Committee on Affairs of the Arts, the Russian Republic Council of Ministers' Committee on Affairs of the Arts, the Academy of Sciences, etc. They must help us to deal intelligently with the work of writers' organizations, institutions of the arts and scientific research organizations and must give us skilled help in improving their work. But we do not receive such help. In order to raise the level of ideological work it is necessary to make more demands upon these organizations and heighten their responsibility for helping local agencies.

Public education is of great importance in the matter of building socialist culture and in the communist training of the working people. However, there are great shortcomings in this matter. The schools of many provinces and republics have an extremely high percentage of students who are not making satisfactory progress. In some schools the pupils are not given a sound education. The teaching of the Russian language, without which the training of valuable cadres of specialists for various branches of the economy is unthinkable, is organized very unsatisfactorily in the schools of the national republics. However, the directing influence of the Russian Republic Ministry of Education is not felt in the work of the schools and existing shortcomings are eliminated too slowly. The Ministry of Education does not enjoy due authority. The proposal for setting up an all-Union agency to deal with questions of public education deserves unconditional approval and support. ...

Thanks to the untiring care of the Party Central Committee and the Soviet government and thanks to the help of the great Russian people, Buryat-Mongolia has been transformed into an industrial and collective farming republic with well developed, large-scale industry and a growing and strengthening socialist agriculture. The republic has a machine-building industry, a building materials industry and lumber, fish, meat-packing, light and other branches of industry. The formerly backward and primitive agriculture has been transformed into advanced socialist agriculture. Suffice it to say that 80% to 85% of the field work is mechanized. The basic branch of agriculture—communal animal husbandry on the collective farms—is growing strong and developing.

The culture of the Buryat-Mongolian people—national in form and socialist in content—is growing along with the economy. In a country where there were almost no literate people and which did not have its own written language, a broad network of elementary, seven-year and secondary schools has been developed and seven-year schooling is universal. In the secondary and higher educational institutions cadres of the national intelligentsia are being trained and Soviet Buryat-Mongolian literature and art created. For all this we are obliged to our Communist Party, the Soviet government and our great leader Comrade Stalin. ...

SPEECH BY COMRADE M. M. PIDTYCHENKO, UKRAINE REPUBLIC. (Pravda, Oct. 15, p. 5. 1700 words. Condensed text:) ... At the call of the All-Union Party Central Committee, the Kiev Party organization has taken active part in discussing the draft revised Statutes. Communists enthusiastically approve this draft. More than 3000 Party meetings were held in Kiev to discuss the materials published before the Congress. More than 20,000 Communists—more than 50% of all those present at the meetings—participated in the discussion of these materials. A huge army of agitators and propagandists, 40,000 persons, is holding readings, talks, reports and lectures on the materials of the 19th Party Congress. ...

Certain additions to the text of the revised Statutes were proposed at the Party meetings. I shall cite some of them. ...

It was proposed that Article 1 read as follows: "The Communist Party of the Soviet Union is a voluntary, militant union of Communists holding the same views, formed of advanced people of the working class, the working peasantry and the working intelligentsia." Thus the vanguard role of the Party in relation to all the working people is stressed. ...

Reacting in Bolshevik manner to the just and principled ... Pravda cc the article "Against Ideological

Distortions in Literature," * our Party organizations have somewhat improved the ideological training of the creative intelligentsia. Many writers, composers and artists are now working on fine works of literature and the arts. Some of these productions have already seen the light of day.

Kiev is one of the largest centers of culture and learning in the Union. In the past two years the institutes of Kiev City and Province have trained 15,000 young specialists for the country. In 1952 more than 8000 students, twice as many as in 1940, were admitted to the higher educational establishments in the city and the province. Scientists in the Ukraine Academy of Sciences and the higher educational establishments of Kiev have worked out a number of scientific problems which bear important scientific and practical value. The ties between science and production have been strengthened. However, as Comrade Malenkov justly noted in his report on behalf of the All-Union Party Central Committee, the ideological and artistic level of many studies is still not high enough. Some Ukrainian writers, workers in science and teachers at higher educational establishments still tolerate errors of methodology and ideology and manifest national narrow-mindedness, lack of idea content and indifference to politics. The central and republic press has carried sharp criticism of errors in the work of the writers Sosyura, Rylsky, Kobyletsky, Pervomaisky, art critic Dovzhenko, certain scholars of the Ukraine Academy of Sciences' Literature Institute and other persons. The reason for these and other shortcomings and mistakes is that our Party organization is not paying the necessary attention to developing self-criticism and criticism from below, to the Marxist-Leninist education and ideological tempering of cadres in the arts and sciences.

I think that the section of the Statutes "On the Duties of Party Members" [Article 3], Point e, which reads "[It is the duty of a Party member:] to work at increasing his political awareness, at mastering the principles of Marxism-Leninism," must be broadened or a special Central Committee decree should be adopted on this question.

Comrade Khrushchev's report quite correctly pointed out that the propaganda of Marxism-Leninism is still unsatisfactorily organized. The present system of Party education does not meet the Party's demands for a deeper study of Marxist-Leninist theory. In the Kiev organization, as well as in others, evidently, there are elements of crude work and a lack of supervision in Marxist-Leninist education; many heterogeneous circles exist and supervision of the studies of Communists is carried out in a formal manner. Conferences with those studying Marxist-Leninist theory are not generally held. Final sessions summing up the knowledge of members of study circles, political schools and seminars do not show the desired results.

In this connection we wholeheartedly approve the proposal to intensify the supervision by Party organizations of the political study of Communists. But it is necessary to determine the forms of this supervision. Setting up an elementary course in Marxism-Leninism for Party members and candidates will help our Party cadres considerably in raising their ideological level.

In the 1952-1953 school year we are devoting special attention in the system of Party education to ideological content and to the elimination of dogmatism and pedantry.

In the section of the Statutes, "Candidates for Party Membership" [Section II], the question is quite correctly raised of expelling comrades from candidature if during the course of candidature it has become clear that in their personal qualifications they are not worthy of being accepted for Party membership [Article 18]. This is dictated by life itself. There are 3700 persons in the Kiev city Party organization alone who are Party candidates with overextended candidature. The reason for this is that Party organizations are not doing enough about drawing candidates into active Party life and frequently do not help them raise their Marxist-Leninist political awareness. At the same time it must be pointed out that many candidates

with overextended candidature have a casual attitude to their Party duties, are not active in the organization's work, are indifferent to the study of Marxism-Leninism and sometimes tolerate ideological errors and distortions. The poet Pervomaisky, who has been a Party candidate for 11 years, belongs to the Party organization of the Ukraine Union of Soviet Writers. During these years he has not distinguished himself in any way, has committed and is committing ideological mistakes and distortions in his writings. The Party organization of the Union of Writers has still not been able to determine what action to take with this Party candidate. The draft revised Party Statutes now give a precise and clear answer to this question. ...

SPEECH BY COMRADE I. K. LEBEDEV, OMSK PROVINCE.

(Pravda, Oct. 15, pp. 5-6. 2200 words. Condensed text:) ... Thirty-two thousand Communists, the majority of those who attended meetings of the primary units of our province, took active part in the discussion of the draft revised Statutes. The Communists of Omsk Province unanimously approved the draft text of the revised Party Statutes. ...

During the discussion of the text of the revised Statutes the Communists offered many suggestions and additions which were transmitted to the Party Central Committee. All of these proposals were aimed primarily at giving every Party member still greater responsibility for the purity of the Party ranks, for its fighting effectiveness and the strengthening of ties with the masses. ...

Discussing the draft revised Statutes, many Communists made critical observations on the work of the Party organizations; they sharply criticized Communists who violate Party and state discipline and who do not effectively carry out the obligations placed on them by the Party and government. The special importance of the fight against nepotism, mutual protection and the faulty principle of so-called "indispensability" in the selection and placement of cadres was mentioned. ...

The Omsk Province Party organization met the 19th Congress closely rallied around the Leninist-Stalinist Central Committee of the Communist Party and around our leader and teacher Comrade Stalin. Owing to the tremendous and ever-growing help of the Party, the government and of Comrade Stalin personally, Omsk has been transformed into one of the major industrial centers of our country during the period between the 18th and 19th Congresses. Machine-building and other branches of industry which predominate in the system of the country's national economy have been built up in the city and province. Gross output in 1952 was ten times as great as in 1939 and twice as great as in 1946, the first year of the Fourth Five-Year Plan. The city has nine institutes, seven scientific research institutions and 19 technical colleges, attended by 23,000 students. During this period, 14,200 specialists in various fields graduated from the institutes alone.

In recent years agricultural equipment in the province has greatly increased; the sown area has been increased 50% and communal livestock has doubled; the network of enterprises of the dairy industry has been enlarged. Production of high-quality Siberian butter, which came to several hundred thousand poods this year, is considerably above the 1950 level. The collective farms' communal income and the collective farmers' income in money and kind are increasing every year. The face of the Siberian village has changed: radios, motion pictures and books have become part of the life of every village. During the past two years 153 village and 400 collective farm clubs and 747 collective farm libraries have been opened in the province. The number of books in village and collective farm libraries increased by 157,000 volumes in 1951 alone and now amounts to 500,000 volumes. Each 100 collective farm households subscribe to 110 newspapers and magazines.

However, it would be incorrect to let these successes blind us to the great shortcomings in the work of the Party organizations in the guidance of industry, agriculture and the development of culture.

In his report on the work of the Party Central Committee, Comrade Malenkov profoundly disclosed shortcomings in the Party organizations' guidance of industry, transport, construction organizations and agriculture and quite justly criticized the work of Party and state bodies. These shortcomings are also inherent in our Party organization.

* [This article criticized V. Sosyura's wartime poem "Love the Ukraine" on the grounds that it exhibits Ukrainian nationalism and neglects to direct patriotism toward Soviet aspects of Ukraine life. See Current Digest of the Soviet Press, Vol. III, No. 24, pp. 13-14. and No. 25, pp. 9-10].

We assure the Party Central Committee and our beloved leader and teacher Comrade Stalin that we will take all necessary measures to remove the shortcomings from our work as rapidly as possible. ...

Long live, for many years, to the joy and happiness of all mankind, our great leader and teacher, the coryphaeus of science, the architect of communism, Comrade Stalin! (Applause.)

SPEECH BY COMRADE S. Ye. ZAKHAROV, LENINGRAD. (Pravda, Oct. 15, p. 6. 1900 words. Condensed text:) ... Comrades, the Communist Party and the Soviet government, taking into account the importance of the naval forces in the active defense of our state, as early as 1938 undertook the establishment of a sea-going and ocean-going navy, fully corresponding to the interests of the great Soviet power. ...

At the end of the great patriotic war, our wise leader and teacher Comrade Stalin stated: "The Soviet people wish to see their navy still stronger and more powerful. Our people will make new warships and new bases for the navy."

Comrade Stalin's wise instructions embrace all the problems of construction and operation of a navy.

They have determined and are determining the direction and content of the development of naval scientific thought, have helped us and are helping us to eliminate shortcomings, to improve our work and to orientate commanders, political bodies and Party organizations correctly to meet the tasks confronting the navy. ...

The Party Central Committee and Comrade Stalin personally pay great and constant attention to the ideological and theoretical training of military cadres, to the political and military training of navy personnel. Communists in the navy are diligently studying the brilliant works of Lenin and Stalin and are guided by Marxist-Leninist theory in their practical work. ...

Carrying out the decrees of the Party Central Committee and Comrade Stalin's instructions on ideological questions, the political bodies and Party organizations of the navy are persistently struggling to improve the organization of Marxist-Leninist propaganda, the Marxist-Leninist training of officers and the political and military training of sailors and petty officers. Thousands of Communists and non-Party men in the fleet are actively studying Marxist-Leninist science in evening universities of Marxism-Leninism, Party schools and Party educational circles. All this has a healthy effect on meeting tasks in the field of military and political training of personnel.

However, the serious defects in ideological work and in the organization of Marxist-Leninist propaganda which were noted in the reports of Comrades Malenkov and Khrushchev are also to be found in the work of the political bodies and Party organizations of the navy.

Armed with the directives of Comrade Stalin and the resolutions of the 19th Congress, Communists in the naval forces will take all necessary measures to raise all of our political and educational work to the level of present-day Party requirements. We have the necessary conditions for this. The navy has a broad network of cultural and educational institutions: officers' clubs, sailors' clubs, libraries, theaters, motion picture installations and radio stations.

Party organizations are a firm support of the commanders in training personnel and in solving all the tasks facing the fleet. The Communists in the fleet set an example in the struggle for good organization and strong military discipline. They are organizing the sailors for thorough study of weapons, for raising the fighting capacity and preparedness of ships and units of the fleet.

There is a constant increase in the number of Party organizations where all the Communists are excellent students in military and political training.

The reports by Malenkov and Khrushchev and the materials of the 19th Party Congress provide a developed military program for us in the matter of improving all Party organizational and Party political work in the naval forces.

The Communists of the fleet have widely discussed the draft revised Party Statutes at their meetings and have unanimously approved them. The Statutes will improve the organizational and ideological work of our party and make the Party stronger and more monolithic.

The Young Communist League—the first aide of political

bodies and Party organizations in the communist education of youth—plays a great role in the naval forces. The Young Communist League organizations devote much attention in their work to the political education of sailors and to improving their technical knowledge. They organize sailors and petty officers for a thorough study of their specialties and the skillful accomplishment of their duties. Suffice it to say that Young Communist League members comprise more than 80% of the best specialists and of the outstanding students in military and political training.

Our commanders and political bodies are closely linked with local Party organizations and rely on their help and support. This link, which is of great importance for the communist training of sailors, is developing and growing stronger in all ways. The political bodies of the navy must give still more active help to the units of our party in training Soviet youth in constant preparedness for the defense of the socialist fatherland.

Comrades! The rapacious, aggressive war in Korea being carried on by the American imperialists has entirely unmasked their bestial visage. Trying to break the will of the heroic Korean people, the Americans are barbarously destroying Korean cities and villages. The American military has not stopped short of using germ warfare, which is condemned by all progressive mankind. The war in Korea has shown the whole world what bloodthirsty and evil enemies of mankind the American imperialists are. Almost the entire U.S. Pacific fleet is being used against people's democratic Korea. American ships are firing on peaceful cities and villages of Korea and killing women, old people and children.

Engaging in war preparations against the Soviet Union and the people's democracies, the American imperialists have developed a mad naval armaments race. They are establishing military and naval bases in all parts of the world. Stupefying their sailors in every way, they are doing everything to demoralize them and to arouse their base feelings and bestial instincts. Outrages, insults to national feelings, drunkenness, rape, brawls and murders occur like epidemics in the ports of countries on which the Americans have obtained a hold. This is how they behave in the ports of Great Britain, France, Italy, Denmark, Belgium and Turkey. However, all this is evidence not of the strength but of the weakness of the U.S. Navy.

In contrast to the U.S. Navy, which is a weapon for aggression and the enslavement of other peoples, the Soviet Navy is called on to defend the peaceful constructive labors and the state interests of its people. Soviet sailors are trained in the great ideas of Marxism-Leninism, in the spirit of Soviet patriotism and friendship of peoples, in the spirit of internationalism and respect for other peoples. Herein lies the source of the strength and superiority of our navy over the navies of capitalist countries.

Comrades! Allow me to assure you that the sailors, boundlessly devoted to their Communist Party and to our great leader and teacher Comrade Stalin, are vigilantly guarding the coasts of their beloved motherland. The navy will honorably carry out all the tasks set before it by the Soviet government and Comrade Stalin.

Long live our glorious Communist Party, the party of Lenin and Stalin!

Long live our wise leader and teacher, our brilliant commander, Comrade Stalin! (Prolonged applause.)

SPEECH BY COMRADE E. KASNAUSKAITE, LITHUANIAN REPUBLIC. (Pravda, Oct. 15, p. 6. 1800 words. Condensed text:)

... The Communist Party organization of Lithuania has shown great activeness in discussing the Party Central Committee documents for the Congress, including the draft revised Party Statutes. Let me cite our Kaunas city Party organization as an example. Sixty-four per cent of the Communists who attended the meetings spoke on the draft revised Party Statutes. While unanimously approving the draft revised Statutes, Communists disclosed serious shortcomings in the work of borough Party committees and the city Party committee and reviewed their own work critically. ...

The great obligations imposed by the Statutes on Party members require that local Party bodies and primary Party organizations considerably improve their supervision of admissions

to the Party and increase responsibility for strict individual selection for Party ranks of persons capable of meeting the high obligations of members of the great party of Lenin and Stalin.

Serious shortcomings and mistakes have occurred in the work of the republic's Party organizations in the matter of admissions to the Party, as was quite correctly pointed out to us by the Party Central Committee. These shortcomings and mistakes lie in the fact that the principle of individual admission to the Party has been violated. There have been instances of undeserving persons and even hostile class elements infiltrating the Party. We must increase our vigilance and more carefully study the political and work qualifications of persons admitted to the Party.

The criticism which Comrade Khrushchev made of the poor work of Party organizations in the ideological training of young Communists relates fully to us. Our Party organization does not give enough help to Party candidates in their training for Party membership. There are instances of candidates themselves not concerned about timely preparation for entering the Party. Thus, the candidatures of a considerable number of the candidates are prolonged for a number of years and turned into an empty formality. This is indicated by the fact that 45% of the candidates in the Kaunas city Party organization have a prolonged candidature.

The draft revised Party Statutes will undoubtedly help to overcome more rapidly serious shortcomings in the matter of Party admissions and in work with young Communists.

We must not forget that in the young Lithuanian Republic there are still strong survivals of capitalism in people's minds. If there is the least slackening in the Bolshevik training of Party members and candidates, if there is insufficient political work among the masses, these survivals make themselves felt. They are also sometimes manifested among individual Communists. We have many shortcomings in the work of organizing the Marxist-Leninist education of Communists. Not all the Communists are studying and courses in a number of political schools are conducted on a low ideological and theoretical level.

The requirement for Party members in the draft revised Party Statutes—to work tirelessly at raising their own political awareness, at mastering the principles of Marxism-Leninism—obliges Party bodies to improve their guidance of the ideological and theoretical training of Communists.

I wish to dwell on the matter of primary Party organizations. After the districts were organized and the provinces were formed in the republic, the number of primary Party organizations increased considerably. There are now 2633 primary Party organizations in Lithuania, including 774 in the collective farms. The formation of district and province Party committees has had a favorable effect on the guiding influence of primary Party organizations and has brought the Party bodies into direct contact with the Communists; it has enhanced the role of primary Party organizations in working out problems of economic and cultural construction and in the Marxist-Leninist training of Communists. ...

The republic's Party agencies have begun to pay more attention to the selection and training of secretaries of primary Party organizations. In 1952 the province Party committees have conducted monthly courses, in which 276 primary Party organization secretaries are enrolled. The Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee has conducted three-month courses for secretaries of Party organizations. Three hundred persons have received training in these courses. The district and city Party committees have begun to hold seminars for secretaries more frequently. All of this has brought an improvement in the work of primary Party organizations.

During the recent report-and-election campaign more than 700 persons were elected secretaries of primary Party organizations. They need constant competent assistance and guidance and they must study the practice of Party work.

Often we underestimate the importance of Party meetings, which are a very important means of training Party members and candidates and of drawing them into active work. In some Party organizations meetings are convened merely as occasion arises, they are prepared for in a hurry and are conducted in a lethargic manner, without criticism and self-criticism. There are many times when Communists do not meet

at all for two or three months. The Party committees do a poor job of studying and spreading the experience of work by primary Party organizations. ...

At the district, city and province Party conferences particularly sharp criticism was leveled at the borough committees in the city of Kaunas and the Kaunas City and District Party Committees for poor guidance in ideological work and particularly in propaganda of the natural sciences and for shortcomings in educating the intelligentsia and all the working people.

There are instances in which instruction in the social sciences at secondary and higher educational establishments is conducted on a low ideological level. Now and then errors and distortions of Marxist-Leninist theory occur. Such instances have occurred in the agricultural academy and the polytechnical institute. This indicates that the district, city and province Party committees are working poorly with instructors and are not helping them enough in raising the level of Marxist-Leninist training.

Comrades! As Pravda correctly noted, there are shortcomings in our province in the work of training the working people in the spirit of internationalism and fraternal friendship among peoples. The province Party organization is adopting important measures to improve work in the communist education of the working people. ...

Comrades! The Lithuanian Party organization has come to the 19th Party Congress even more united around the Leninist-Stalinist Central Committee and around our beloved leader Comrade Stalin and is prepared to fulfill any Party task.

Long live the Communist Party of the Soviet Union!

Long, live our beloved leader, teacher and father, Comrade Stalin! (Applause.)

SPEECH BY COMRADE V. G. TSKHOVREBASHVILI, GEORGIAN REPUBLIC. (Pravda, Oct. 15, p. 7. 1800 words. Condensed text:) ... The revised Party Statutes make it possible to increase still more the effectiveness of Party organizations, the solidarity and organization of Party ranks and the active participation of Communists in the struggle to carry out the policy and decisions of the Party.

This is why the draft revised Party Statutes, which were discussed in the primary Party organizations, by the district and city *aktivs* and conferences, at province Party conferences and at the 15th Congress of the Georgian Communist Party, were warmly approved by all Communists. More than 90% of all the Communists on our rolls attended the meetings held by the primary Party organizations to discuss the Party Central Committee documents on the Congress. Speaking at the meetings, Communists made a number of recommendations and observations. In particular, they recommended that Article 1 of the Statutes begin with the words: "Created by the leaders of the proletarian revolution, Lenin and Stalin, the Communist Party—" and continue as in the text. ...

The Georgian Soviet Socialist Republic borders on capitalist Turkey, a military springboard for rapacious American imperialism. This places a tremendous responsibility on us, Georgia's Communists: we must increase revolutionary vigilance still more. The southern borders of our homeland must always be an impregnable fortress. ...

There have been serious shortcomings and errors in the work of the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee.* The Georgian Communist Party Central Committee made mistakes in selecting and assigning personnel, failed to observe the provisions of the Party Statutes and violated Party democracy. Criticism and self-criticism were not developed in the Party organizations, and plenary sessions of the Party committees and meetings of the Party *aktiv* were rarely convened.

Armed with the All-Union Party Central Committee's decree—which is a historic one for the Georgian Party organization—and with the personal injunctions of Comrade Stalin, the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee is resolutely disclosing and eliminating serious shortcomings in Party, economic and cultural work. By extensively developing criticism and self-criticism the republic's Party organizations are eliminating shortcomings in work and assuring a further advance in industry, agriculture and culture.

*[See Secretary Mgeladze's report to the 15th Congress of the Georgian Communist Party, pp. 60-70.]

Speaking about successes achieved in the advancement and flourishing of formerly backward nations and regions, Comrade Beria showed in his vivid speech what has been achieved by the Central Asian and Transcaucasus republics under the leadership of our glorious Communist Party and with the help of the great Russian people. The Georgian people will always remember that they are indebted for their liberation and for the flourishing of industry, agriculture and culture to the party of Lenin and Stalin, to the great Russian people and to Comrade Stalin. (Applause.) ...

SPEECH BY COMRADE F. S. GORYACHEV, TYUMEN PROVINCE. (Pravda, Oct. 15, p. 7. 1800 words. Condensed text:) ... Carrying out the instructions of the Central Committee, the Tyumen Party organization has grown considerably, become organizationally and ideologically stronger, strengthened its ties with the masses, and through improved Party organizational and political work has brought about the further development of the province's industry, transport and agriculture. The number of primary Party organizations has grown, especially in the villages. There are now Party organizations on 538 out of 625 collective farms. The organizational role of the Party organizations in carrying out economic and political tasks has grown. ...

The major problems of state and Party work outlined in the materials of the Central Committee claimed the center of attention at meetings and conferences. More than 60% of the members took part in the discussion of the Central Committee documents and in the debates.

The province's Communists unanimously approved the vast program outlined by the Party for further advancing the economy and culture of our country; they approved the draft revised Party Statutes and made a number of recommendations. The Tyumen Party organization joined the entire Party in demonstrating profound solidarity with the Central Committee, with the great leader and teacher Comrade Stalin. (Applause.) ...

Following the Party's injunctions that success in work depends upon correct selection and training of cadres, the Tyumen organization has improved the corps of Party and Soviet administrative officials. Four hundred twenty-six Party and Soviet administrative officials have been trained in Party schools in the past two years and 445 persons have been advanced to more responsible positions. The number of district and city Party committee secretaries with higher and incomplete higher education has increased.

The Central Committee has helped to open training divisions in the Party school, the trade and fishing technical colleges and other educational institutions in order to improve the quality of cadre training. All this is having a healthy effect on the work of Party, Soviet and economic agencies.

It must be admitted, however, that there are still major errors and shortcomings in our work with cadres. These consist first of all in incorrect selection of cadres by some Party and economic organizations. As we established recently, officials have been selected on the basis of kinship in the province office and certain district offices and departments of the State Bank, with the result that the work of these offices deteriorated and discipline was violated. In some of the procurement organizations officials who had failed in one job were transferred to others. Because of the slackening of control by Party agencies over the work of the procurement organizations some dishonest officials cheated the collective farms in recording livestock, wool, meat and grain delivered in fulfillment of quotas, and thus harmed both the collective farms and the state.

There is particular lack of discrimination in selecting cadres in some enterprises of the fishing and lumber industries, as well as in trade agencies. Very often opportunists are chosen on the basis of friendship in these organizations. Some of them have violated state discipline, embezzled state funds and indulged in misrepresentation. This occurs because minor officials handle personnel selection in many organizations and because the Party agencies entrust the selection of cadres to management personnel. There are cases in the work of individual Party organizations of the province, as well as of the

province committee, in which personnel are judged not in terms of their work but solely on the basis of questionnaires, with no reliance placed on the opinions of Communists or of the primary organizations. This is especially true of the Tobolsk and Ishim city Party organizations. ...

The report of the Central Committee devoted much attention to the strengthening of the Party agencies and to improving their work. Comrade Malenkov gave a clear and discerning criticism of our mistakes and shortcomings in internal Party work. The report pointed out the inadequate development of self-criticism and particularly of criticism from below, the poor Party and state discipline of some Party, Soviet and economic officials, the unsatisfactory job being done in selecting people and in checking the work done, and the underestimation of ideological work by many Party organizations. These shortcomings and mistakes occur in the work of our Party organization. We will heed this criticism and strive for further improvement in Party organizational and political work. ...

SPEECH BY COMRADE L. F. ILYICHEV, MOSCOW. (Pravda, Oct. 15, pp. 7-8. 2700 words. Condensed text:) ... In preparation for the 19th Congress there has been wide discussion, both in the press and at Party meetings, conferences and Congresses, of the drafts of the Party Central Committee—the draft directives on the new five-year plan and the draft text of the revised Party Statutes. Pravda received more than 12,000 letters warmly approving the historic documents of the Party Central Committee for the 19th Congress. The materials on the 19th Party Congress published in Pravda are only a small part of the proposals for changes and additions received by the newspaper.

The very fact that there has been such wide discussion of most important problems of Party organization with full freedom of criticism, when every Party member and candidate expresses his favorable or critical comments, expresses vividly the vital force of Party democracy. ...

Our Party press occupies an outstanding place in the arsenal of weapons which the Party has always used and is using now to meet the problem confronting it. The press, according to Comrade Stalin's definition, makes it possible for the Party to speak each day and hour to the people with its own, vital voice, makes it possible to establish ties of the spirit between the Party and the working people. ...

Thanks to the constant leadership of the Party Central Committee, our press is growing and improving in quality. More than 8000 newspapers [periodicity not stated] with a total per-issue circulation of about 40,000,000, are published in the Soviet Union today. About 1500 magazines and other periodicals are published and more than 200 book publishing houses are in operation, 80 of which print literature in languages of [minority] peoples of the Soviet Union. ...

Soviet people view the press as spokesman for their interests and therefore it is quite natural that they should send letters to it on the most diverse problems, in this way showing their lively interest in public affairs. During only nine months of this year the central, republic, territory and province newspapers have received about 2,500,000 letters from working people, almost 250,000 of which were sent to Pravda. ...

Recent decrees of the Party Central Committee concerning district, city, province, republic and, finally, central newspapers noted serious defects in the work of newspapers. The basic instructions by Comrade Stalin on the work of Pravda and on measures for raising its ideological level as the leading newspaper have immense importance for all our press. All the fundamental problems of public life should interest a newspaper. It does not have the right to stand aloof from acute problems, but must treat them boldly; especially those concerning foreign policy and the fighting questions of the ideological front. A newspaper must show initiative, be an ardent propagandist of everything progressive and boldly criticize shortcomings in work.

Carrying out Comrade Stalin's instructions, Pravda is trying to keep ideological questions and questions of the work of Party organizations in the forefront.

During recent years Pravda has published a number of editorials on the foremost ideological questions: "Concerning

an Anti-Patriotic Group of Theatrical Critics,"* "Against Vulgarization of Literary Criticism,"† "Against Ideological Distortions in Literature,"‡ "Concerning the Opera 'Bogdan Khmel'nitsky,'"** and "Overcome the Lag in Dramaturgy."†† The letter from a group of readers about Villis Lacis' novel "To the New Shore"‡‡ has great importance in principle for the development of our literature. All these articles, as is known, criticized the notorious no-conflict theory, pointed out the harmfulness of a dogmatic approach toward literature and arts, and struck blows at bourgeois nationalism in literature.

Grave mistakes and shortcomings were analyzed in Comrade Malenkov's report. These shortcomings are also to be found in the work of our press. The central newspapers, including Pravda, and also some leading political and theoretical magazines have especially serious errors of omission in their work. The press must be guided in all its work by the tasks of ideological work set by the Party Central Committee and Comrade Stalin. ...

In one of its decrees the Party Central Committee severely brought to task suppressors of criticism in the Molotov Province Party Committee, who had tried to create toadying and obsequiousness in the newspaper. As a result of an incorrect attitude toward criticism, a harmful practice was established of toning down critical material received by the province newspaper Zvezda [Star]. The former heads of the province committee deprived the newspaper of initiative and blunted its edge, did not demand a spirit of principle from the newspaper, but on the contrary supported and encouraged toadies persecuting alert journalists of principle who criticized defects regardless of personalities. The Party Central Committee obligated the Molotov Province Party Committee to correct its attitude to the newspaper and explained that such an incorrect attitude toward the press diminishes its importance as a keen weapon of the Party in the struggle against shortcomings and does harm to our cause.

Officials of the Stalingrad Province Party Committee once forbade the province newspaper Stalingradskaya pravda [Stalingrad Truth] to reprint the Pravda article entitled "Connivance With Suppressors of Criticism," in which the province committee was criticized for a negligent attitude toward warning signals from the working people. The Party Central Committee overruled this erroneous decision and explained that such an attitude toward critical articles in the Party press does grave harm to the cause of training people. ...

Will an organ of the press enjoy the respect of its readers if, while readily criticizing the defects of others, it stubbornly refuses to see the defects in its own work? Of course not. Why do all workers of the press not accept criticism correctly? Primarily because the Party organizations trained them inadequately in proper understanding of their duty.

Recently Pravda published an article about the work of the republic newspaper Pravda Ukrainy. The article contained the correct comment that the newspaper does not support criticism from below and sometimes simply suppresses it. The editorial board of Pravda Ukrainy, a newspaper well known in the republic and having considerable experience, nevertheless took the criticism incorrectly and decided to avoid honest admission of its mistake, being satisfied with a formal response.

It is necessary to say from the rostrum of the 19th Party Congress that our press will be able to perform its high function and its workers their duty only if they boldly develop effective, principled self-criticism and criticism from below. We must mercilessly reveal errors and mistakes, negative phenomena in our life, unmask false people and train Soviet patriots in the indomitable desire to overcome by criticism and self-criticism that which is old, moribund and a hindrance, and to give full play to what is new and advanced, always bearing in mind V. I. Lenin's instruction: "To write about evil without 'anger' is to write boringly." ...

We workers on newspapers and magazines should remember that since the press is the means of expressing public opinion,

it is its duty to propagandize our successes and achievements vividly and profoundly, intelligently, with love and enthusiasm, to support ardently all that is new and progressive, and to arouse and develop the creative initiative of the working people. This is taught us by the Party and Central Committee.

At every stage of our country's development the Party sets new tasks for the press and teaches workers of the press to discover what is basic in their activity.

The Fifth Five-Year Plan for development of the U.S.S.R. presents a gripping prospect of communist construction to the Soviet people. The most important task of the Party and Soviet press is to propagandize the Fifth Five-Year Plan, to give extensive publicity to nationwide socialist competition and mobilize the creative energies of the working people for the struggle to fulfill and overfulfill the new Stalin five-year plan. The part the press plays in organizing the masses for socialist competition is of increasing importance, especially today, ...

The theoretical work by Comrade Stalin, "Economic Problems of Socialism in the U.S.S.R.," is a very great programmatic document of scientific communism. There is no more honorable task for the press of our country than that of popularizing the brilliant Stalin ideas and mobilizing the working masses to carry them out. ...

The Soviet press must fight for the cause of world peace, expose the designs of the imperialist warmongers and propagandists of a new war and explain the peace-loving foreign policy of the Soviet state. Following the instructions of Comrade Stalin, our press will strive to leave not one move by the propagandists of a new war without its deserved rebuff from public opinion and the press. By tirelessly exposing the maneuvers of the warmongers and repudiating their spurious propaganda, our press, the press of the country of socialism, will render good service to fighters for peace throughout the world.

The numerous army of workers of the press has been placed by the Party on one of the most important sectors of the ideological front, in its front line. The highest duty and the ardent desire of all Soviet press workers is to justify the trust of the Communist Party and of Comrade Stalin. ...

SPEECH BY COMRADE V. V. LUKYANOV, YAROSLAVL PROVINCE. (Pravda, Oct. 15, p. 8. 1500 words. Condensed text:)

... Although I support the draft revised Party Statutes as a whole, I think it would be advisable to supplement them with a provision that every Party member must guard socialist property in all ways. It seems to me that the recommendation to hold province Party conferences once every two years is also a good one.

Comrades! The draft revised Party Statutes accurately define the duties of Party organizations with respect to public and Soviet organizations. There can be no doubt that this will help improve their work, which still in many instances suffers from serious shortcomings.

The responsibility of our ministries for fulfillment of state plans is greatly increased in connection with the tasks set by the Congress. Yet there are still many shortcomings in the work of the ministries. I should like to point out defects in the work of the U.S.S.R. Ministry of Agriculture.

In our view, the Ministry of Agriculture meets the problems of mechanization of agriculture unsatisfactorily, especially the mechanization of flax and potato harvesting in Yaroslavl Province.

Our province is in a zone of abundant precipitation. Executive officials of the ministry, however, including the Minister, Comrade Benediktov, do not reckon with this peculiarity of the province. They overlook the fact that in a province like ours the period of field work is much shorter than in southern provinces, that we must sow more rapidly in the spring and complete the harvest by the end of summer, not waiting for autumn. Only this can explain why the ministry does not take the appropriate steps for the mechanization of such laborious work as the threshing and spreading of flax and the harvesting of potatoes. As a consequence of this, work drags on until late autumn.

We are grateful to the Party Central Committee and the Soviet government that during recent years the province has received many tractors, combines and flax harvesters. There is no doubt that the state would have supplied us with other necessary machines if the Ministry of Agriculture had studied the local needs better and had raised in due time the question of supply-

* Current Digest of the Soviet Press, Vol. I, No. 5, pp. 57-60.

† Current Digest of the Soviet Press, Vol. II, No. 13, pp. 8-10.

‡ Current Digest of the Soviet Press, Vol. III, No. 24, pp. 13-14.

** Current Digest of the Soviet Press, Vol. III, No. 25, pp. 12-13.

†† Current Digest of the Soviet Press, Vol. IV, No. 11, pp. 3-5.

‡‡ Current Digest of the Soviet Press, Vol. IV, No. 7, p. 9.

ing this or that province with the necessary machines.

Our province has the highly productive Yaroslavl cattle, the highly productive Breiiov breed of hogs and the Romanov breed of sheep. Tens of thousands of pedigreed animals of these breeds are sent to other provinces.

But our mistake is that we have paid little attention to the fodder base. Of course we are to blame for being insufficiently concerned with sowing grasses, growing fodder root and silage crops, and improving meadows and pastures. But the Ministry of Agriculture also bears a great responsibility for shortcomings in this matter. It does not correctly treat problems of the sowing of grasses in our province, the formation of pasture amelioration detachments and the supply of brushbreaker plows to the province. This attitude of the Ministry of Agriculture to the collective farms of our province is evidence of the fact that it directs the development of the agriculture of varying provinces without differentiation.

The Ministry of Agriculture has not yet renounced armchair, bureaucratic methods of directing the collective farms and the Machine and Tractor Stations.

The ministry sends a huge number of orders and directives to the localities. During only nine months of this year the province agricultural administration received more than 4500 directives from the ministry. Each day it receives approximately 20 directives. This encourages the development of bureaucracy also in the province administration, which is forced to use its specialists to copy and send out the ministry's directives to the districts and Machine and Tractor Stations and also to draft replies to the ministry. Trained specialists, instead of being engaged in vital matters, are drowned in a sea of paper.

I would also like to point out some shortcomings in the work of the trade unions. The trade unions still pay little attention to strengthening labor discipline at factories, to problems of the working people's welfare and in particular to housing construction. The trade unions are still not doing enough to combat violations of labor legislation by the administrations of various enterprises.

We officials of local Party bodies are of course guilty of paying little attention to strengthening the trade unions with good cadres, to improving the work of the trade union organizations. It should be pointed out, however, that many trade union central committees and the Central Council of Trade Unions as a whole begin to take up problems of improving trade union work in various fields only after major shortcomings have been found in trade union work.

It is essential that the local Party agencies and the Central Council of Trade Unions radically improve the guidance of trade union organizations at enterprises, institutions, construction projects and Machine and Tractor Stations. This will help make success in economic and cultural work possible.

A few words on the work of the Young Communist League. The Y.C.L. Central Committee should send out fewer directives to the province Y.C.L. committees and spend more time on field trips; it must give more practical aid to the local Y.C.L. organizations. ...

Permit me, in the name of all the Communists in the Yaroslavl Party organization, to assure our 19th Party Congress and dear Comrade Stalin personally that every one of us, armed with the decisions of the Congress and with the Stalinist teaching, will strive with even greater success to build a communist society. ...

Good health and long, long years of life to our dear, beloved Comrade Stalin. (Applause.)

SPEECH BY K. Ye. VOROSHILOV. (Pravda, Oct. 15, p. 2. Complete text:) Comrades!

The 19th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union has completed its work. There can be no doubt that this Congress will occupy a prominent place in the glorious history of the party of Lenin and Stalin.

The Congress, which was held at a time when the Soviet people are making a gradual transition from socialism to communism, summed up the results of the struggle and victories of our party and outlined the prospects for our further advance.

The work of the Congress has been a graphic demonstration of the very deep trust which our party places in its Stalinist

leadership, of its ardent love and infinite devotion to the great leader and teacher, Comrade Stalin. (Stormy ovation. All rise.)

The Congress heard the report by Comrade Malenkov, Secretary of the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party (of Bolsheviks), which contains a comprehensive account of the Central Committee's work between the 18th and 19th Congresses and outlines the Party's future tasks. With unusual enthusiasm the Congress adopted a resolution approving the political line and the practical work of the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party (of Bolsheviks). (Prolonged applause.)

The discussion of the current report on the Central Committee's work showed again and again the solidarity of the party of Lenin and Stalin, its close unity around its Central Committee and its indissoluble bond with the broad masses of working people.

On the basis of the report by Comrade Saburov, Chairman of the State Planning Committee, the Congress approved the directives for the Fifth Five-Year Plan for the development of the U.S.S.R. during 1951-1955. The directives outline a new, mighty advance in the national economy of the U.S.S.R. and ensure a further significant rise in the material well-being and cultural level of the people. Fulfillment of the Fifth Five-Year Plan will be a tremendous step forward along the path of development from socialism to communism.

The decisions of the Congress on revisions in the Party Statutes are of tremendous significance.

Henceforth our party will be called the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. The new Party name most precisely expresses the Marxist content of the Party's tasks. Dropping the dual Party name—"Communist" and "Bolshevik"—reflects the world-historic fact that the Leninist-Stalinist principles have scored a complete and undivided victory in our party.

The Statutes of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, approved on the basis of the report by Comrade Khrushchev, Secretary of the Central Committee, generalizes the vast organizational experience which the Party has accumulated since the 18th Congress. The revisions which the Congress made in the Statutes signify a new, higher stage in the Party's development corresponding to the tasks in the struggle to build a communist society.

In the resolution "On Revising the Program of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union" the Congress recognized that it was necessary to revise the existing Party Program. The commission which the Congress set up to revise the Program will be guided by the basic tenets in Comrade Stalin's inspired new work "Economic Problems of Socialism in the U.S.S.R." The ideas in this Stalinist work illuminate the path ahead, the path to the complete victory of communism. (Prolonged applause.)

After discussing the very important questions of Party, economic and cultural construction and adopting historic resolutions on these questions, the Congress elected the governing bodies of the Party—the Central Committee and the Central Inspection Commission.

The newly elected Central Committee begins the work of carrying out the resolutions of the Congress armed with the very rich experience and Stalinist science of communist construction. The Party knows that its Central Committee, headed by Comrade Stalin, will ensure successful execution of the majestic tasks of our homeland. (Stormy, prolonged applause.)

Comrade Stalin's speech, to which the Congress delegates and our other guests listened with such close attention, will be a great program for struggle and victories. The speech by our leader and teacher, Comrade Stalin, will be an inspiring guide to action for all Soviet citizens and for working people in all countries in their noble struggle for peace among peoples and against the warmongers. (Stormy, prolonged applause.)

Comrades! An entire historical era separates the 19th Party Congress from the 18th. History knows no period more filled with events of universal significance than that just past.

The beginning of this period, as is known, was marked by the Party's vast achievements in the struggle to fulfill the Stalin Third Five-Year Plan.

When Hitler Germany and its satellites treacherously attacked the Soviet Union and interrupted its creative labor,

the party of Lenin and Stalin led our people in opposing the enemy with the economic and military might of the socialist state, with the moral and political unity of their ranks, with ardent patriotism and an invincible will to fight for the freedom and independence of the socialist homeland.

Equipped with first-class Soviet arms and varied, modern military equipment, headed by generals, admirals and marshals of the Stalin school and led by that very great strategist of the revolution and brilliant general, Comrade Stalin, the armed forces of the Soviet Union made their homeland immortal by their valor, selfless heroism and genuine military skill in single combat with German fascism. (Stormy applause.)

The Stalinist military science of victory was a formidable weapon in the hands of the high command of our armies, the fronts and their headquarters.

A series of battles, which have now become classic examples of the Stalinist art of strategic operations, resulted in complete victory for the Soviet armed forces, aided by this superior weapon; the enemy was routed and capitulated. (Prolonged applause.)

After the victorious end of the great patriotic war, the people of our homeland under Party guidance performed feats of labor heroism, fulfilled the Stalin postwar Fourth Five-Year Plan ahead of schedule and successfully carried out the tasks of a new, mighty advance in the socialist economy and culture.

Today we can say that never before has our homeland been so great and mighty, so full of vital force and creative energy, as it has become at the present time! (Prolonged applause.)

As a result of the path we have traveled and of the victories and achievements we have attained, the international prestige of the Soviet state has grown immeasurably, and its influence on the development of world events has increased.

As early as 1927 Comrade Stalin said that in the course of further historical development "two world centers will be formed: a socialist center, attracting countries which are gravitating toward socialism, and a capitalist center, attracting countries which are gravitating toward capitalism."

Events have completely corroborated this brilliant Stalin prognosis.

"The Soviet state is no longer a solitary island surrounded by capitalist countries," Comrade Malenkov said in the report of the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party (of Bolsheviks).

We are advancing in a united front with the great Chinese people, with the working people in the people's democracies and the German Democratic Republic. All progressive and honest people throughout the world sympathize with us and support us. Our forces, the forces of millions of common people who have thrown off the fetters of capitalism and have taken their stand under the banner of struggle for a new, happy life for themselves and for future generations, are growing constantly.

The doomed camp of capitalism presents a completely different picture.

Contradictions between countries in the capitalist camp are becoming more and more sharp; the internal contradictions of these countries are increasing. A new economic crisis is advancing more and more menacingly, and unemployment and its inevitable companion—impoverishment of the working masses—are growing inexorably.

American imperialism has assumed the role of rescuer of capitalism and is bent on uniting all the world's reactionary forces and on unleashing a new world war against the U.S.S.R. and countries in the democratic camp, counting on achieving world dominion thereby.

Led by the party of Lenin and Stalin and along with hundreds of millions of peace partisans in other countries, together with honest people the world over, the Soviet people have fought and will fight tirelessly for peace and for the independence and freedom of peoples.

The determination of our party, like that of all Soviet people, to support and defend the cause of peace has been confirmed with new force by this Congress.

This does not mean that we can relax our attention to problems of defending the Soviet state, even for a moment.

Our party, the government and all the Soviet people have

regarded it and will continue to regard it as a very important duty to ensure the defense capacity of the socialist homeland, to take every measure to strengthen the preparedness of the Soviet people to meet any aggressor.

Comrades! The resolutions adopted by the Congress open up to the Party and all Soviet people new, splendid prospects for peaceful, creative labor in building communism in our country.

Implementation of the resolutions adopted by the Congress will make the Soviet homeland a still mightier power and will be a great contribution to strengthening the entire camp of democracy and socialism, to consolidating world peace.

Enriched by our experience, the fraternal Communist and Workers' Parties, the working people of all countries and all progressive mankind will advance still more confidently along the path to freedom and progress.

Herein lies the international significance of our party's 19th Congress.

The greetings to the 19th Congress which representatives of the fraternal Communist and Workers' Parties have delivered here attest graphically to the importance of our great cause to the working people in all countries, its importance to all progressive mankind.

History has charged the party of Lenin and Stalin with a great and noble mission—to ensure the building of a communist society in our country and thereby pave the way to communism for all mankind. (Prolonged applause.) We know that not only the joys of victory lie ahead of us; for difficulties are also unavoidable. But we also know that the party of Lenin and Stalin, under the guidance of its inspired leader, will overcome all obstacles and will score a complete victory. (Stormy applause.)

But in order to utilize all our potentialities more fully and to forge ahead more rapidly toward the planned goal, we must fight resolutely against shortcomings in work and eliminate carelessness, smugness and complacency so as to overcome all the difficulties and obstacles in our path.

Criticism and self-criticism are indispensable weapons in the Party's struggle against shortcomings, errors and all kinds of defects. They strengthen the Party, increase its effectiveness, broaden and deepen its contact with the masses and develop the creative vigor of Party ranks and of all working people.

Comrades! The party of Lenin and Stalin enjoys the infinite love of the many millions of Soviet people.

Working people and progressive people throughout the world, all those who want happiness for themselves, for their children and for future generations, are turning their eyes toward our party and toward its great leader, Comrade Stalin.

Allow me to declare from this high tribunal that our party will carry out its historic mission to the end. The victorious banner—the banner of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin—will continue to wave over the liberated and rejuvenated land! (Stormy, prolonged applause.)

It is pleasing and joyous to realize that the Soviet people are building and creating a new life under the leadership of our wise teacher, leader and friend, Comrade Stalin, whose clear mind, mighty will and infinite love for man are a guarantee of new victories, a guarantee of successful performance of tasks set by the 19th Congress of our party. (Stormy, prolonged applause.)

Long live our mighty and free people, the creator of the new communist society! (Prolonged applause.)

Long live the great Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the party of Lenin and Stalin, the inspirer and organizer of all the victories of the Soviet people! (Prolonged applause.)

Glory to the great leader and teacher of the working people and of all progressive mankind, the brilliant architect of communism, Comrade Stalin! (Stormy, prolonged applause, turning into an ovation. All rise. Cries of "Hurrah!" "Hurrah for our great Comrade Stalin!")

I declare the 19th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union closed. (Stormy applause. All rise. Cries of "Hurrah for Comrade Stalin!" "Glory to the great Stalin!") With great enthusiasm the Congress delegates and guests sing the Party hymn, the "Internationale." Again a stormy ovation breaks out in honor of the great Stalin. From all corners of the hall resound shouts of greeting in many languages to the beloved leader and teacher, the great Stalin!)



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Communist Party of the Soviet Union

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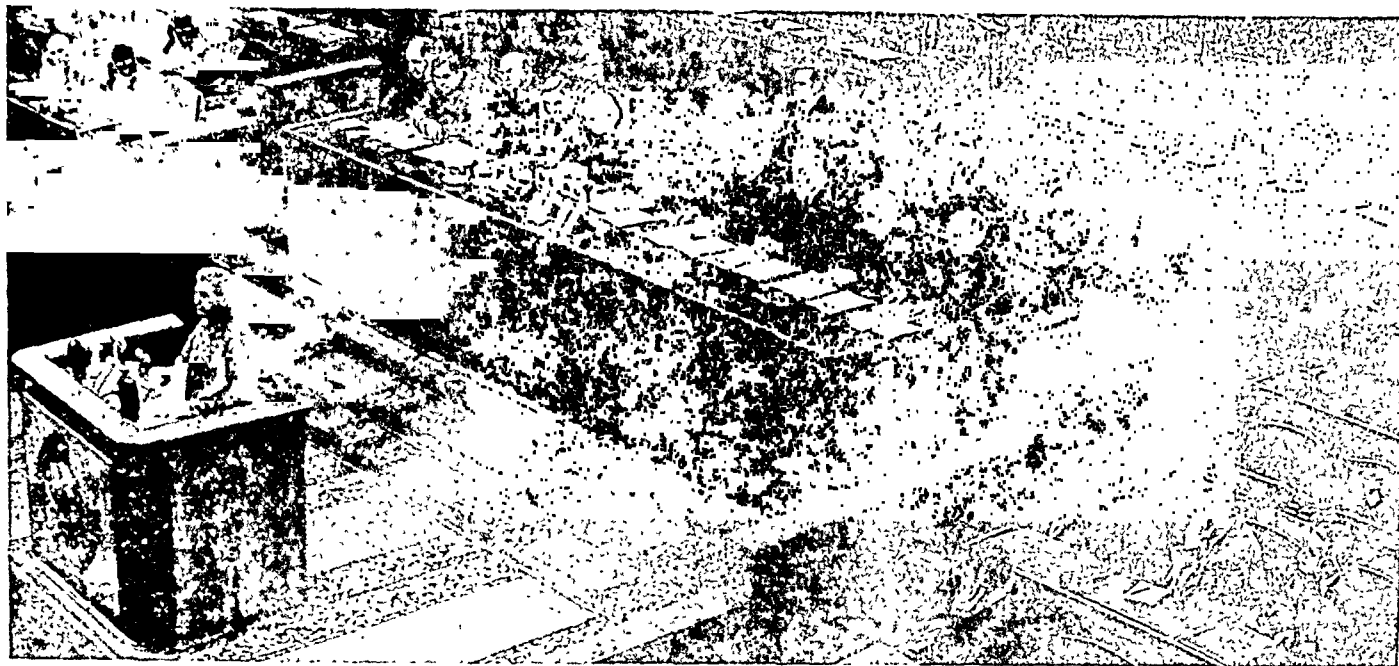
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THE 19TH CONGRESS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE SOVIET UNION CONCLUDED ITS WORK YESTERDAY.

COMRADE J. V. STALIN DELIVERED AN ADDRESS AT THE CONGRESS. THE DELEGATES AND ALL THOSE PRESENT AT THE CONGRESS, RISING TO THEIR FEET, GREETED JOSEPH VISSARIONOVICH STALIN, THE GENIUS-LEADER AND TEACHER OF ALL PROGRESSIVE MANKIND, IN A UNITED OUTBURST OF THE GREATEST ENTHUSIASM.



Concluding session of the 19th Party Congress. Left to right in the presidium: Comrades L. M. Karanovich, G. M. Malenkov, L. P. Beria, N. A. Bulganin, N. S. Khrushchev, K. Ye. Voroshilov, V. M. Molotov, D. S. Korotchenko, Zh. Shayakhmetov, O. V. Kuusinen, second row, N. S. Patolichev, A. B. Aristov, A. I. Niazov, V. M. Andrianov and M. D. Barilov. Comrade J. V. Stalin is at the speaker's rostrum. —(Photo by F. Kislov and A. Ustinov.)

XIV. STALIN'S CONCLUDING REMARKS

SPEECH OF COMRADE J. V. STALIN. (Pravda, Oct. 15, p. 1. Complete text:) (The delegates greet Comrade Stalin's appearance at the speaker's rostrum with stormy, unabating applause, turning into an ovation. All rise. Cries of "Hurrah for Comrade Stalin!" "Hail Comrade Stalin!" "Glory to the great Stalin!")

Comrades! Permit me to express the thanks of our Congress to all the fraternal parties and groups, representatives of which have honored our Congress by their presence or which have sent greetings to the Congress¹—thanks for their friendly greetings, for their wishes of success, for their trust. (Stormy, prolonged applause, turning into an ovation.)

This trust is particularly precious to us, for it signifies readiness to support our party in its struggle for a bright future for peoples, in its struggle against war, in its struggle for the preservation of peace. (Stormy, prolonged applause.)

It would be a mistake to think that our party, having become a mighty force, is no longer in need of support. That is untrue. Our party and our country always have been and always will be in need of the trust, sympathy and support of fraternal peoples abroad.

It is a distinguishing feature of this support that any support of the peaceful aspirations of our party by any fraternal party represents at the same time support of its own people in their struggle for the preservation of peace. When the British workers organized a struggle against war under the slogan "Hands Off Russia!" during the attack on the Soviet Union by the British bourgeoisie in 1918-1919, this was support, support primarily for their own people's struggle for peace, and secondarily

also support for the Soviet Union. When Comrade Thorez or Comrade Togliatti declare that their peoples will not fight against the peoples of the Soviet Union (stormy applause), this is support, primarily support for the workers and peasants of France and Italy, fighting for peace, and secondarily also support of the peaceful aspirations of the Soviet Union. This distinguishing feature of mutual support is explained by the fact that our party's interests not only do not contradict but, on the contrary, merge with the interests of peace-loving peoples. (Stormy applause.) As for the Soviet Union, its interests are altogether indivisible from the cause of world peace.

Naturally, our party cannot remain indebted to the fraternal parties and must in its turn afford support to them and likewise to their peoples in their struggle for liberation, in their struggle for the preservation of peace. As is known, that is exactly what it is doing. (Stormy applause.) After our party assumed power in 1917 and after the Party took effective measures to liquidate capitalist and landlord oppression, representatives of the fraternal parties, in their admiration for the courage and achievements of our party, gave it the title of "shock brigade" of the world revolutionary and workers' movement. They were thereby expressing the hope that the successes of the "shock brigade" would ease the situation of peoples languishing under the yoke of capitalism. I think that our party justified these hopes, particularly in the period of the second world war, when the Soviet Union, by smashing the German and Japanese fascist tyranny, delivered the peoples of Europe and Asia from the menace of fascist slavery. (Stormy applause.)

Of course, it was very hard to fill this honored role while the

"shock brigade" was the one and only one and as long as it had to fill this vanguard role almost single-handed. But that was in the past. Now things are quite different. Now, when new "shock brigades" have appeared in the form of countries of people's democracy from China and Korea to Czechoslovakia and Hungary—now it has become easier for our party to fight, yes, and the work goes more merrily. (Stormy, prolonged applause.)

Those Communist, democratic or workers' and peasants' parties which have not yet come to power and continue to operate under the heel of bourgeois Draconian laws are deserving of special attention. It is harder for them to function, of course. But it is not as hard for them as it was for us Russian Communists in the period of Tsarism, when the slightest movement forward was proclaimed a grievous crime. Yet the Russian Communists stood their ground, were undaunted by the difficulties and triumphed. So it will be with these parties.

Why will it not be so difficult for these parties to operate as it was for the Russian Communists in the Tsarist period?

Because, first, they have before their eyes such examples of struggle and achievement as are presented by the Soviet Union and the people's democracies. Consequently they can learn from the mistakes and successes of these countries and thus lighten their work.

Because, secondly, the bourgeoisie itself, the chief enemy of the liberation movement, has become different, has changed greatly, has become more reactionary, has lost contact with the people and thereby has weakened itself. It is obvious that this circumstance should also lighten the work of revolutionary and democratic parties. (Stormy applause.)

The bourgeoisie used to allow itself to play the liberal, used to uphold bourgeois democratic freedoms and thereby gained popularity for itself among the people. Now not a trace of liberalism remains. The so-called "freedoms of the individual" no longer exist—the rights of the individual are now accorded only to those who possess capital, while all other citizens are considered human raw material, fit only for exploitation. The principle of equal rights for men and nations has been trampled in the mud; it has been replaced by the principle of all rights for the exploiting minority and lack of rights for the exploited majority of citizens. The banner of bourgeois democratic freedoms has been cast overboard. I think that it is up to you, the representatives of the Communist and democratic parties, to lift this banner and carry it forward if you wish to gather the majority of the people around you. There is nobody else to lift it. (Stormy applause.)

The bourgeoisie used to be regarded as the head of the nation; it championed the rights and independence of the nation, placing them "above all." Now not a trace remains of the "national principle." Now the bourgeoisie sells the nation's rights and independence for dollars. The banner of national independence and national sovereignty has been cast overboard. There is no doubt that it is up to you, the representatives of the Communist and democratic parties, to lift this banner and carry it forward if you wish to be patriots of your country, if you wish to become the leading force of the nation. There is nobody else to lift it. (Stormy applause.)

That is how matters stand today.

It is obvious that all these circumstances should lighten the work of the Communist and democratic parties which have not yet come to power.

So there is every reason to count on successes and triumph of fraternal parties in the countries where capital holds sway. (Stormy applause.)

Hail our brother parties! (Prolonged applause.)

May the leaders of the fraternal parties live and flourish! (Prolonged applause.)

Long live peace among nations! (Prolonged applause.)

Down with the warmongers! (All rise. Stormy, unabating applause, turning into an ovation. Cries of "Hail Comrade Stalin!" "Hurrah for Comrade Stalin!" "Hail Comrade Stalin, the great leader of the working people of the world!" "Hurrah for the

great Stalin!" "Long live peace among nations!" Cries of "Hurrah!")

¹ The "Diary of the Congress" in Pravda, Oct. 8, p. 1, contains the following list of delegates of 44 fraternal Communist and Workers' Parties attending the Congress as guests: Polish Workers' Party, Comrades B. Bierut, F. Mazur, E. Ochab; Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, Comrades K. Gottwald, A. Zapotocky, V. Siroky; Communist Party of China, Comrades Liu Shao-chi, Jao Shu-shih, Chen Yi, Wang Chia-hsiang, Liu Chang-shen, Li Fu-chun; French Communist Party, Comrades M. Thorez, O. Leceur, R. Guyot, J. Vermeersch, G. Cognist, R. Garodi; Italian Communist Party, Comrades L. Longo, R. Grieco, R. Montagnana, P. Ingrao, E. Bonacci, P. Robotti; Hungarian United Worker's Party, Comrades M. Rákosi, E. Gerő, I. Hidas; Rumanian Workers' Party, Comrades G. Gheorghiu-Dej, I. Kishinevsky, A. Mogioros; Bulgarian Communist Party, Comrades V. Chervenkov, G. Chamkov, T. Zhivkov, S. Dylbokov, P. Papazov; Albanian Party of Labor, Comrades E. Hoxha, R. Marko, F. Pachrami; Communist Party of Spain, Comrades D. Ibaruri, S. Carrillo, V. Uribe; Communist Party of Great Britain, Comrades H. Pollitt, D. Gollan; Socialist Unity Party of Germany, Comrades W. Pieck, O. Grotewohl, W. Ulbricht, E. Schmidt, E. Honeker, E. Wirt, E. Grossman; Workers' Party of Korea, Comrades Pak Den Ai, Pan En Bin, Pya Cher, Kim Il, Pak Kim Cher; Communist Party of Finland, Comrades W. Pessi, A. Aaltonen, I. Lehtinen, M. Ryömä, A. Hautala; Communist Party of Germany, Comrades M. Reimann, F. Geittner, G. Flink, H. Zelner; Communist Party of Austria, Comrades Koplenig, F. Fűrberg, F. Haider; Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party, Comrades D. Damba, Z. Dagwa; Communist Party of India, Comrade A. K. Gopalan; Communist Party of Sweden, Comrades H. Hagberg, E. Carlsson; Communist Party of Norway, Comrades E. Lovlien, I. Strand-Johansen; Communist Party of Denmark, Comrades A. Larsen, A. Jensen; United Socialist Party of Iceland, Comrades B. Bjarnason, A. Sigursson, H. Jakobson; Communist Party of the Netherlands, Comrades G. Wagenaar, P. de Groot; Communist Party of Belgium, Comrades E. Lalmand, J. Gliner, E. Ponsele; Communist Party of Greece, Comrades N. Zachariades, V. Bartzotas; Communist Party of Luxembourg, Comrade D. Urbany; Communist Party of Australia, Comrade L. Sharkey; Communist Party of the Argentine, Comrade V. Codovilla; Labor Progressive Party of Canada, Comrade M. Leslie; Communist Party of Israel, Comrades S. Mikunis, T. Tubi; Communist Party of Turkey, Comrades M. Bilen, A. Eren; Communist Party of Uruguay, Comrade R. Arismendi; Peoples' Socialist (Communist) Party of Cuba, Comrades B. Roca, A. Escalante; People's Party of Iran, Comrades R. Radmanesh, E. Tabari, M. Bograti, A. Kosemi, G. Kh. Frutan; Communist Party of Venezuela, Comrade F. Bolanos; Swiss Labor Party, Comrades E. Woog, J. Vincent, M. Bodenmann; Communist Party of Mexico, Comrades D. Ensina, M. Terrasas; Communist Party of Syria and Lebanon, Comrade Bakdash; Communist Party of Chile, Comrade L. Vergara; Algerian Communist Party, Comrades L. Bouhalli, R. Dali-bai; Communist Party of the Free Territory of Trieste, Comrade B. Tominec; and "two [unnamed] representatives of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Brazil; representatives [unnamed] of the Communist Party of Indonesia, et al." Subsequent issues of Pravda contain messages of greeting voiced by the heads of these delegations at the Congress, as well as telegrams of greetings to the Congress from the Communist Parties of the United States, Japan, New Zealand, Pakistan, Thailand, Ceylon, Paraguay, Ecuador, Cyprus, Guatemala, Puerto Rico, San Marino, Burma [an unnamed representative of which addressed the Congress], Tunisia, Morocco, Colombia and Portugal and the Vietnam Party of the Working People. Pravda also prints an address to the Congress by Pero Popivody, a spokesman for the Alliance of Yugoslav Patriots for Liberation of the Peoples of Yugoslavia From Fascist Oppression of the Tito-Rankovic Clique and Imperialist Bondage.

XV. THE CONGRESS DECISIONS

Membership of Central Party Bodies

COMPOSITION OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE*

Of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union

Elected by the 19th Party Congress

(Pravda, Oct. 15, pp. 1-2. Complete text:—)

MEMBERS OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE SOVIET UNION

1. A[ndrei] A[ndreyevich] ANDREYEV. [Attacked for his policy of permitting decentralization of work brigades on collective farms, Andreyev lost his position in the Party leadership—he had been a member of the Politburo and Chairman of the Party Control Commission—and his government post of Vice-Chairman of the Council of Ministers. He is also believed to have lost his position of Chairman of the Council's Committee on Collective Farm Affairs. Elected to Supreme Soviet Presidium in post-Stalin reorganization.]

2. V[asily] M[ikhailovich] ANDRIANOV. [Member of the C.C. Presidium elected by the Congress, but dropped from it in the post-Stalin reorganization. First Secretary of the Leningrad Province Party Committee, Chairman of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the Supreme Soviet's Council of the Union, member of the Supreme Soviet Presidium.]

3. A[verky] B[orisovich] ARISTOV. [Elected by the Congress to be a Central Committee Secretary and member of the C.C. Presidium, but dropped from both positions in the reorganization after Stalin's death. Up to the time of the Congress, First Secretary of the Chelyabinsk Province Party Committee, previously of the Krasnoyarsk Territory committee.]

4. G[rigory] A[rtemyevich] ARUTINOV. [Secretary of the Armenian Republic Communist Party.]

5. S[ukhan] BABAYEV. [Secretary of the Turkmenian Republic Communist Party.]

6. M[ir] D[zhafar Abasovich] BAGIROV. [Secretary of the Azerbaidzhan Republic Communist Party; made a candidate member of the C.C. Presidium in the post-Stalin reorganization; member of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the Supreme Soviet Council of the Union; member of the Supreme Soviet Presidium.]

7. N[ikolai] K[onstantinovich] BAIBAKOV. [Minister of the Oil Industry.]

8. N[ikolai] I[lyich] BELYAYEV. [First Secretary of the Altai Territory Party Committee.]

9. I[van] A[lexandrovich] BENEDIKTOV. [Minister of Agriculture at the time of the Congress; dropped in the post-Stalin reorganization.]

10. L[avrenty] P[avlovich] BERIA. [Minister of Internal Affairs, First Vice-Chairman of the Council of Ministers, member of the C.C. Presidium, member of the commission to revise the Party Program. In charge of Georgian and perhaps all Transcaucasus Communist Party affairs.]

11. B[oris] P[avlovich] BESHCHEV. [Minister of Transportation. At the time of the Congress, Minister of Railroads.]

12. I[van] P[avlovich] BOITSOV. [First Secretary of the Stavropol Territory Party Committee.]

13. G[ennady] A[ndreyevich] BORKOV. [First Secretary of the Saratov Province Party Committee.]

14. L[eonid] I[lyich] BREZHNEV. [Relieved as Secretary of C.C. Committee and candidate member of C.C. Presidium to become of Political Department of Navy in post-Stalin reorganization. Formerly Secretary of Moldavian Communist Party and, before that, of Dnepropetrovsk committee.]

15. N[ikolai] A[lexandrovich] BULGANIN. [Marshal of the Soviet Union, Minister of Defense, First Vice-Chairman of the Council of Ministers, member of the C.C. Presidium.]

16. S[abir] A[khmedchanovich] VAGAPOV. [First Secretary of the Bashkir Autonomous Republic Party Committee, member of the Supreme Soviet Presidium.]

17. B[oris] L[vovich] VANNIKOV. [Special representative of the Council of Ministers.]

18. A[lexander] M[ikhailovich] VASILEVSKY. [Marshal of the Soviet Union, First Deputy Minister of Defense.]

19. I[van] A[lexeyevich] VOLKOV. [First Secretary of the Tambov Province Party Committee.]

20. G[ennady] I[vanovich] VORONOV. [First Secretary of the Chita Province Party Committee.]

21. K[liment] Ye[removich] VOROSHILOV. [Marshal of the Soviet Union; member of the C.C. Presidium; Chairman of

* [As elected by the Congress in October, 1952; in Russian alphabetical order. All bracketed matter was added by the translator after the post-Stalin reorganization and shows the status of the C.C. members as of mid-April, 1953.—Ed.]

the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet in the post-Stalin reorganization.]

22. A[ndrei] Ya[nuaryevich] VYSHINSKY. [First Deputy Foreign Minister and Permanent Representative at the U.N. The Congress elected him a candidate member of the C.C. Presidium but he lost this post in the later reorganization.]
23. B[obodzhan] GAFUROV. [Secretary of the Communist Party of Tadzhikistan.]
24. F. S. GORYACHEV. [First Secretary of the Tyumen Province Party Committee.]
25. V. V. GRISHIN. [Secretary of the Moscow Province Party Committee.]
26. I[van] T[imofeyevich] GRISHIN. [Secretary of the Stalin-grad Province Party Committee.]
27. M[ikhail] I[lyich] GUSEV. [First Secretary of the Kemerovo Province Party Committee, member of the Russian Republic Supreme Soviet Presidium.]
28. G[eorgy] A[polinaryevich] DENISOV. [First Secretary of the Kurgan Province Party Committee.]
29. A[lexander] N[ikolayevich] YEGOROV. [Secretary of the Karelo-Finnish Republic Communist Party, previously First Secretary of the Bryansk Province Party Committee.]
30. A[lexander] P[avlovich] YEFIMOV. [First Secretary of the Khabarovsk Territory Party Committee.]
31. L[eonid] N[ikolayevich] YEFREMOV. [Chairman of the Kuibyshev Province Soviet Executive Committee.]
32. Y[ury] A[lexandrovich] ZHDANOV. [Head of the Central Committee's Department of Science and Higher Education.]
33. I[van] K[uzmich] ZHEGALIN. [First Secretary of the Grozny Province Party Committee.]
34. K[onstantin] P[avlovich] ZHUKOV. [First Secretary of the Voronezh Province Party Committee.]
35. A[lexander] F[yodorovich] ZASYADKO. [Minister of the Coal Industry.]
36. A[rseny] G[rigoryevich] ZVEREV. [Minister of Finance. The Congress elected him a candidate member of the C.C. Presidium, but he was dropped in the reshuffle.]
37. M[ikhail] V[asilyevich] ZIMYANIN. [Second Secretary of the Belorussian Republic Communist Party, Vice-Chairman of the Supreme Soviet's Council of Nationalities.]
38. N[ikolai] G[rigoryevich] IGNATOV. [Elected by the Congress a candidate member of the C.C. Presidium, dropped in the reorganization; elected Secretary of the C.C., but relieved of this post in the reorganization in order to concentrate on executive work in the Council of Ministers. Up to the time of the Congress, First Secretary of the Krasnodar Territory Party Committee. Member of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the Supreme Soviet's Council of the Union.]
39. S[emyon] D[enisovich] IGNATYEV. [Former Minister of State Security. Elected by the Congress to C.C. Presidium, shifted to C.C. Secretary in the later reorganization, dismissed from latter post for "gullibility" in the frame-up of the Kremlin doctors. Formerly C.C. Representative in Uzbekistan.]
40. I[van] G[rigoryevich] KABANOV. [Elected by the Congress a member of the C.C. Presidium, later dropped; named First Deputy Minister of Domestic and Foreign Trade. Formerly Minister of the Electrical Equipment Industry and head of the State Electrification Administration.]
41. L[azar] M[oiseyevich] KAGANOVICH. [First Vice-Chairman of the Council of Ministers, member of the C.C. Presidium, member of the commission to revise the Party Program.]
42. J[anis] E[duardovich] KALNBERZINS. [Secretary of the Latvian Communist Party, member of the Supreme Soviet Presidium.]
43. I[van] V[asilyevich] KAPITONOV. [First Secretary of the Moscow City Party Committee.]
44. Z[akhary] N[ikolayevich] KETSKHOVELI. [Chairman of the Georgian Republic Council of Ministers, member of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the Supreme Soviet's Council of Nationalities.]
45. A[lexander] N[ikolayevich] KIDIN. [First Secretary of the Smolensk Province Party Committee.]
46. A[lexei] I[llarionovich] KIRICHENKO. [Second Secretary of the Ukraine Republic Communist Party, Vice-Chairman of the Supreme Soviet's Council of the Union.]

47. V. I. KISELEV. [Vice-Chairman of the Belorussian Council of Ministers and Belorussian Republic Minister of Foreign Affairs.]
48. N[ikolai] V[asilyevich] KISELEV. [First Secretary of the Rostov Province Party Committee, formerly of the Omsk Province committee.]
49. M[aria] D[mitriyevna] KOVRIGINA. [Russian Republic Minister of Public Health.]
50. F[rol] R[omanovich] KOZLOV. [Second Secretary of the Leningrad Province Party Committee, formerly First Secretary of the Leningrad city committee.]
51. I[van] S[tepanovich] KONEV. [At the time of the Congress, Marshal of the Soviet Union, Deputy Minister of War and Commander in Chief of the Soviet Army.]
52. A[lexander] Ye[vdokimovich] KORNEICHUK. [Chairman of the Ukraine Supreme Soviet Presidium, Chairman of the Board of the Union of Soviet Writers of the Ukraine.]
53. D[emyan] S[ergeyevich] KOROTCHENKO. [Chairman of the Ukraine Council of Ministers; elected by the Congress to the C.C. Presidium, but dropped in the reorganization.]
54. P[avel] N[ikolayevich] KORCHAGIN. [First Secretary of the Chkalov Province Party Committee.]
55. A[lexei] N[ikolayevich] KOSYGIN. [Elected by the Congress a candidate member of the C. C. Presidium, later dropped from this post and appointed Minister of Light and Food Industry. Formerly Minister of Light Industry and a Vice-Chairman of the Council of Ministers.]
56. S[ergei] N[ikiforovich] KRUGLOV. [Colonel-General of State Security, Minister of Internal Affairs until the merger of this ministry with the Ministry of State Security.]
57. V[asily] V[asilyevich] KUZNETSOV. [At the time of the Congress, Chairman of the Central Council of Trade Unions; replaced by Shvernik in this post, and appointed Deputy Foreign Minister and Ambassador to China in the reorganization after Stalin's death. Elected by the Congress to the C.C. Presidium, but dropped in the reorganization. Member of Supreme Soviet Presidium.]
58. N[ikolai] G[erasimovich] KUZNETSOV. [Vice-Admiral and Minister of the Navy at the time of the Congress.]
59. T[imur] I. KULIYEV. [Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Azerbaidzhan Republic.]
60. A[lexei] M[ikhailovich] KUTYREV. [First Secretary of the Sverdlovsk Province Party Committee, formerly of the Murmansk Province committee.]
61. O[hto] V[ilgelmovich] KUUSINEN. [Formerly member of the Comintern Executive Committee and head of the puppet government set up during the Russo-Finnish War of 1939-1940; Chairman of the Karelo-Finnish Republic Supreme Soviet Presidium, Vice-Chairman of the U.S.S.R. Supreme Soviet Presidium, member of the commission to revise the Party Program. Elected to the C.C. Presidium, later dropped.]
62. I[van] G[ustovich] KEBIN. [Secretary of the Estonian Communist Party, Chairman of the Credentials Committee of the Supreme Soviet Council of Nationalities.]
63. A[lexei] N[ikolayevich] LARIONOV. [First Secretary of the Ryazan Province Party Committee.]
64. I[van] S[ergeyevich] LATUNOV. [First Secretary of the Archangel Province Party Committee.]
65. I[van] K[onstantinovich] LEBEDEV. [First Secretary of the Omsk Province Party Committee, formerly of the Penza Province committee.]
66. V[ladimir] V[asilyevich] LUKYANOV. [First Secretary of the Yaroslavl Province Party Committee, formerly of the Ivanovo Province committee.]
67. G[eorgy] M[aximilianovich] MALENKOV. [Chairman of the Council of Ministers, member of the C.C. Presidium, released from duties as Secretary of the C.C. in the post-Stalin reorganization. Member of the commission to revise the Party Program.]
68. V[yacheslav] A[lexandrovich] MALYSHEV. [Colonel-General. At the time of the Congress, Minister of Shipbuilding and Vice-Chairman of the Council of Ministers. Elected member of the C.C. Presidium; dropped from the two last-named posts in the reorganization and made Minister of Transport Machinery and Heavy Machine Building.]
69. A. I. MARFIN. [First Secretary of the Ryazan Province Party Committee in 1948; no record found since then.]
70. A[kaky] I[vanovich] MGELADZE. [Secretary of the

Georgian Communist Party, formerly First Secretary of the Abkhazia Autonomous Republic Party Committee.]

71. D[mitry] N[ikanorovich] MELNIK. [First Secretary of the Amur Province Party Committee, formerly of the Sakhalin Province committee.]

72. L[eonid] G[eorgiyevich] MELNIKOV. [Elected by the Congress a member of the C.C. Presidium, dropped to rank of candidate member in the reorganization. Secretary of the Ukraine Communist Party, member of the Supreme Soviet Presidium, member of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the Supreme Soviet's Council of the Union.]

73. L[ev] Z[akharovich] MEKHLIS. [Former editor of Pravda, former head of the Red Army Political Administration and former People's Commissar (and until 1950 Minister) of State Control, Mekhlis died Feb. 13, 1953.]

74. A[nastas] I[vanovich] MIKOYAN. [Member of the C.C. Presidium, Vice-Chairman of the Council of Ministers, Minister of Domestic and Foreign Trade.]

75. M[ark] B[orisovich] MITIN. [Succeeded P. F. Yudin as editor of the Cominform organ, For a Lasting Peace, For a People's Democracy.]

76. N[ikolai] A[lexandrovich] MIKHAILOV. [Until recently, Secretary of the Young Communist League and Vice-Chairman of the World Federation of Democratic Youth. Elected by the Congress to be a C.C. Secretary and member of the C.C. Presidium; dropped from these positions to relieve Khrushchev as First Secretary of the Moscow Province Party Committee.]

77. V[yacheslav] M[ikhailovich] MOLOTOV. [First Vice-Chairman of the Council of Ministers, Minister of Foreign Affairs, member of the C.C. Presidium, member of the commission to revise the Party Program.]

78. V[asily] A[rsenyevich] MOSKVIN. [First Secretary of the Tomsk Province Party Committee, formerly Chairman of the Kemerovo Province Soviet Executive Committee.]

79. Z[inat] I[betovich] MURATOV. [First Secretary of the Tatar Autonomous Republic Party Committee.]

80. N[uriddin] A[kramovich] MUKHITDINOV. [Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Uzbek Republic, formerly First Secretary of the Namangan Province Party Committee.]

81. V[iktor] I[vanovich] NEDOSEKIN. [First Secretary of the Sverdlovsk Province Party Committee.]

82. B[oris] F[yodorovich] NIKOLAYEV. [First Secretary of the Smolensk Province Party Committee, formerly Second Secretary of the Leningrad Province Party Committee.]

83. A[min] I[rmatovich] NIAZOV. [Secretary of the Uzbekistan Communist Party, formerly Chairman of the Presidium of the Uzbek Republic Supreme Soviet.]

84. N[ikolai] N[ikolayevich] ORGANOV. [First Secretary of the Maritime Territory Party Committee.]

85. A[nna] M[ikhailovna] PANKRATOVA. [Historian, member of the Academy of Sciences.]

86. N[ikolai] S[emyonovich] PATOLICHEV. [Secretary of the Belorussian Communist Party, member of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the Supreme Soviet's Council of the Union; elected by the Congress a candidate member of the C.C. Presidium, but dropped in the reshuffle.]

87. N[ikolai] M[ikhailovich] PEGOV. [Until recently, head of the Party Central Committee's Department of Light Industry; elected a C.C. Secretary and candidate member of the C.C. Presidium, dropped from these posts to be Secretary of the Supreme Soviet Presidium.]

88. M[ikhail] G[eorgiyevich] PERVUKHIN. [Member of the C.C. Presidium and Minister of Power Plants and the Electrical Industry.]

89. P[anteleimon] K[ondratyevich] PONOMARENKO. [Elected by the Congress a full member but dropped to candidate member of the C.C. Presidium; elected a C.C. Secretary, but relieved of this post to concentrate on "executive work in the Council of Ministers," then appointed Minister of Culture. Formerly Minister of Procurements.]

90. A[lexander] N. POSKREBYSHEV. [Lieutenant General, formerly chief of Stalin's secretariat. Chairman of the legislative committee of the Supreme Soviet's Council of the Union.]

91. P[eter] N[ikolayevich] POSPELOV. [Party theoretician, Director of the Marx-Engels-Lenin Institute of the Central Committee, assistant editor of Kommunist magazine, made a

C.C. Secretary in the post-Stalin reorganization, member of the commission to revise the Party Program; former editor of Pravda.]

92. F[ilip] M[ikhailovich] PRASS. [First Secretary of the Molotov Province Party Committee.]

93. V[asily] A[ndreyevich] PROKOFYEV. [First Secretary of the Murmansk Province Party Committee.]

94. V[asily] P[rokhovich] PRONIN. [At the time of the Congress, Minister of Labor Reserves; the ministry was merged with others in the subsequent government reorganization.]

95. A[lexander] M[ikhailovich] PUZANOV. [Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Russian Republic; First Secretary of the Kuliyshev Province Party Committee. Elected by the Congress a candidate member of the C.C. Presidium, dropped in the reorganization.]

96. I[shak] R[azzakovich] RAZZAKOV. [Secretary of the Kirgiz Republic Communist Party, formerly Chairman of the Kirgiz Republic Council of Ministers.]

97. A., N. RUMYANTSEV. [First Secretary of the Kharkov Province Party Committee in 1948; positions since then not traced; member of the commission to revise the Party Program.]

98. M[axim] Z[akharovich] SABUROV. [Member of the C.C. Presidium; relieved as Chairman of the State Planning Committee to become head of the combined Ministry of Machine Building in the government reorganization. Member of the commission to revise the Party Program.]

99. A[lexei] V[ladimirovich] SEMIN. [First Secretary of the Tomsk Province Party Committee.]

100. D[mitry] G[rigoryevich] SMIRNOV. [First Secretary of the Gorky Province Party Committee.]

101. A[ntanas] J[uosovich] SNIIECKUS. [Secretary of the Lithuanian Communist Party.]

102. V[asily] D[anilovich] SOKOLOVSKY. [Marshal of the Soviet Union. At the time of the Congress, First Deputy Minister of War.]

103. J[oseph] V[issarionovich] STALIN. [At the time of the Congress, Generalissimo, Secretary of the Communist Party, Chairman of the C.C. Presidium, Chairman of the Council of Ministers, chairman of the commission to revise the Party Program.]

104. M[ikhail] A[ndreyevich] SUSLOV. [C.C. Secretary. Elected member of C. C. Presidium, but dropped in the reorganization. Member of the Supreme Soviet Presidium. Former editor of Pravda.]

105. Ye[lubai] B[azimovich] TAIBEKOV. [Chairman of the Kazakh Republic Council of Ministers, formerly First Secretary of the Akmolinsk Province Party Committee.]

106. I[van] F[yodorovich] TEVOSYAN. [Minister of Ferrous Metallurgy and Vice-Chairman of the Council of Ministers until the reorganization; made Minister of the Metallurgical Industry. The Congress elected him to the C.C. Presidium, but he was dropped in the reshuffle.]

107. P[avel] I[vanovich] TITOV. [First Secretary of the Crimea Province Party Committee.]

108. F[yodor] Ye[gorovich] TITOV. [Second Secretary of the Latvian Communist Party until its 12th Congress, Oct. 20-21, 1952, when he was not among those re-elected.]

109. D[mitry] F[yodorovich] USTINOV. [Minister of Defense Industry; his ministry was the Ministry of Armaments Industry prior to merger with the Ministry of the Aircraft Industry in the government reorganization.]

110. A[lexander] A[lexandrovich] FADEYEV. [Secretary of the Union of Soviet Writers.]

111. A[lexei] I[vanovich] KHVOROSTUKHIN. [First Secretary of the Irkutsk Province Party Committee.]

112. M[ikhail] V[asilyevich] KHRUNICHEV. [Lieutenant General, Minister of the Aircraft Industry, which was merged with the Ministry of Armaments Industry into the Ministry of Defense Industry.]

113. N[ikita] S[ergeyevich] KHRUSHCHEV. [Member of the C.C. Presidium; C.C. Secretary. Relieved of duties of First Secretary of the Moscow Province Party Committee to concentrate on his work in the C.C. A veteran Party leader, he directed the Ukraine Party organization before taking over the Moscow Province Party leadership and Secretariat work in 1949.]

114. P[eter] F[yodorovich] CHEPLAKOV. [First Secretary of the Sakhalin Province Party Committee.]

115. V[asily] Ye[fimovich] CHERNYSHEV. [First Secretary of Kaliningrad (Königsberg) Province Party Committee, formerly of Minsk Province committee.]
116. D. I. CHESNOKOV. [Editor of Voprosy filosofii until 1952 and subsequently a member of the editorial board; member of the commission for revising the Party Program. Elected by the Congress to the C.C. Presidium, but dropped in the reorganization.]
- [116-2] N[ikolai] N[ikolayevich] SHATALIN. [Formerly a Central Committee official in the cadres department, Shatalin was elected a C.C. candidate by the Congress (No. 105 in the candidate list below), subsequently transferred to full membership and made a C.C. Secretary.]
117. Zh[umalai] SHAYAKHMETOV. [Secretary of the Kazakh Republic Communist Party, Chairman of the Supreme Soviet's Council of Nationalities.]
118. N[ikolai] M[ikhailovich] SHVERNIK. [Elected to the C.C. Presidium, later reduced to rank of candidate member of the Presidium; removed as Chairman of the Supreme Soviet Presidium to make way for Voroshilov in that post; made Chairman of the Central Council of Trade Unions instead—a post he had previously held; member, Supreme Soviet Presidium.]
119. A[lexander] N[ikolayevich] SHELEPIN. [Secretary of the Young Communist League, previously Second Secretary of the Y.C.L. Central Committee.]
120. D[mitry] T[rofimovich] SHEPILOV. [Head of the Central Committee's Department of Propaganda and Agitation. Succeeded Ilyichev as editor of Pravda.]
121. M[atvei] F[yodorovich] SHKIRYATOV. [Elected to C.C. Presidium, dropped in reorganization. Chairman, Party Control Committee; member, Supreme Soviet Presidium.]
122. P[avel] F[yodorovich] YUDIN. [Elected candidate member of C.C. Presidium, later dropped. Member of commission to revise the Party Program. Member of Foreign Affairs Committee of Council of Union. Ex-C.C. delegate for Cominform Affairs. Political adviser to Soviet Control Commission in Germany.]
123. U[sman] Yu[supovich] YUSUPOV. [Minister of Cotton Growing before the merger of ministries; member of the Supreme Soviet Presidium and of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the Supreme Soviet's Council of the Union.]
124. I[van] D[mitriyevich] YAKOVLEV. [First Secretary of Kiev Province Party Committee.]
125. M[ikhail] A[lexeyevich] YASNOV. [Chairman of the Moscow City Soviet Executive Committee, member of the Moscow Party bureau, Chairman of the Supreme Soviet's Council of the Union, member of the Presidium of the Russian Republic Supreme Soviet.]

**CANDIDATES FOR MEMBERSHIP [ALTERNATES],
CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE COMMUNIST
PARTY OF THE SOVIET UNION**

1. G[eorgy] F[yodorovich] ALEXANDROV. [Director of the Philosophy Institute of the Academy of Sciences, previously head of the C.C. Propaganda and Agitation Department.]
2. G. V. ALEXENKO. [Minister of the Communications Equipment Industry before its merger with other ministries in the government reorganization.]
3. P[avel] A[rtemyevich] ARTEMYEV. [Colonel General, Commander in Chief of the Moscow Military District.]
4. T[imofei] A[rkadyevich] AKHAZOV. [First Secretary of the Chuvash Autonomous Republic Party Committee.]
5. I[van] Kh[rstoforovich] BAGRAMYAN. [Army General, Commander in Chief of the Baltic Military District, member of the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee.]
6. V[alerian] M[inayevich] BAKRADZE. [Vice-Chairman of the Georgian Republic Council of Ministers.]
7. N[ikolai] Ye[fremovich] BASISTY. [Admiral, Deputy Minister of the Navy at the time of the Congress, and Commander of the Fleet.]
8. S[emyon] I[lyich] BOGDANOV. [Marshal, Commander in Chief of the Armored Forces and Deputy Minister of War before the reorganization of ministries.]
9. A[lexei] D[mitriyevich] BONDARENKO. [First Secretary of the Bryansk Province Party Committee.]
10. S[emyon] Z[akharovich] BORISOV. [First Secretary of the Yakut Autonomous Republic Party Committee, formerly

- Chairman of the Council of Ministers of that autonomous republic.]
11. S[emyon] M[ikhailovich] BUDYONNY. [Marshal, noted as a Red cavalry leader in the Civil War, member of the Supreme Soviet Presidium.]
12. S. M. BUTUZOV. [First Secretary of the Krasnoyarsk Territory Party Committee.]
13. K[onstantin] A[ndreyevich] VERSHININ. [Marshal, until 1949 Deputy Minister of War and Commander in Chief of the Air Force.]
14. M[ecislovas] A[lexandrovich] GEDVILAS. [Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Lithuanian Republic.]
- [14-a.] L[eonid] A[lexandrovich] GOVOROV. [Marshal; Second Deputy Minister of War until the reorganization of ministries. His name was added to the list of candidates by a special announcement Oct. 30, 15 days after the list was published, with the explanation that his name had been omitted through an oversight. "A check has shown that Comrade L. A. Govorov actually was elected a candidate member of the Central Committee," said the announcement, signed by the C. C. Secretariat.]
15. S[ergei] A[rsenyevich] GOGLIDZE. [Colonel General of State Security Forces, head of Khabarovsk Territory office of Ministry of State Security at the time of the Congress.]
16. A[lexander] V[asilyevich] GORBATOV. [Colonel General, Commander in Chief of the Kaliningrad (Königsberg) Military District.]
17. K[onstantin] P[etrovich] GORSHENIN. [Minister of Justice, formerly Chief State Prosecutor.]
18. A[ndrei] A[ndreyevich] GRECHKO. [Colonel General, Commander in Chief of the Kiev Military District.]
19. V[agan] G[rigoryevich] GRIGORYAN. [Until recently C.C. representative in the Adzharian Autonomous Republic.]
20. A[ndrei] A[ndreyevich] GROMYKO. [Soviet Ambassador to Great Britain, First Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs.]
21. A[bdurakhman] D[anilovich] DANIALOV. [First Secretary of the Dagestan Province Party Committee, member of the Supreme Soviet Presidium.]
22. B[oris] A[lexandrovich] DVINSKY. [Minister of Procurements until 1950.]
23. P. V. DEMENTYEV. [Deputy Minister of the Aircraft Industry, which was merged with the armaments industry in one ministry.]
24. N[ikolai] A. DYGAJ. [Formerly Minister of Machine-Building Enterprise Construction; since the reorganization, Minister of Construction.]
25. A[lexei] A[lexeyevich] YEPISHEV. [First Secretary of the Odessa Province Party Committee.]
26. D[mitry] V[asilyevich] YEFREMOV. [Minister of the Electrical Equipment Industry until the mergers of ministries.]
27. V[asily] G[avrilovich] ZHAVORONKOV. [Formerly Minister of (Domestic) Trade; since the reorganization, Deputy Minister of Domestic and Foreign Trade.]
28. P[avel] F[yodorovich] ZHIGARYOV. [Colonel General, Deputy Minister of War and Commander in Chief of the Air Force at the time of the Congress.]
29. D[mitry] G[eorgiyevich] ZHIMERIN. [Minister of Power Plants until the ministry mergers.]
30. G[eorgy] K[onstantinovich] ZHUKOV. [Marshal of the Soviet Union, until 1950 Commander in Chief of the Northern Urals Military District, subsequently in the War Ministry; after the government reorganization, First Deputy Minister of Defense.]
31. A. P. ZAVENYAGIN. [Deputy Minister of Internal Affairs at the time of the Congress.]
32. G[eorgy] N[ikolayevich] ZARUBIN. [Ambassador to the United States.]
33. P[eter] A. ZAKHAROV. [Minister of Geology. This ministry was dissolved in the reorganization.]
34. S. Ye. ZAKHAROV. [Admiral, Deputy Minister of the Navy before the reorganization.]
35. L[eonid] F[yodorovich] ILYICHEV. [Former editor of Pravda and a former editor of Kommunist, the Party's central political magazine.]
36. N[ikolai] S[tepanovich] KAZAKOV. [Minister of the Heavy Machine-Building Industry before the merger of ministries.]
37. I[van] A[ndreyevich] KAIROV. [Russian Republic Minister

17, p. 1. Complete text: A meeting of the Central Inspection Commission of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union was held Oct. 16, 1952.

The Central Inspection Commission elected Comrade P. G. Moskatov chairman of the commission.

CONGRESS RESOLUTIONS

ON CHANGING THE NAME OF THE PARTY.—Resolution of the 19th Party Congress, Adopted Unanimously. (Pravda, Oct. 14, p. 1. Complete text: The dual name of our party—"Communist"—"Bolshevik"—was historically formed as a result of the struggle with the Mensheviks and had the purpose of marking the distinction from Menshevism. Since, however, the Menshevik party has long disappeared from the scene in the U.S.S.R., the dual name of the Party has lost its point, particularly since the concept of "Communist" expresses most exactly the Marxist nature of the Party's tasks, while the concept "Bolshevik" expresses only the historical fact—one which long ago lost its significance—that at the Second Party Congress in 1903 the Leninists won a majority of votes and hence were called "Bolsheviks" [meaning "members of the majority (bolsheviks)"].—Trans.], while the opportunist element remained in a minority and received the title of "Mensheviks" ["members of the minority"].—Trans.].

In connection with this, the 19th Party Congress resolves: Henceforth to call the All-Union Communist Party of Bolsheviks (A.-U.C.P. [B.]) "the Communist Party of the Soviet Union" (C.P.S.U.).

ON CHANGES IN THE STATUTES OF THE A.-U.C.P. (B.).—Resolution of the 19th Party Congress, Adopted Unanimously. (Pravda, Oct. 14, p. 1. Complete text: The 19th Party Congress resolves:

1. To approve the draft Party Statutes submitted by the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party (of Bolsheviks) with the corrections and additions made by the Congress commission.

2. Henceforth to consider the Party Statutes—Statutes of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union—approved by the Congress

ON REVISING THE PROGRAM OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE SOVIET UNION.—Resolution of the 19th Party Congress of the A.-U.C.P. (B.). Adopted Unanimously. (Pravda, Oct. 14, p. 3. Complete text: The 19th Party Congress notes that in the period since the Eighth Party Congress (1919), when the existing Party Program was adopted, fundamental changes have taken place both in the sphere of international relations and in the sphere of the construction of socialism in the U.S.S.R., in which connection many of the propositions set forth in the Program and tasks of the Party expounded therein, since they have already been accomplished in this period, no longer correspond to modern conditions and the Party's new tasks.

RESOLUTIONS ON REPORTS

19th CONGRESS OF ALL-UNION COMMUNIST PARTY (OF BOLSHEVIKS).—Unanimous Resolution of the 19th Congress of the A.-U.C.P. (B.) on Report by Comrade G. M. Malenkov, Secretary of the Central Committee of the A.-U.C.P. (B.) on the Work of the C.C. of the A.-U.C.P. (B.). Having heard and discussed the report by Comrade G. M. Malenkov, Secretary of the Central Committee of the A.-U.C.P. (B.) on the work of the C.C. of the A.-U.C.P. (B.), the 19th Congress of the A.-U.C.P. (B.) resolves:

To approve the political line and practical work of the C.C. of the A.-U.C.P. (B.).

RESOLUTION OF 19TH CONGRESS OF THE A.-U.C.P. (B.) ON THE REPORT OF THE CENTRAL INSPECTION COMMISSION OF THE A.-U.C.P. (B.). Adopted Unanimously. (Pravda, Oct. 9, p. 1. Complete text: Resolved, to approve

COMPOSITION OF THE CENTRAL INSPECTION COMMISSION* ELECTED BY THE 19TH PARTY CONGRESS

1. A. I. Alexeyev
 2. V. A. Andreyev
 3. V. I. Babich
 4. A. F. Gorkin
 5. G. Ye. Grishko
 6. G. P. Gromov
 7. Ye. I. Gromov
 8. K. A. Gubin
 9. V. P. Druzin
 10. G. V. Yenyutin
 11. V. I. Zakurdayev
 12. V. Ye. Zinchenko
 13. G. P. Kosyachenko
 14. V. S. Krushkov
 15. T. Kulatov
 16. Z. V. Mitronova
 17. P. G. Moskatov
 18. V. P. Moskovsky
 19. B. Ovezov
 20. G. I. Osipov
 21. N. V. Podgorny
 22. B. F. Podserov
 23. P. S. Prokopen
 24. D. Rasulov
 25. G. Ya. Rud
 26. V. S. Semyonov
 27. N. A. Skvortsov
 28. A. I. Sobenin
 29. A. M. Spiridonov
 30. A. I. Struyev
 31. M. S. Suyetin
 32. A. A. Surkov
 33. M. P. Tarasov
 34. S. N. Tarasov
 35. A. T. Tvardovsky
 36. Ye. I. Tretyakova
 37. M. T. Yakubov
103. Vasily [V.] Ivanovich] CHUIKOV. [General, Commander of Soviet occupation forces in Germany, Chairman of the Soviet Control Commission there.]
104. G. A. CHUMACHENKO. [Deputy Minister of Railroads before the mergers of ministries.]
105. N. [Nikolai] N. [Nikolayevich] SHATALIN. [Transferred to full member; see 116-a in that listing.]
106. Z. [Zlisa] A. [Alexeyevich] SHASHKOV. [Minister of Inland Shipping until the mergers, now Minister of Merchant Marine and Inland Shipping.]
107. A. M. SHKOLNIKOV. [First Secretary of Kaluga Province Party Committee in 1948; no more recent record found.]
108. S. [Sergei] M. [Mikhailovich] SHTEMENKO. [General, chief of the General Staff.]
109. P. [Pavel] A. [Alexandrovich] YUDIN. [Minister of the Building Materials Industry.]
110. I. [Ivan] S. [Sergeyevich] YUMASHEV. [Admiral, fleet commander, formerly Minister of the Navy.]

PRESIDIUM AND SECRETARIAT

ELECTION OF CENTRAL BODIES OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE AT A PLenary SESSION OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE C.P.S.U. (Pravda, Oct. 17, p. 1. Complete text: A plenary session of the newly elected Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union was held Oct. 16, 1952.

(1) The plenary session elected THE PRESIDIUM OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE, as follows: Comrades J. V. Stalin, V. M. Andrianov, A. B. Aristov, L. P. Beria, N. A. Bulganin, K. Ye. Voroshilov, S. D. Ignatyev, L. M. Kaganovich, D. S. Korotchenko, V. V. Kuznetsov, O. V. Kuusinen, G. M. Malenkov, V. A. Malyshev, L. G. Melnikov, A. I. Mikoyan, N. A. Mikhailov, V. M. Molotov, M. G. Perukhin, P. K. Ponomarev, M. Z. Saburov, M. A. Suslov, N. S. Khrushchev, D. I. Chesnokov, N. M. Shvernik, M. F. Shkiryatov.

Candidates for membership in the Presidium [Alternates]: Comrades L. I. Brezhnev, A. Ya. Vysshinsky, A. G. Zverev, N. G. Ignatov, I. G. Kabanov, A. N. Kosygin, N. S. Patolichev, N. M. Pegov, A. M. Puzanov, I. F. Tevosyan, P. F. Yudin.

(2) The plenary session elected the CENTRAL COMMITTEE SECRETARIAT as follows: Comrades J. V. Stalin, A. B. Aristov, L. I. Brezhnev, N. G. Ignatov, G. M. Malenkov, N. A. Mikhailov, N. M. Pegov, P. K. Ponomarev, M. A. Suslov, N. S. Khrushchev.

(3) The plenary session confirmed Comrade M. F. Shkiryatov as Chairman of the Party Control Committee under the C.C. of the C.P.S.U.

IN THE CENTRAL INSPECTION COMMISSION. (Pravda, Oct.

* ["Revizionnaya komissiya." In Russian alphabetical order.—

Trans.]

[In Russian alphabetical order except for Stalin's name.—Trans.]

1. J. V. Stalin, Chairman
- | | |
|---------------------|---------------------|
| 2. L. P. Beria | 7. P. N. Pospelov |
| 3. L. M. Kaganovich | 8. A. M. Rumyantsev |
| 4. O. V. Kuusinen | 9. M. Z. Saburov |
| 5. G. M. Malenkov | 10. D. I. Chesnokov |
| 6. V. M. Molotov | 11. P. F. Yudin |
- (1) To submit the draft revised Party Program for consideration by the next Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

the report of the Central Inspection Commission of the A.-U.C.P. (B.)

On this basis, the Congress resolves:

(1) To consider it necessary and timely to institute a revision of the existing Party Program.

(2) In revising the program, to be guided by the fundamental theses of Comrade Stalin's work "Economic Problems of Socialism in the U.S.S.R."

(3) To entrust the work of revising the Program to a commission composed of the following members:

[In Russian alphabetical order except for the chairman. — (Trans.)]

Co-opting Party Officials Denounced

(Editorial)—CONSISTENTLY CARRY OUT PARTY DEMOCRACY. (Pravda, Dec. 7, p. 1, 13th word). Condensed text) ... The measures which the Party has taken to increase Party democracy and self-criticism, Comrade Malenkov said in his report to the 15th Party Congress, have greatly helped Party political work and played a major part in improving it. The activities and openness of the Party masses is growing steadily on the basis of Party democracy, and the Party members' responsibility for Party work is rising.

It should be noted, however, that in some Party organizations the elective principle, which is a basic requirement of the principle of democratic centralism, is quite often violated and supplanted by co-opting. Instances of supplanting the elective principle by co-opting official, to Party and Soviet bodies were cited at the Sixth Congress of the Kirgiz Communist Party, held this autumn. In some cases the co-opting of official, as members of a Party or Soviet body was effected even without the necessary quorum.

The practice of co-opting to Party bodies was in vogue until quite recently in the Minusinsk Party organization. The previous Party committee arranged frequent transfers of Party officials from one district to another, transfers which were, moreover, unnecessary. In a short space of time two secretaries were co-opted by the Borisovo city committee, for example.

Instances of violation of Party democracy, of supplanting co-opting for election of officials, also occur in other Party organizations. Take Dagestan, for example. More than half the entire number of district committee secretaries were replaced in that republic this year. Many were replaced by co-opted officials. The harmful practice of co-opting continues to this day in the republic's Party organization. ... Such things are incompatible with the spirit and tradition of our party. The Party employs consistent democracy in its

functioning. Only when the Party existed illegally and the Party organizations were obliged to maintain a strictly conspiratorial character were the Party committees built up from the top via appointment or co-opting. Ever since our Party took power it has broadly applied democratic methods in its functioning. ...

Party bodies which overlook cases of violation of Party democracy, of co-opting instead of electing, commit a gross error; they do not realize what harm they are doing to the cause of improving Party work.

Wherein lies the harm of co-opting? This violation of the elective principle deprives Party members of the lawful rights granted them by the Party Statutes. In these circumstances Party members cannot freely give their views on candidates and employ the right of criticism and the right to reject unacceptable candidates. This impedes growth of the activities and spontaneity of Party members; it blocks their ideological and political development. The co-opting of officials to some executive bodies is nothing but an attempt on the part of certain officials to shield themselves from the Party masses, to rid themselves of criticism. Co-opting trains officials wrongly, places them essentially out of range of criticism, beyond the control of the Party masses; it lowers the responsibility of executives to their Party organizations. It is in this atmosphere that there appear officials who feel independent of the Party masses and act like bosses and not like executives elected by the Communists and answerable to them. This results in disruption of the correct relationship between the executives and the Party masses and in violation of the principles of Party democracy.

Finally, the practice of co-opting to executive bodies usually involves reassignment of the very same officials, with their transfer from one district to another. Moreover, officials who have given a poor account of themselves in former posts, or even have caused the failure of work entrusted to them, are quite frequently transferred. This is done instead of nominating on the spot people who have matured politically and professionally.

Hence it follows that the practice of supplanting the elective principle by co-opting is intolerable and pernicious. It violates the laws of Party life, contradicts the principles of Party democracy and in the long run weakens and not strengthens the Party organizations. ...

XVI. AFTER STALIN

Case of the Kremlin Doctors

Chronicle: ARREST OF GROUP OF SABOTEUR-DOCTORS. (Pravda, Jan. 13, p. 4. Complete text:) Some time ago agencies of state security discovered a terrorist group of doctors who had made it their aim to cut short the lives of active public figures of the Soviet Union through sabotage medical treatment. Among the participants in this terrorist group there proved to be: Prof. M. S. Vovsi, therapist; Prof. V. N. Vinogradov, therapist; Prof. M. B. Kogan, therapist; Prof. B. B. Kogan, therapist; Prof. P. I. Yegorov, therapist; Prof. A. I. Feldman, otolaryngologist; Prof. Ya. G. Etinger, therapist; Prof. A. M. Grinshtein, neuropathologist; G. I. Malorov, therapist.

Documentary evidence, investigations, the conclusions of medical experts and the confessions of the arrested have established that the criminals, who were secret enemies of the people, sabotaged the treatment of patients and undermined their health.

Investigation established that the participants in the terrorist group, taking advantage of their positions as doctors and abusing the trust of patients, by deliberately evil intent undermined patients' health, deliberately ignoring the data of objective examination of the patients, made incorrect diagnoses which did not correspond to the true nature of their illnesses, and then doomed them by wrong treatment.

The criminals confessed that, taking advantage of Comrade A. A. Zhdanov's ailment, incorrectly diagnosing his illness and concealing an infarct of his myocardium, they prescribed a regime counterindicated for this serious ailment and thereby killed Comrade A. A. Zhdanov. Investigation established that the criminals likewise cut short the life of Comrade A. S. Shcherbakov by incorrectly employing strong drugs in his treatment, prescribed a regime which was mortal to him and thus brought him to his death.

The criminal doctors sought above all to undermine the health of leading Soviet military personnel, to put them out of action and to weaken the defense of the country. They sought to put out of action Marshal A. M. Vasilevsky, Marshal L. A. Govorov, Admiral G. I. Levchenko and others, but arrest disrupted their evil plans and the criminals did not succeed in attaining their aim.

Spies, Saboteurs, Embezzlers and Swindlers

The investigation will soon be concluded.—(Tass.)

It has been established that all these murderer-doctors, who had become monsters in human form, trampling the sacred banner of science and desecrating the honor of scientists, were enrolled by foreign intelligence services as hired agents.

Most of the participants in the terrorist group (M. S. Vovsi, B. B. Kogan, A. I. Feldman, A. M. Grinshtein, Ya. G. Etinger and others) were connected with the international Jewish bourgeois nationalist organization "Joint," established by American intelligence for the alleged purpose of providing material aid to Jews in other countries. In actual fact this organization, under direction of American intelligence, conducts extensive espionage, terrorist and other subversive work in many countries, including the Soviet Union. The arrested Vovsi told investigators that he had received orders "to wipe out the leading cadres of the U.S.S.R."—received them from the U.S.A. through the "Joint" organization, via a Moscow doctor, Shmellovich, and the well-known Jewish bourgeois nationalist Mikhoels.

Other participants in the terrorist group (V. N. Vinogradov, M. B. Kogan, P. I. Yegorov) proved to be old agents of British intelligence.

The investigation will soon be concluded.—(Tass.)

Spies, Saboteurs, Embezzlers and Swindlers

Material for Talks: UNTIRINGLY RAISE THE POLITICAL VIGILANCE OF SOVIET PEOPLE. (By U.S.S.R. Assistant Prosecutor-General L. Smirnov. Bioknot agitator, No. 3, January [published Jan. 30], pp. 10-22. 3000 words. Condensed text:) The Soviet people, imbued with unshakable confidence in their powers, are successfully meeting the majestic tasks of building communist society in our country. Comrade Stalin's work of genius, "Economic Problems of Socialism in the U.S.S.R.," and the historic decisions of the 19th Party Congress brightly light the way for the Soviet people's advance to communism.

The world-historic triumphs of the Soviet Union and the successes of the entire camp of peace, democracy and socialism, headed by our motherland, throw the accursed enemies of mankind.

kind—the magnates of world imperialism and, above all, of American imperialism—into a fury. The imperialists, headed by the United States of America, that chief center of reaction and aggression, are intensifying the preparation of a war against the Soviet Union and the people's democracy. In preparing armed aggression, the bosses of the capitalist world try to send as many of their agents, spies and saboteurs as possible into our country and other countries of the socialist camp.

In the struggle against the Soviet Union and the people's democracy, the imperialist is empty any means, including the most cruel, cunning and inhuman ones. There is no crime they would not commit in their effort to bring or the building of communism in our country and to halt the inevitable course of history, a course that will lead to the ruin for capitalism.

Each day brings fresh confirmation of V. I. Lenin's words that "the bourgeoisie is prepared to resort to any barbarity, brutality and crime to defend dying capitalist slavery."

From the very first days of the Soviet state's existence, the intelligence services of the imperialist states have sent hundreds and thousands of secret agents—spies, wreckers, saboteurs and murderers—to our country. International imperialism has sought to use for its aims domestic counter-revolution, the remnants of the routed capitalist classes, the Mensheviks, the Social-Revolutionaries and the Trotskyists.

Back in 1937 Comrade Stalin pointed out that as long as the Soviet Union existed and capitalist exploitation we would have wreckers, spies, saboteurs and murderers sent to our home front by foreign states.

In developing subversive activity against the Soviet Union now, the predatory imperialists are trying to make use of routed anti-Soviet groups, morally corrupt people, the bearers of various capitalist ideologies and morality. In trying to set up their networks of agents in the Soviet Union and the people's democracy, the American imperialists and expanded number of millions of dollars in subversive activity against the criminal operations of bourgeois nationalist organizations and groups.

In particular, on financing and supporting the criminal operations of bourgeois nationalist organizations and groups in the United States and other countries, the American imperialists have expended considerable sums of money. Even before the adoption of this law, the people's democracy, even before the adoption of this law, the American imperialists had expended hundreds of millions of dollars in subversive activity against the criminal operations of bourgeois nationalist organizations and groups.

In October, 1951, the U.S. Congress adopted a law—enacted in relation to the Soviet Union—allocating \$100,000,000 for subversive work and sabotage against the Soviet Union and the people's democracy. Even before the adoption of this law, the American imperialists had expended hundreds of millions of dollars in subversive activity against the criminal operations of bourgeois nationalist organizations and groups.

As far back as the first months after the war, considerable camps were established in various areas of Western Germany for Yugoslav Chetniks, German bourgeois nationalists, bandits and other persons who had been recruited by a branch of the American intelligence service—"Joint," the Zionist spy organization concealed its criminal work for the American intelligence service under the guise of "philanthropy." The professional murderers and spies of "Joint" developed subversive terrorist activity in our country by using a group of decadent Jewish bourgeois nationalists whom they bought over.

Soviet people are responding to the villainy of the predatory imperialists and their agents by raising their political vigilance. Political vigilance is a mighty weapon in the struggle against the cunning intrigues of the American-British warmongers.

"Our task," Comrade Stalin teaches, "is to maintain the utmost vigilance and to be on guard. And if we are vigilant, as we are beating them at present and have beaten them in the past."

* V. I. Lenin, "Works" [in Russian], Vol. XIX, p. 77.

* V. I. Lenin, "Works" [in Russian], Vol. XI, p. 64.

Speaking at the February-March plenary session of the Communist Party Central Committee in 1937, Comrade Stalin pointed out the full danger of the idiotic disease of heedlessness, complacency and political shortsightedness. Comrade Stalin called the sources of this disease, which lie in complacency under the influence of our successes, in forgetfulness of the fact that our entire construction goes on amid capitalist encirclement—not an empty phrase, but a very real and unpleasant phenomenon.

"Successes and accomplishments are great things, of course," said Comrade Stalin. "Our successes in socialist construction are truly tremendous. But successes, like everything else on earth, have their dark side, too. Among persons of little experience in politics, great successes and great achievements often give rise to heedlessness, complacency, self-satisfaction, exaggerated confidence, conceit and boastfulness."

Elimination of the exploiter classes in our country does not mean that the class war "dies down"; it does not dull the sharpness of class resistance. It is precisely because the class enemy has been routed in open battle and deprived of an economic base within the country and senses his inevitable end that he is ready to resort to any, the most vile, cunning and inhuman crimes.

In his speech at the February-March plenary session of the Party Central Committee in 1937 Comrade Stalin showed how the new type of subversive and wrecking attacks—a person who does not dare come forth openly against the Soviet state and the Communist Party but, on the contrary, tries to juggle the vigilance of Soviet people by false assurances of his devotion to our cause.

This cunning tactic of the enemy who operates by "undermining," who tries to involve himself into the confidence of Soviet people in order to use this confidence for a sudden blow, requires particular vigilance and determination in the struggle against violations of Party and state discipline that are discovered, against cases of deception of the Party and state.

The ability to expose the enemy is indivisible from strict acting requirements of oneself and others, from irreconcilable ability with any violations of state discipline and Soviet laws. V. I. Lenin pointed out that "the slightest illegality, the slightest violation of Soviet law and order, is a loophole which the enemies of the working people promptly utilize."

Criminals—be they agents of foreign intelligence services or plunderers of socialist property, bribe-takers, swindlers—can commit crimes with impunity only where vigilance has been blunted, where there is no intolerance of violations of the law but where complacency, tolerance and lack of inclination to "wash dirty linen in public" flourish.

It is the duty of every Soviet citizen and patriot of the socialist motherland to exhibit political vigilance on every sector and under all circumstances, to fight mercilessly against any manifestations of political carelessness and gullibility, to safeguard state secrets strictly, to expose chatterers, careless persons and plunderers of state property.

Gullibility is nourishing soil for saboteurs. Gullible persons and suffers who allow the enemy to deceive them belong with spies and saboteurs, wreckers and deliberate plunderers of socialist property. The enemy succeeds in committing crimes as a result of the complacency and carelessness of gullible persons.

Some of these gullible persons consider political vigilance necessary everywhere except in "their" field of work, "their" institution, which they think does not present anything of interest to the enemy and spy.

Nevertheless, even information about an individual and apparently insignificant part being produced by a feeder plant may constitute a link for the enemy who wishes to gain some idea of the new output of a defense plant. Gullibility as to the nature and volume of freight shipments can tell a spy the location of military objectives.

The gossip who propagates a state secret, a secret entrusted to him in his job, helps the enemy, helps the spy. Gullibility in selection and assignment of personnel, selection of Shortcomings in Party Work and Measures for the Liquidation of Trotskyite and Other Double-Dealers."

* V. I. Lenin, "Works" [in Russian], Vol. XXIX, p. 515.

* V. I. Lenin, "Works" [in Russian], Vol. XIX, p. 77.

of personnel not on the basis of work qualifications and political considerations [presumably a reference to the Party Congress denunciation of selection of personnel because of kinship, neighborhood ties, friendship, etc.—Trans.] opens the way to an enemy.

Here is one such example.

A gang of plunderers of socialist property was active for a long time in Moscow and Smolensk Provinces. It was headed by a certain Sviridov-Ryabov, chief accountant of the Vyazma Butter Factory. The criminals plundered goods from the factory worth more than 1,000,000 rubles and sold them through trade officials in Moscow and in Zagorsk District, Moscow Province, who were connected with them.

Who is this Sviridov-Ryabov? A criminal who had been sentenced to ten years' deprivation of freedom. After serving his sentence he turned up at the Russian Republic Chief Administration of the Butter and Fats Industry and was promptly appointed to the post of a chief factory accountant. Thus the gullibility of officials provided the criminal with the opportunity to commit a grave crime.

One might cite numerous examples which show how criminals were enabled to plunder socialist property with impunity as a consequence of gullibility in selection of personnel and toleration of violations of the law. Popov, former manager of the Moscow Footwear Trade Organization, calmly looked on while swindlers who had penetrated the organization plundered state property. Pantilov, former director of this organization's Store No. 11, retained his job after a 100,000-ruble shortage of commodities was exposed in his accounts, and he continued in this post until he had embezzled 200,000 rubles. Taking advantage of the dulled vigilance of management and officials of the Moscow Footwear Trade Organization, criminals stole a total of more than 1,000,000 rubles in this organization.

The Communist Party calls upon all Soviet people to exert the utmost vigilance in the cause of safeguarding socialist property. "To permit theft and embezzlement of public property—whether it be state property or cooperative and collective farm property—to overlook such counterrevolutionary outrages is to encourage undermining of the Soviet system, which rests on public property as its foundation." *

Criticism and self-criticism constitute a mighty weapon in the struggle against gullibility and heedlessness. The Soviet people's ardent love for the motherland and the concern of Soviet man for its flourishing and strengthening find reflection in self-criticism, and particularly in criticism from below. Criticism to bring to light and eliminate shortcomings.

It is necessary to give careful and attentive heed to checking on the warning signals of working people, particularly to reviewing complaints against the incorrect deeds of individual persons who commit arbitrary and illegal acts. A bureaucratic attitude to the complaints of the working people is incompatible with political vigilance.

Ideological training of our cadres is of tremendous importance in heightening vigilance. Study of the Marxist-Leninist theory arms Soviet people with the ability to orient themselves correctly in domestic and international political events, helps them to fight against any intrigues of hostile elements. It is necessary to educate Soviet people in boundless devotion to the interests of our Soviet socialist state, in life-giving Soviet patriotism. The role of agitators is particularly important, lofty and noble in this regard. The agitator carries the truthful word of the Communist Party to the masses of the working people. ...

There is no doubt that the Soviet people will be able to expose and rout the hostile agents, under whatever disguise they may hide.

For our construction to proceed still more successfully it is necessary to close every loophole for the enemy, for spies, for plunderers of sacred socialist property; and this can be done only by putting an end to the idiotic disease of gullibility, carelessness and complacency.

Inspired by the genius-like program of building communism outlined in Comrade Stalin's work "Economic Problems of Socialism in the U.S.S.R.," and in the historic decisions of the * J. V. Stalin, "Works" [in Russian], Vol. XIII, p. 209.

Stalin's Illness and Death

communism.

19th Party Congress, Soviet people will successfully meet tasks which have no equal in the history of man. No intrigues of our enemies can halt the Soviet country's triumphant advance to

Stalin.

During the night of March 1-2 Comrade Stalin, while in his Moscow apartment, had a hemorrhage of the brain, which affected vital parts of his brain. Comrade Stalin lost consciousness.

Paralysis of the right arm and leg developed. Loss of speech occurred. Serious disturbances developed in the functioning of the heart and breathing.

The best medical personnel has been called in to treat Comrade Stalin: Prof. P. Ye. Lukomsky, therapist; Members of the U.S.S.R. Academy of Medicine Prof. N. V. Konovalov, neuropathologist, Prof. A. L. Myasnikov, therapist, and Prof. Ye. M. Tareyev, therapist; Prof. I. N. Filimonov, neuropathologist; Prof. R. A. Tkachev, neuropathologist; Prof. I. S. Glazunov, neuropathologist; Docent V. I. Ivanov-Neznamov, therapist. Treatment of Comrade Stalin is under the guidance of Comrade A. R. Tretyakov, U.S.S.R. Minister of Public Health, and Comrade I. I. Kuperin, chief of the medical office of the Kremlin.

In view of Comrade Stalin's grave condition, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Soviet government.

Treatment of Comrade Stalin is under the constant supervision of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Soviet government.

U.S.S.R. Council of Ministers have found it necessary to publish, beginning today, medical bulletins on the condition of Joseph Vissarionovich Stalin.

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the U.S.S.R. Council of Ministers, like our entire party, our whole Soviet people, realize the full significance of the fact that Comrade Stalin's grave illness will involve his more or less prolonged nonparticipation in leading activity. In guiding the Party and the country, the Central Committee and the Council of Ministers take into account the full gravity of all the circumstances connected with the temporary withdrawal of Comrade Stalin from leading state and Party activity.

The Central Committee and the Council of Ministers express confidence that our party and the whole Soviet people in these difficult days will display the greatest unity and cohesion, staunchness of spirit and vigilance, will redouble their energies in building communism in our country, will rally closer around the Central Committee of the Communist Party and the government of the Soviet Union.

—CENTRAL COMMITTEE
OF THE SOVIET UNION.
—U.S.S.R. COUNCIL OF MINISTERS.

March 3, 1953.

FROM CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE SOVIET UNION, U.S.S.R. SUPREME SOVIET.—To All Members of the Party, to All the Working People of the Soviet Union. (Pravda and Izvestia, March 6, p. 1. Complete text: "Dear Comrades and Friends: The Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the U.S.S.R. Council of Ministers and the Presidium of the U.S.S.R. Supreme Soviet announce with profound sorrow to the Party and all working people of the Soviet Union that at 9:50 p.m. March 5 Joseph Vissarionovich STALIN, Chairman of the U.S.S.R. Council of

Ministers and Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, died after a grave illness. The heart of Lenin's comrade-in-arms and the inspired conductor of Lenin's cause, the wise leader and teacher of the Communist Party and the Soviet people—Joseph Vissarionovich Stalin—has stopped beating.

STALIN's name is boundlessly dear to our party, to the Soviet people, to the working people of the world. Together with Lenin, Comrade STALIN created the mighty party of Communists, reared and forged that party together with Lenin. Comrade STALIN was the inspirer and leader of the great October socialist revolution, founder of the world's first socialist state. Continuing Lenin's immortal cause, Comrade STALIN led the Soviet people to the world-historic triumph of socialism in our land. Comrade Stalin led our country to victory over fascism in the second world war, which wrought a radical change in the entire international situation. Comrade STALIN armed the Party and the entire people with a great and clear program of building communism in the U.S.S.R. The death of Comrade STALIN, who devoted all his life to the great cause of communism, constitutes a great loss to the Party and to the working people of the Soviet land and of the whole world.

The news of Comrade STALIN's death will bring profound pain to the hearts of the workers, collective farmers, intelligentsia and all the working people of our motherland, to the hearts of the workers, collective farmers and navy, to the hearts of millions of working people in all countries of the world. In these sorrowful days all the peoples of our country are rallying closer in a great fraternal family under the tested leadership of the Communist Party, created and reared by Lenin and STALIN.

The Soviet people have boundless faith in and are imbued with deep love for their Communist Party, for they know that the supreme law governing all the activity of the Party is to serve the interests of the people.

The workers, collective farmers, Soviet intelligentsia and all the working people of our country already follow the policy mapped out by our party, which is in conformity with the vital interests of the working people and pursues the continued consolidation of the might of our socialist motherland. The correctness of this policy of the Communist Party has been proved by decades of struggle. It has led the working people of the Soviet country to the historic victories of socialism. Inspired by this policy, the peoples of the Soviet Union, under the leadership of the Party, advance confidently toward fresh successes of communist construction in our land.

The working people of our country know that the further improvement of the material well-being of all strata of the population—workers, collective farmers, intelligentsia—the maximum satisfaction of the constantly growing material and cultural needs of all of society—has always been and is the subject of the particular concern of the Communist Party and the Soviet government.

The Soviet people know that the defense capacity and might of the Soviet state are growing and strengthening, that the Party is in every way strengthening the Soviet Army, Navy and intelligence agencies with a view to constantly raising our preparedness for decisive rebuttal to any aggressor.

The foreign policy of the Communist Party and government maintaining and strengthening peace, of struggle against the preparing and unleashing of another war, a policy of international cooperation and development of business relations with all countries.

The peoples of the Soviet Union, true to the banner of proletarian internationalism, are strengthening and developing fraternal friendship with the great Chinese people, with the working people of all the people's democracies, and friendly relations with the working people of capitalist and colonial countries who are fighting for the cause of peace, democracy and socialism.

Dear Comrades and friends!

The great directing and guiding force of the Soviet people in the struggle for the building of communism is our Communist Party. The steel-like and monolithic unity of the ranks of the Party constitutes the main condition for its strength and might. Our task is to guard the unity of the Party as the apple

Formation of the New Regime

March 5, 1953.

of our eye, to educate Communists as active political fighters for carrying out the policy and decisions of the Party, to strengthen even more the Party's ties with all the working people, the collective farmers and the intelligentsia—for in this indispensable link with the people lies the strength and invincibility of our party.

The Party regards as one of its most essential tasks the education of all Communists and working people in high political vigilance, irreconcilability and stalwartness in the struggle against internal and external foes.

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the U.S.S.R. Council of Ministers and the Presidium of the U.S.S.R. Supreme Soviet, appealing in these sorrowful days to the Party and the people, express their firm conviction that the Party and all the working people of our motherland will rally closer around the Central Committee and the Soviet government, will mobilize all their forces and creative energy in the great cause of building communism in our land.

The immortal name of STALIN will live forever in the hearts of the Soviet people and all progressive mankind.

Long live the great and all-conquering teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin!

Long live our mighty socialist motherland!

Long live our heroic Soviet people!

Long live the great Communist Party of the Soviet Union!

CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE U.S.S.R. PRESIDIUM OF THE U.S.S.R. COUNCIL OF MINISTERS. SUPREME SOVIET

DECISION OF JOINT MEETING OF PLENARY SESSION OF CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE SOVIET UNION, U.S.S.R. SUPREME SOVIET. (Pravda and Izvestia, March 7, p. 1. Complete text: The Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the U.S.S.R. Council of Ministers and the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet, in this difficult time for our party and country, deem it the most important task of the Party and the government to ensure uninterrupted and correct leadership of the whole life of the country, which in turn demands the greatest unity of leadership and prevention of any kind of disorder and panic, in order by this means to ensure unconditionally the successful implementation of the policy evolved by our party and government both in the domestic affairs of our country and in international affairs.

In view of the foregoing and in order not to allow any interruption in the leadership of the activities of state and Party bodies, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the U.S.S.R. Council of Ministers and the Presidium of the U.S.S.R. Supreme Soviet deem it necessary to carry out a series of measures concerning the organization of Party and state leadership.

1. On the Chairman and First Vice-Chairman of the U.S.S.R. Council of Ministers.—1. To appoint as Chairman of the U.S.S.R. Council of Ministers Comrade Georgy Maximilianovich Malenkov.

2. To appoint as First Vice-Chairman of the U.S.S.R. Council of Ministers Comrades Lavrenty Pavlovich Beria, Vyacheslav Mikhailovich Molotov, Nikolai Alexandrovich Bulganin and Lazar Moiseyevich Kaganovich.

II. On the Presidium of the U.S.S.R. Council of Ministers.—1. To recognize the necessity of having in the U.S.S.R. Council of Ministers, instead of two bodies—the Presidium and the Bureau of the Presidium—one body, the Presidium of the U.S.S.R. Council of Ministers.

2. To establish that the Presidium of the U.S.S.R. Council of Ministers shall include the Chairman of the U.S.S.R. Council of Ministers and the First Vice-Chairman of the U.S.S.R. Council of Ministers.

In accordance with the decision of the joint plenary session of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U., the U.S.S.R. Council of Ministers and the Presidium of the U.S.S.R. Supreme Soviet, which deemed it necessary that Comrade N. S. Khrushchev concentrate on work in the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U., the plenary session of the Moscow Province Party Committee released Comrade N. S. Khrushchev from the duties of Secretary and bureau member of the Moscow Province Committee of the C.P.S.U.

The plenary session of the Moscow Province Committee of the C.P.S.U. elected Comrade N. A. Mikhailov First Secretary and bureau member of the Moscow Province Committee of the C.P.S.U.

Funeral Orations by Malenkov, Beria, Molotov

FUNERAL OF JOSEPH VISSARIONOVICH STALIN. (Pravda and Izvestia, March 10, pp. 1-2. Complete text: Memorial Meeting on Red Square.—The funeral of Joseph Vissarionovich Stalin took place March 9, 1953, on Red Square, Moscow. Comrade N. S. Khrushchev, chairman of the commission for organization of the funeral of Joseph Vissarionovich Stalin, granted the platform to Comrade Georgy Maximilianovich Malenkov, Chairman of the U.S.S.R. Council of Ministers and Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

The next speech was pronounced by Comrade Lavrenty Pavlovich Beria, First Vice-Chairman of the U.S.S.R. Council of Ministers.

Then Comrade Vyacheslav Mikhailovich Molotov, First Vice-Chairman of the U.S.S.R. Council of Ministers, spoke. Speech by Comrade G. M. Malenkov.—Dear comrades, our party, the Soviet people and all mankind have suffered a most grievous, irreparable loss. Our teacher and leader, the great genius of mankind, Joseph Vissarionovich Stalin, has come to the end of his glorious life-path.

In these sorrowful days, the deep grief of the Soviet people is shared by all advanced and progressive humanity. Stalin's name is infinitely dear to the Soviet people and the broadest masses of the people in all parts of the globe. Boundless are the grandeur and significance of Comrade Stalin's activities for the Soviet people and for the working people of all lands. Stalin's cause will live forever, and grateful posterity, in common with us, will praise Stalin's name.

Comrade Stalin devoted his life to the cause of liberating the working class and all working people from the oppression and bondage of the exploiters, the cause of freeing mankind from wars of extermination, the cause of the struggle for a free and happy life on earth for the working people.

Comrade Stalin, the great thinker of our epoch, creatively developed the teachings of Marxism-Leninism in new historical conditions; Stalin's name rightly stands alongside the names of the greatest men in the history of mankind—Marx, Engels and Lenin.

Our party adheres to the great teachings of Marxism-Leninism, which give the party and people the invincible strength and ability to blaze new trails in history.

For many long years, Lenin and Stalin waged a struggle, under difficult underground conditions, for deliverance of the peoples of Russia from the yoke of the autocracy and from the oppression of landowners and capitalists. Headed by Lenin and Stalin, the Soviet people accomplished a great revolution in the history of mankind, put an end to the system of capitalism in our country and entered upon a new path, the path of socialism. Continuing the work of Lenin and steadily developing Lenin's teaching, which illuminates the road ahead for the party and Soviet state, Comrade Stalin led our country to the world-historic victory of socialism, which secured, for the first time in the many thousands of years of the existence of human society, the abolition of exploitation of man by man. Lenin and Stalin founded the first workers' and peasants' state in the

world, our Soviet state. Comrade Stalin labored tirelessly to strengthen the Soviet state. The strength and might of our state are a most important condition for the successful building of communism in our country.

It is our sacred duty to continue tirelessly and in every way to strengthen our great socialist state, the bulwark of the peace and security of peoples.

With the name of Comrade Stalin is connected the solution of one of the most complex questions in the history of the development of society—the national question.

For the first time in history, Comrade Stalin, the great theoretician of the national question, saw to elimination of age-old national strife on the scale of a tremendous multinational state. Under Comrade Stalin's leadership, our party has overcome the economic and cultural backwardness of peoples who were formerly oppressed, uniting into one brotherly family all the nations of the Soviet Union and forging friendship among peoples.

Our sacred duty is to see to further strengthening the unity and friendship of the peoples of the Soviet land, strengthening the Soviet multinational state. With the friendship among the peoples of our country, we need fear no enemies, domestic or foreign.

The Soviet Army was established, grew and gained in strength under the direct leadership of Comrade Stalin. Strengthening of the country's defense capacity and the consolidation of the Soviet armed forces were the untiring concern of Comrade Stalin. Headed by its great military leader, Generalissimo Stalin, the Soviet Army won a historic victory during the second world war and delivered the peoples of Europe and Asia from the threat of fascist slavery.

Our sacred duty is to strengthen by every means the mighty Soviet armed forces. We must keep them in a state of lightning preparedness for a crushing rebuttal to any enemy attack.

As a result of Comrade Stalin's ceaseless labors and in accordance with plans worked out by him, our party has converted a formerly backward country into a mighty industrial and collective farm power, and has created a new economic order which knows no crises or unemployment.

It is our sacred duty to secure the further flourishing of the socialist motherland. We must thoroughly develop socialist industry, the bulwark of our country's might and strength. We must thoroughly develop the collective farm system and strive for further advancement and flourishing of all collective farms of the Soviet land and to strengthen the alliance of working class and collective farm peasantry.

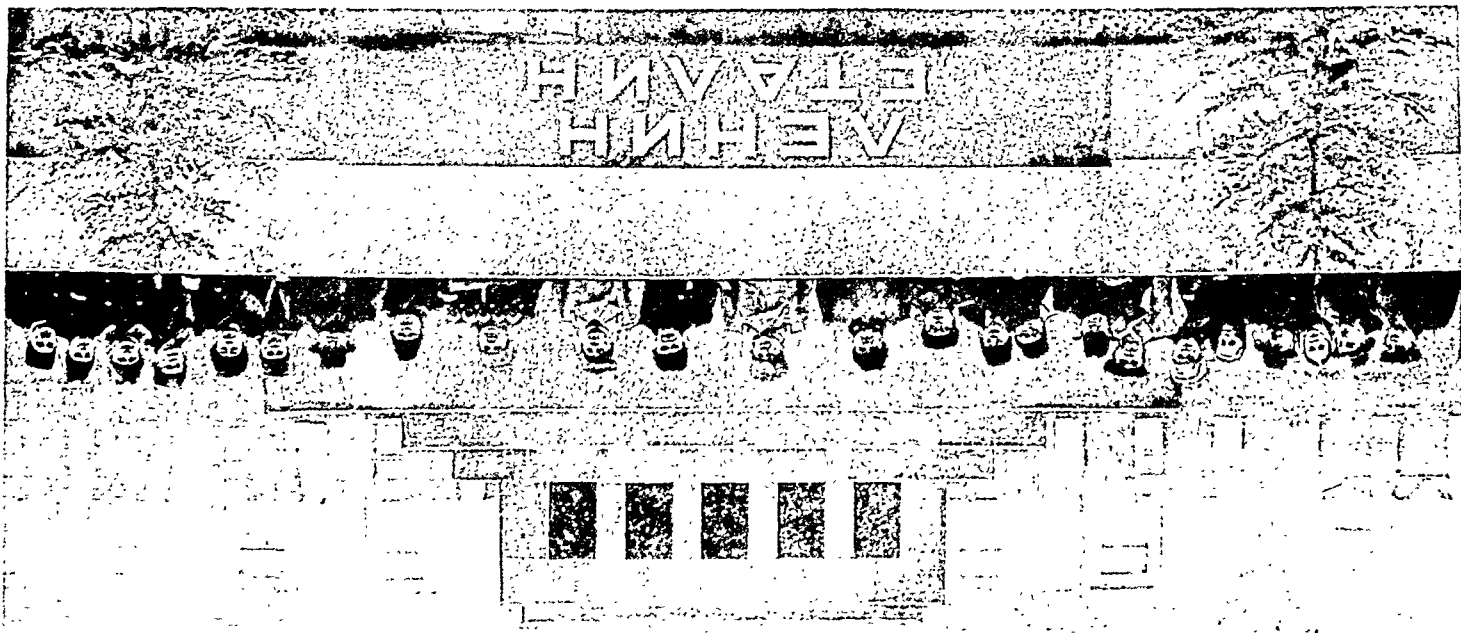
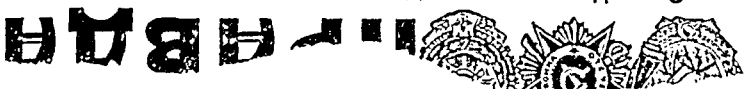
In the sphere of domestic policy our main task is ceaselessly to strive for further improvement in the material welfare of the workers, the collective farmers, the intelligentsia and all the Soviet people. A law for our party and government is the duty to strive constantly for the good of the people, for the maximum satisfaction of their material and cultural needs.

Lenin and Stalin created and tempered our party as the great transforming force of society. All his life Comrade Stalin taught that there is nothing loftier than the title of member of the Communist Party. In stubborn struggle against enemies, Comrade Stalin defended the unity, the monolithic nature and cohesion of the ranks of our party.

It is our sacred duty to go on strengthening the great Communist Party. The strength and invincibility of our party lie in the unity and cohesion of its ranks, in unity of will and action, in the ability of Party members to fuse their will with the will and desires of the Party. The strength and invincibility of our party lie in its indivisible ties with the masses of the people. The unity of the Party and the people is based on the Party's inviolable serving of the interests of the people. We must treasure the unity of the Party as the apple of our eye. We must strengthen further the unbreakable bonds between the Party and people and train the Communists and all working people in high political vigilance, irreconcilability and firmness in the struggle against internal and foreign enemies.

Under the leadership of the great Stalin, a mighty camp of peace, democracy and socialism has been established. In that camp, in close fraternal unity with the Soviet people, march the great Chinese people, the fraternal peoples of Poland, Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, Hungary, Rumania, Albania, the German Democratic Republic and the Mongolian People's

Ирощан, наш учитель и вожак, наш дорогой друг! Вперед по пути к полному торжеству великого дела



[The *Pravda* and *Komsomolskaya Pravda* March 10 carried this composite photograph of the Mausoleum platform scene—labeled “photo” while other Soviet papers carried photos such as the one from Izvestia below. The team which produced the Party Congress pictures on pp. 96 and 235 was credited with the composite above; a member of this team is credited with the Mao Tse-tung composite on p. 254.] The *Pravda* and *Komsomolskaya pravda* captioned: [Funeral of Joseph Vlasov] *Pravda* and *Komsomolskaya pravda* March 10 carried this composite photograph of the Mausoleum: Comrades Gheorghiu-Dej, Bolshakov and Klementiev. On the platform of the Mausoleum: Malaya Rakosy, Pietro Nenni, Palmiro Togliatti, Jacques Duclos, Klement Gheorghiu-Dej, N. A. Bulganin, V. M. Molotov, K. Ye. Voroshilov, G. M. Malenkov, N. S. Khrushchev, L. P. Beria, M. Z. Saburov, Chou En-lai, M. G. Pervukhin, L. M. Kaganovich, N. M. Shvernik, A. I. Mikoyan. (Photo by P. Kislov and A. Ushakov, *Pravda* and *Komsomolskaya pravda*, March 10, p. 1.)

* [or "photos:" the Russian word may be construed as either singular or plural.]

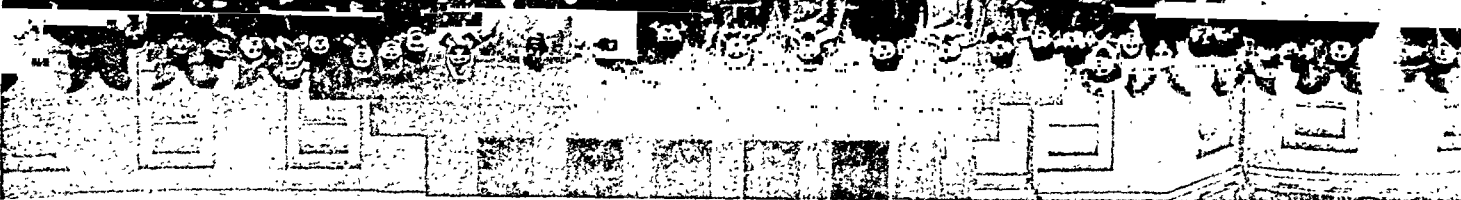
Иосифа Виссарионовича СТАЛИНА.

ВЕЛИКАЯ, О ГЕНИИ ЧЕЛОВЕЧЕСТВА

10
MAY 1953
MAY 20 1953

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REFLECT



On the platform of the Mausoleum—leaders of the Party and government of the Soviet Union, leaders of foreign fraternal Communist and Workers' Parties and members of foreign government delegations which came to attend the funeral of JOSEPH VISSARIONOVICH STALIN, Chairman of the U.S.S.R. Council of Ministers. Left to right: Petru Groza, G. Gheorghiu-Dej, Boleslaw Bierut, Walter Ulbricht, Otto Grotewohl, Yu. Tsendenbal, Jacques Duclos, Dolores Ibarruri, Pak Den Ab, Valiko Chervenkoy, Matias Raskosi, Palmiro Togliatti, Klement Gottwald, N. A. Bulganin, M. Molotov, K. K. Voroshilov, G. M. Malenkov, N. S. Khrushchov, L. P. Beria, Chou En-lai, N. K. Raskov, A. I. Mikoyan, M. G. Sverdlov, M. G. Peruvnik, N. M. Shvernik, M. A. Suslov, P. K. Ponomarev, L. G. Mekhlik, M. D. Bagirov, M. F. Shkiryayev, N. A. Mikhalov, P. N. Pospelov and A. A. Andreyev.—(Tass photo* by V. Savostyanov, Izvestia, March 10, p. 1.) [* See note to caption above.]

to be the Lenin-Stalin policy of safeguarding and strengthening peace, of fighting against the preparation and unleashing of a new war, a policy of international cooperation and development of business relations with all countries on the basis of reciprocity.

The Soviet government will further strengthen the fraternal alliance and friendship, the cooperation in the common struggle for the cause of world peace, the extensive economic and cultural collaboration with the great Chinese People's Republic, with all the countries of people's democracy and the German Democratic Republic.

Our brothers and friends abroad can be sure that the Communist Party and the peoples of the Soviet Union, faithful to the banner of proletarian internationalism, the banner of Lenin and Stalin, will continue to strengthen and develop ties of friendship with the working people of the capitalist and colonial countries fighting for the cause of peace, democracy and socialism.

A deep feeling of friendship links our people with the heroic Korean people, who are fighting for their independence.

Our great leaders, Lenin and Stalin, taught us to intensify and sharpen constantly the vigilance of the Party and of the people against the machinations and wiles of the enemies of the Soviet state.

Now we must intensify our vigilance still more.

Let no one think that the enemies of the Soviet state can catch us unawares.

Our glorious armed forces are equipped with all types of modern weapons for the defense of the Soviet motherland. Our soldiers and sailors, officers and generals, enriched by the experience of the great patriotic war, will know how to meet in due fashion any aggressor who may dare to attack our country.

The strength and invincibility of our state consist not only in having an army steeled in battle and covered with glory.

The might of the Soviet state consists in the unity of the Soviet people and their confidence in the Communist Party, the leading force of Soviet society, in the people's confidence in their Soviet government. The Communist Party and the Soviet government highly value this confidence of the people.

The Soviet people have greeted with unanimous approval the decree of the Central Committee of our party, the Council of Ministers and the Presidium of the U.S.S.R. Supreme Soviet on taking exceptionally important decisions directed at ensuring uninterrupted and correct direction of the whole life of the country.

One of these important decisions is the appointment of the talented disciple of Lenin and loyal comrade-in-arms of Stalin, Georgy Maximilianovich Malenkov, to the post of Chairman of the U.S.S.R. Council of Ministers.

The decisions adopted by the highest Party and state organs of our country are a vivid expression of the complete unity and singleness of leadership of the Party and the state.

This unity and singleness of leadership of the country is the pledge of successful conduct of the domestic and foreign policy worked out over the years by our party and government under the guidance of Lenin and Stalin.

Stalin, like Lenin, bequeathed to our party and country a great heritage, which must be treasured as the apple of our eye and unceasingly multiplied.

Great Stalin trained and rallied around himself a cohort of leaders tested in battle, possessed of the Lenin-Stalin art of leadership, on whose shoulders has fallen the historic responsibility of carrying to a victorious end the great cause begun by Lenin and successfully continued by Stalin.

The peoples of our country can be confident that the Communist Party and the government of the Soviet Union will not spare their forces and their lives to preserve the steel unity of the ranks of the Party and its leadership; to strengthen the indestructible friendship of the peoples of the Soviet Union; to strengthen the might of the Soviet state; to maintain unchanging loyalty to the ideas of Marxism-Leninism, and, following the behests of Lenin and Stalin, to lead the country of socialism to communism.

Eternal glory to our beloved and dear leader and teacher, the great Stalin.

Speech by Comrade V. M. Molotov.—Dear comrades and friends!

In these days we are all suffering a deep sorrow—the demise of Joseph Vissarionovich Stalin, the loss of a great leader and at the same time a close and infinitely dear person. We, his old and close friends, and millions and millions of Soviet people, like the working people in all countries the world over, take leave today of Comrade Stalin, whom we have all loved so much and who will live in our hearts forever.

Comrade Stalin called himself a disciple of Lenin, with whom he founded and built our great Communist Party; with him, he guided the revolutionary struggle of the people against Tsarism and capitalism, for the overthrow of the yoke of the landlords and capitalists in our country; with Lenin, he designed and built our Soviet socialist state, with him he laid the foundations of the fraternal collaboration and unification—growing even as we watch it—of great and small peoples. Stalin is the great continuer of the great cause of Lenin.

Under the leadership of the Communist Party, headed by Comrade Stalin, the Soviet people have built socialism in our country and have developed the implementation of the great program for the steady rise of the material welfare and cultural level of the Soviet people: they won a world-historic victory over fascism in the second world war and thereby decisively weakened the forces of the foreign enemies of the U.S.S.R.; they brought the Soviet Union out of a position of international isolation by securing the formation of an invincible camp of peace-loving states with a population of 800,000,000; they opened up to our country the bright vistas of construction of a communist society based on free labor, true equality and fraternity of people.

We can truly be proud of the fact that during the past 30 years we have lived and worked under the leadership of Comrade Stalin. We have been trained by Lenin and Stalin, we are Lenin's and Stalin's pupils. We shall forever remember what Stalin taught us to his last days, for we wish to be loyal and worthy disciples and followers of Lenin, loyal and worthy disciples and followers of Stalin.

Comrade Stalin's whole life was irradiated with the shining light of the great ideas of an inspired people's fighter for communism—a living and vital example to us.

Stalin came from the people and was always aware of his close ties with the people, the working class and toiling peasantry; he devoted all his mighty powers, his whole great genius, to the people. When still a youth, Comrade Stalin realized with his bright intellect and profoundly understood that in our times the people can find their way to a happy life only by way of struggle for communism. This determined the course of his life. Stalin dedicated himself and his whole life, without any reservation, to the struggle for communism, to selfless struggle for the happiness of the working people, for the happiness of the people.

Stalin always knew how to combine the difficult everyday work of a Communist revolutionary among the working masses with profound study of the theory of Marxism.

This is how he was in his early years in Tbilisi and Baku. This is how he was in the stormy years of the Russian revolution and in the difficult years of Tsarist reaction, when he was closely connected with the workers of Petersburg. He was constantly under the fire of police measures, suffering persecution in prisons and exile.

Comrade Stalin's exceptional talent as incomparable organizer of our party and Soviet state and brilliant theoretician of Marxism-Leninism developed fully in the years of the revolution and the building of socialism.

In the course of those years our party grew, became the great directing force of the socialist revolution in our country and acquired the significance of leading force of the whole international workers' movement. In the course of those years the Soviet multinational state, which became a model of the practical realization of friendship and fraternal cooperation of peoples—in the course of those years our state, supported by the working class and collective farm peasantry, grew strong as the state of triumphant socialism and took the path of establishing a communist society. A tremendous role in directing all this work, in directing the entire development of the forces of our party and the Soviet state, belongs to Comrade Stalin.

During all these years Stalin not only conducted the day-to-day guidance of socialist construction in the U.S.S.R. He constantly worked on the theoretical problem of building

communism in our country and on the problems of international development as a whole, illuminating with the light of Marxist-Leninist science the ways to further development of the U.S.S.R. and the laws of development of socialism and capitalism in present-day conditions. He armed our party and the whole Soviet people with new and most important discoveries of Marxist-Leninist science, discoveries which for many years have been lighting and will light the way for our advance toward the triumph of communism.

Stalin directly guided the work of creating and organizing the Red Army and its glorious battle deeds at the most decisive fronts during the years of the Civil War. As Supreme Commander in Chief during the years of the great patriotic war, he led our country to victory over fascism, which fundamentally altered the situation in Europe and in Asia.

To be true and worthy followers of Stalin means always to remember and constantly to concern ourselves with strengthening the Soviet Army and Navy, ensuring the proper preparedness of the Soviet armed forces in the event of any move of an aggressor against our country. To be true and worthy of Stalin also means to show the necessary vigilance and firmness in the struggle against any and all intrigues by our enemies, the agents of the imperialist, aggressive states.

Our Soviet state has no aggressive aims and for its own part does not permit intervention in the affairs of other states. Our foreign policy, which is known the world over as Stalin's peace-loving foreign policy, is a policy of defense of peace among peoples, an unswerving policy of preserving and strengthening peace, of struggle against the preparation and unleashing of a new war, a policy of international cooperation and of development of trade relations with all countries which also seek the same things themselves. This foreign policy corresponds to the vital interests of the Soviet people and at the same time to the interests of all other peace-loving peoples.

On the Soviet foundation, a multinational state has been formed in our country which has no parallel in history for its stability, the steady growth of its material might and the advance in the culture of the peoples. In this entire matter and above all in the matter of developing new, friendly relations among the peoples of our country, Comrade Stalin played a particular and exceptionally lofty role. In doing so, Stalin not only directed the development of our multinational Soviet state over a great many years, but cast the light of theory on vital contemporary problems of the national and colonial question, and here, too, promoted the development of the scientific principles of Marxism-Leninism.

All this assumes particular significance in present conditions, especially in connection with the formation of the people's democracies and the growth of the national liberation movement in colonies and dependent countries. True to the principles of proletarian internationalism, the peoples of the U.S.S.R. are developing and steadily strengthening fraternal friendship and cooperation with the great Chinese people, with the working people of all the people's democracies, and friendly ties with the working people in capitalist and colonial countries fighting for the cause of peace, democracy and socialism.

Dear comrades, friends! During these difficult days, we all see especially well and constantly feel what a mighty, firm and true support for the Soviet people is our Communist Party, its steel unity, its unbreakable ties with the masses of working people. Our party, following the behests of the great Stalin, gives us a clear direction for further struggle for the great cause of building communism in our country. We must rally still closer, still more firmly, around the Central Committee of our party, around the Soviet government.

The immortal name of Stalin will always live in our hearts, in the hearts of the Soviet people and of all progressive mankind. The fame of his great works for the good and happiness of our people and of the working people of the whole world will live through the ages!

Long live the great, all-conquering teaching of Marx-Engels-Lenin-Stalin!

Long live our mighty socialist motherland, our heroic Soviet people!

Long live the great Communist Party of the Soviet Union!

Mao Tse-tung's Tribute to Stalin

SUPREME FRIENDSHIP. (By Mao Tse-tung. Pravda, March 10, p. 3. Complete text:) Peking—The great genius of modern times, the great teacher of the world Communist movement and comrade-in-arms of the immortal Lenin—Comrade Joseph Vissarionovich Stalin—has gone from us for ever.

Both the theoretical and the practical activity of Comrade Stalin are invaluable contributions to our times. Comrade Stalin represents a complete new epoch. Thanks to his activity, the Soviet people and the working people of all countries have altered the whole international situation. This signifies that the cause of justice, people's democracy and socialism has conquered on earth on a tremendous scale, on the scale of one-third of the world's population, comprising more than 800,000,000. The influence of this victory is spreading to every corner of the whole world day by day.

The death of Comrade Stalin has provoked great grief, beyond compare, in the working people of the whole world, and has profoundly moved the hearts of honorable people throughout the world. This shows that the cause of Comrade Stalin and his ideas have taken possession of broad masses of people of the whole world and have already become an invincible force. This force is leading the already triumphant peoples from victory to victory and also bringing it about that all who still groan under the oppression of the old, vice-stained capitalist world can go on to a bold assault against the enemies of the people.

After the death of Lenin, the Soviet people, under the guidance of Comrade Stalin, built a bright, radiant socialist society in the first socialist state in the world, which he had established jointly with the great Lenin in the period of the great October revolution.

The triumph of socialist construction in the Soviet Union is not only a triumph of the Soviet people, but the common triumph of the peoples of the whole world. First, this victory confirmed, by the most vital reality, the absolute correctness of Marxism-Leninism, and taught the working people of the whole world concretely how it is necessary to advance to a happy life. Secondly, this victory guaranteed mankind the opportunity to rout the fascist beast in the second world war. One should not imagine that without the victory of socialist construction in the U.S.S.R. it would have been possible to gain the victory in the war against fascism. The victory of socialist construction in the U.S.S.R. and the victory in the anti-fascist war have a direct bearing on the fate of mankind, and the glory of these victories rightly belongs to the great Comrade Stalin.

Comrade Stalin thoroughly and classically developed the Marxist-Leninist theory and opened up a new stage in the development of Marxism. Comrade Stalin creatively developed Lenin's theory of the uneven development of capitalism and the theory of the possibility of the triumph of socialism in one country; Comrade Stalin made a creative contribution to the theory of the general crisis of the capitalist system, to the theory of the construction of communism in the U.S.S.R.; he discovered and grounded the basic economic law of present-day capitalism and the basic economic law of socialism and made a contribution to the theory of revolution in the colonies and semicolonial countries. Comrade Stalin also creatively developed Lenin's theory on building up the Party. All this further rallied the workers of the whole world and all the oppressed classes and peoples, thanks to which the struggle of the working class and all oppressed peoples for their liberation and happiness and the successes of this struggle assumed an unprecedented scale.

All Comrade Stalin's works are immortal contributions to Marxism. His works "Principles of Leninism," "History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Short Course)" and also his last great work "Economic Problems of Socialism in the U.S.S.R." are an encyclopedia of Marxism-Leninism, a generalization of the experience of the world Communist movement in the past 100 years. His speech at the 19th Congress of the



Подписание Договора и Соглашений между Советским Союзом и Китайской Народной Республикой. Подписывает Договор А. Я. Вышинский. На снимке (слева направо): А. А. Громыко, Н. А. Булганин, Н. В. Рощин, г-н Чжоу Энь-лай, А. Н. Михов, Н. С. Хрущев, К. Е. Ворошилов, В. М. Молотов, Н. В. Сталин, г-н Мао Цзэ-дун, Б. Ф. Подтсероб, Н. Т. Федоренко, г-н Ван Цзя-сян, Г. М. Маленков, г-н Чен Бо-да, Л. П. Берия, г-н С. Азизов, Л. М. Каданович.

ПРАВДА

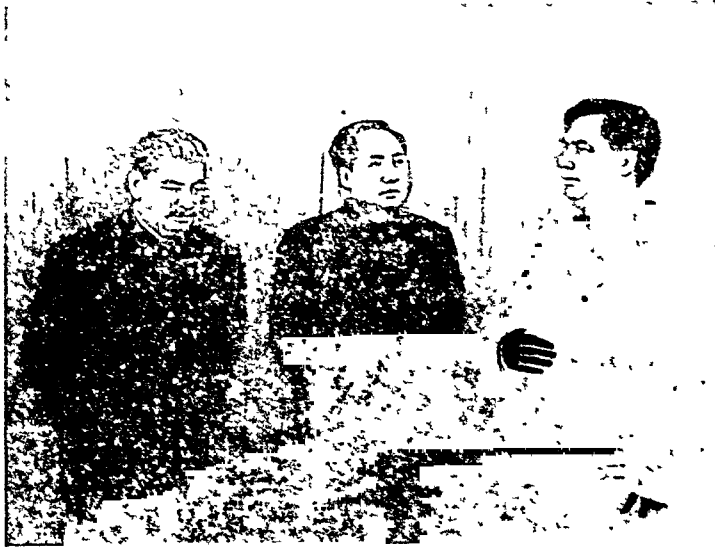
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ИОНОВИЧ СТАЛИН

[Above: Photo* published in Pravda Feb. 15, 1950, p. 1:] Signing of treaty and agreements between the Soviet Union and the Chinese People's Republic. A. Ya. Vyshinsky is signing the treaty. Left to right: A. A. Gromyko, N. A. Bulganin, N. V. Roshchin, Gospodin ["Mr."] Chou En-lai, A. I. Mikoyan, N. S. Khrushchev, K. Ye. Voroshilov, V. M. Molotov, J. V. Stalin, Gospodin Mao Tse-tung, B. F. Podtserob, N. T. Fedorenko, Gospodin Wang Chia-hsiang, G. M. Malenkov, Gospodin Chen Po-ta, L. P. Beria, Gospodin S. Azizov, L. M. Kaganovich. (Photo* by F. Kislov.)

[At right: Composograph published in Pravda, March 10, p. 3:] Comrades J. V. Stalin, Mao Tse-tung and G. M. Malenkov. The picture was taken Feb. 14, 1950, at the signing of the Soviet-Chinese treaty of friendship, alliance and mutual aid. (Photo* by F. Kislov.)

* [The word "photo" may be either singular or plural in Russian.—Trans.]



Товарищи Н. В. Сталин, Мао Цзэ-дун и Г. М. Маленков. Снимок сделан 14 февраля 1950 г. во время подписания Советско-Китайского Договора о дружбе, союзе и взаимной помощи.

ВЕЛИЧАЙШАЯ ДРУЖБА

Наша дружба — это величайшее достижение мировой коммунистической революции, соратки в беспримерном Лозинге — товарищи Н. В. Сталин и Мао Цзэ-дун. Сила этой дружбы — залог победы и процветания Советского Союза и Китая.

Communist Party of the Soviet Union is a precious testament for the Communists of all countries of the world. We Chinese Communists, like the Communists of all the countries of the world, find in the great works of Comrade Stalin the ways to our victories. Since the death of Lenin, Comrade Stalin has always been the central figure of the world Communist movement. Rallied around him, we constantly obtained instruction from him, constantly drew ideological strength from his works. Comrade Stalin cherished cordial feelings toward the oppressed peoples of the East. "Do not forget the East"—that was the great summons proclaimed by Comrade Stalin after the October revolution. It is generally known that Comrade Stalin warmly loved the Chinese people and considered that the forces of the Chinese

revolution were extraordinary. In questions of the Chinese revolution he manifested supreme wisdom. Following the doctrine of Lenin and Stalin, relying on the support of the great Soviet state and all the revolutionary forces of all countries, the Chinese Communist Party and the Chinese people gained an historic victory a few years ago. Today we have lost a great teacher and most sincere friend — Comrade Stalin. This is a great sorrow. It is impossible to express in words the grief evoked by this sad event. It is our task to turn the grief into strength. Cherishing as sacred the memory of our great teacher Stalin, the Communist Party of China and the Chinese people, together with the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Soviet people, will boundlessly strengthen the great friendship harbored in the name of Stalin. The Chinese Communists and Chinese people

will be in with all greater confidence in Stalin's leadership and Soviet foreign policy. It is the interest of all Soviet states.

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union is the party closest to the people of the world. It is the party that has led the people of the world to the victory over the forces of reaction and imperialism. It is the party that has led the people of the world to the victory over the forces of reaction and imperialism. It is the party that has led the people of the world to the victory over the forces of reaction and imperialism.

Comrade Deputy People's Commissars! Comrades! I will now read the message of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union has decided to elect Comrade Kliment Yefremovich Voroshilov as Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. This decision was made in a meeting of the Central Committee held on March 14, 1948. The Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union has decided to elect Comrade Kliment Yefremovich Voroshilov as Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. This decision was made in a meeting of the Central Committee held on March 14, 1948.

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Supreme Soviet Session: Cabinet And Reorganization of the Ministries

THE 10TH OF THE SUPREME SOVIET OF THE U.S.S.R. (Stormy applause, March 14, 1948. Complete text, reported by Comrade M. A. Yarnik.—Comrade Deputy People's Commissar, Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Kliment Yefremovich Voroshilov.)

Comrade Deputy People's Commissars! Comrades! I will now read the message of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. The Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union has decided to elect Comrade Kliment Yefremovich Voroshilov as Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. This decision was made in a meeting of the Central Committee held on March 14, 1948.

I request you to elect Comrade Kliment Yefremovich Voroshilov as Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. (All rise.)

Comrade Deputy People's Commissars! A faithful friend of the Soviet Union, our dear Klement Gottwald, the President of the Czechoslovak Republic, died in Prague March 14. Together with the people of Czechoslovakia, all the workers of our country deeply mourn this heavy loss. I request you to honor the memory of Klement Gottwald by rising. (All rise.)

Comrade Deputy People's Commissars! It is moved that we adopt the following message of the U.S.S.R. Supreme Soviet, expressing condolences to the National Assembly of the Czechoslovak Republic upon the death of President Klement Gottwald:

"To the National Assembly of the Czechoslovak Republic: Dear friends! The Supreme Soviet of the Union of Soviet

Socialist Republics expresses profound condolences to the National Assembly of the Czechoslovak Republic upon the death of President Klement Gottwald of the Czechoslovak Republic, outstanding statesman and beloved leader of the people of Czechoslovakia.

Together with you, we deeply mourn the passing of Comrade Klement Gottwald, leader of the people of Czechoslovakia, outstanding friend of the new Czechoslovak people's democratic state and a loyal friend of the Soviet Union.—The Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R."

Will you, Comrade Deputy People's Commissars, to consider this message adopted? (All rise.)

Comrade Deputy People's Commissars! I will now read the agenda for the session of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. (Stormy applause.)

1. Election of the Chairman of the Presidium of the U.S.S.R.
2. Appointment of the Chairman of the U.S.S.R. Council of Ministers.
3. Election of the U.S.S.R. Council of Ministers and members of the U.S.S.R. Presidium.
4. Election of the members of the Presidium of the U.S.S.R.
5. Election of the members of the Presidium of the U.S.S.R.
6. Election of the members of the Presidium of the U.S.S.R.
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9. Election of the members of the Presidium of the U.S.S.R.
10. Election of the members of the Presidium of the U.S.S.R.

Let us turn to the first item on the agenda: the election of the Chairman of the Presidium of the U.S.S.R. (Stormy applause.)

Comrade Deputy People's Commissars! I will now read the nomination of Comrade Kliment Yefremovich Voroshilov as Chairman of the Presidium of the U.S.S.R. (Stormy applause.)

Comrade Deputy People's Commissars! Comrade Deputy People's Commissars! I will now read the nomination of Comrade Kliment Yefremovich Voroshilov as Chairman of the Presidium of the U.S.S.R. This nomination was made in a meeting of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union held on March 14, 1948. The Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union has decided to elect Comrade Kliment Yefremovich Voroshilov as Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. This decision was made in a meeting of the Central Committee held on March 14, 1948.

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We are all confident that Comrade Kliment Yefremovich Voroshilov will perform with honor the duties of Chairman of the Presidium of the U.S.S.R. Supreme Soviet for the good of the Soviet people.

The decision of the U.S.S.R. Supreme Soviet to elect Comrade Kliment Yefremovich Voroshilov Chairman of the Presidium of the U.S.S.R. Supreme Soviet will meet the full support and approval of all the people of our great Soviet Union. (Stormy, prolonged applause. All rise.)

... The Chairman Deputy Beria has the floor. (Stormy, long unabating applause. All rise.)

Speech by Comrade L. P. Beria.—Comrade Deputy People's Commissars! At the request of the Presidium of the U.S.S.R. Supreme Soviet, the U.S.S.R. Council of Ministers and the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, I submit the following nomination: "To appoint as Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics Comrade GEORGY MAXIMILIANOVICH MALENKOV (stormy, long unabating applause; all rise) and to authorize Comrade Malenkov

to present to the U.S.S.R. Supreme Soviet proposals on the composition of the U.S.S.R. Council of Ministers."

Our party and the workers, collective farmers, intelligentsia and all peoples of the Soviet Union well know and deeply respect Comrade Malenkov as a talented disciple of Lenin and a faithful comrade-in-arms of Stalin.

Comrade Deputies! The government of the Soviet Union faces great and responsible tasks, both in directing our country's foreign policy in a complex international situation and in directing the immense, heroic struggle of the peoples of the Soviet Union to establish a communist society in our land.

I think I express the Deputies' common opinion when I express firm confidence that the Soviet government headed by Comrade Malenkov will direct the entire work of building communism in our country as Lenin and Stalin (stormy, long unabating applause) taught; that it will serve the interests of our people with supreme fidelity.

As always, the Soviet government in its work will draw its strength from deep faith in the righteousness of our cause, the cause of Lenin and Stalin (stormy applause); from the unshakable confidence in the correctness of the policy evolved by the Communist Party and Soviet government, from consciousness of the fact that all the peoples of the Soviet Union unanimously support the Soviet government's foreign policy, directed toward preventing a new war and toward living in peace with all countries (stormy applause); from consciousness of the fact that all the peoples of the Soviet Union unanimously support the Soviet government's domestic policy, directed toward further strengthening the might of our socialist state, toward a constant new advance of the entire national economy and culture, toward further steady and systematic improvement in the living standards of all the peoples of our country (prolonged applause), from deep faith in the inexhaustible creative powers of the peoples of our country, who are bound together by indestructible fraternal friendship and regard the establishment of communism in our country as their own vital cause, from the complete trust of the Soviet people in their government; from the iron cohesion of the Communist Party, from the indestructible unity of the peoples of our mighty, multinational land.

Allow me to express confidence that the U.S.S.R. Supreme Soviet will unanimously confirm the appointment of Georgy Maximilianovich Malenkov as Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. (Stormy, prolonged applause. All rise.)

The Chairman: Comrade Malenkov, Chairman of the U.S.S.R. Council of Ministers, has the floor. (Stormy, long unabating applause. All rise.)

Speech by Comrade G. M. Malenkov, Chairman of the U.S.S.R. Council of Ministers.—Comrade Deputies!

You have authorized me to submit to the Supreme Soviet of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics the composition of the government—the U.S.S.R. Council of Ministers.

I thank you, Comrade Deputies, for the great trust and high honor that you have extended to me. (Stormy applause.)

Comrades, you already know that the plenary session of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, U.S.S.R. Council of Ministers and Presidium of the U.S.S.R. Supreme Soviet adopted a series of important decisions to ensure uninterrupted and correct guidance of the country's life.

At the present session we must review these decisions and, in accordance with the Constitution, give the force of law to those measures which the U.S.S.R. Supreme Soviet, the supreme organ of government of our country, deems possible and necessary to adopt and approve.

It must be stated that the measures for amalgamating existing ministries, for uniting in a single ministry the direction of related branches of national economy, culture and management did not come to the fore only today. They were worked out in our party and government over a long time, during Comrade Stalin's lifetime. And now, in connection with the heavy loss which our country has experienced, we have merely hastened the adoption of due organizational measures for further improvement in the guidance of state and economic activity.

In proposing these measures, we proceed from the fact that it is necessary to fight still more actively for realization of the plans evolved by the Party and government for further

development of the U.S.S.R., to carry out these plans more actively and successfully.

We proceed from the fact that the organizational measures to improve guidance of the state and economy, presented for the consideration of the U.S.S.R. Supreme Soviet, will undoubtedly create better conditions for successful solution of the historic tasks facing our country—further untiring and comprehensive strengthening of our great multinational socialist state, strengthening of the mighty Soviet armed forces to assure the defense and security of our motherland, further comprehensive development of socialist industry and strengthening of the collective farming system, development of culture and an advance in the prosperity of workers, collective farmers, intelligentsia and all Soviet people, and assurance of further successful progress along the path of building a communist society in our country.

We have the possibility of successfully accomplishing a reorganization through amalgamation of ministries, realizing all its advantages, since we possess numerous trained cadres which have acquired a wealth of experience and can direct the amalgamated ministries.

The following proposals are submitted for the consideration of the U.S.S.R. Supreme Soviet:

To merge the U.S.S.R. Ministry of State Security and U.S.S.R. Ministry of Internal Affairs in a single ministry, the U.S.S.R. Ministry of Internal Affairs.

To merge the U.S.S.R. War Ministry and Ministry of the Navy in one ministry, the U.S.S.R. Ministry of Defense.

To merge the Ministry of Foreign Trade and the U.S.S.R. Ministry of Trade in one ministry, the U.S.S.R. Ministry of Domestic and Foreign Trade.

To merge the Ministry of Agriculture, the Ministry of Cotton Growing, the Ministry of State Farms, the Ministry of Procurements and the Ministry of Forestry in one ministry, the U.S.S.R. Ministry of Agriculture and Procurements.

To merge the Ministry of Higher Education, the Ministry of Cinematography, the Committee on Affairs of the Arts, the Radio Broadcasting Committee, the Chief Administration of Printing, Publishing and Bookselling and the Ministry of Labor Reserves in one ministry, the U.S.S.R. Ministry of Culture.

To merge the Ministry of Light Industry, the Ministry of the Food Industry, the Ministry of the Meat and Dairy Industry and the Ministry of the Fishing Industry in one ministry, the U.S.S.R. Ministry of Light and Food Industry.

To merge the Ministry of Ferrous Metallurgy and the Ministry of Nonferrous Metallurgy in one ministry, the Ministry of the Metallurgical Industry.

To merge the Ministry of the Automobile and Tractor Industry, the Ministry of the Machine and Instrument Construction Industry, the Ministry of Agricultural Machine Building and the Ministry of the Machine Tool Industry in one ministry, the Ministry of Machine Building.

To merge the Ministry of Transport Machine Building, the Ministry of the Shipbuilding Industry, the Ministry of the Heavy Machine-Building Industry and the Ministry of the Construction and Road-Building Machinery Industry in one ministry, the Ministry of Transport Machinery and Heavy Machine Building.

To merge the Ministry of Power Plants, the Ministry of the Electrical Equipment Industry and the Ministry of the Communications Equipment Industry in one ministry, the Ministry of Power Plants and the Electrical Industry.

To merge the Ministry of Armaments and the Ministry of the Aircraft Industry in one ministry, the Ministry of Defense Industry.

To merge the U.S.S.R. Ministry of the Lumber Industry and the Ministry of the Paper and Wood Processing Industries in one ministry, the U.S.S.R. Ministry of the Lumber and Paper Industry.

To merge the Ministry of Heavy Industry Enterprise Construction and the Ministry of Machine-Building Enterprise Construction in one ministry, the Ministry of Construction.

To merge the Ministry of the Merchant Marine, the Ministry of Inland Shipping and the Chief Administration of the Northern Sea Route in one ministry, the Ministry of Merchant Marine and Inland Shipping.

To dissolve the Ministry of Geology, turning over its functions to the respective Ministries of the Metallurgical Industry, Coal Industry, Oil Industry, Chemical Industry, Building Materials

Industry and other ministries which have jurisdiction over extractive industry.

To dissolve the U.S.S.R. Ministry of Highway Transport, turning over its functions to the Ministry of Transportation.*

To merge the U.S.S.R. Council of Ministers' State Committee on Material and Technical Supply of the National Economy (Gosplan) and the U.S.S.R. Council of Ministers' State Committee on Supply of Food and Consumer Goods (Gosproisplan) with the U.S.S.R. State Planning Committee.

Comrade Deputy!

In accordance with the constitution elected me as Chairman of the U.S.S.R. Council of Ministers. I report to the Supreme Soviet of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics the following government of the U.S.S.R.—the U.S.S.R. Council of Ministers:

First Vice-Chairman of the U.S.S.R. Council of Ministers and U.S.S.R. Minister of Internal Affairs—**AVRAHIY PAVLOVICH BERIA** (stormy applause, all rise).

First Vice-Chairman of the U.S.S.R. Council of Ministers and U.S.S.R. Minister of Foreign Affairs—**VYACHESLAV MIKHAILOVICH MOLOTOV** (stormy applause, all rise).

First Vice-Chairman of the U.S.S.R. Council of Ministers and U.S.S.R. Minister of Defense—**MARSHAL OF THE SOVIET UNION NIKOLAI ALEXANDROVICH BULGANIN** (stormy applause, all rise).

First Vice-Chairman of the U.S.S.R. Council of Ministers—**ALEXANDER VIKHARAGANOVICH KAMENKOV** (applause, all rise).

Vice-Chairman of the U.S.S.R. Council of Ministers and U.S.S.R. Minister of Finance and Foreign Trade—**ANATOLIY IVANOVICH MIKULAN** (stormy applause, all rise).

U.S.S.R. Minister of Agriculture and Forestry—**ALEXANDER K. K.** (applause).

U.S.S.R. Minister of Coal—**PROFESSOR K. K.** (applause, prolonged).

U.S.S.R. Minister of Light and Food Industry—**ALEXANDER NIKOLAYEVICH KRUGLOV** (applause).

Minister of the Coal Industry—**Alexander Fyodorovich Zengeler** (applause).

Minister of the Oil Industry—**Nikolai K. K.** (applause, all rise).

Minister of the Metallurgical Industry—**Ivan Fyodorovich Tokaev** (applause).

Minister of the Chemical Industry—**Georgiy Mikhailovich Tikhomirov** (applause).

Minister of Machine Building—**Mikhail Zakharovich Saburov** (applause).

Minister of Transport Machinery and Heavy Machine Building—**Vyacheslav Alexandrovich Molotov** (applause).

Minister of Power Plants and Electrical Industry—**Mikhail Georgiyevich Perminov** (applause).

Minister of Defense Industry—**Dmitry Fyodorovich Ustinov** (applause).

U.S.S.R. Minister of the Building Materials Industry—**Pavel Alexandrovich Yudin** (applause).

U.S.S.R. Minister of the Lumber and Paper Industry—**Georgiy Mikhailovich Orlov** (applause).

Minister of Construction—**Nikolai Alexandrovich Dypai** (applause).

Minister of Transportation—**Boris Pavlovich Bolechev** (applause).

Minister of Communications—**Nikolai Demyanovich Prutsev** (applause).

Minister of Merchant Marine and Inland Shipping—**Zorim Alexeyevich Shakhov** (applause).

U.S.S.R. Minister of Finance—**Arseny Grigoryevich Zverev** (applause).

U.S.S.R. Minister of Public Health—**Andrei Fyodorovich Tretyakov** (applause).

U.S.S.R. Minister of Justice—**Konstantin Petrovich Gorshehin** (applause).

U.S.S.R. Minister of State Control—**Vsevolod Nikolayevich**

Merkulov (applause).

Chairman of the U.S.S.R. Council of Ministers' State Planning Committee—**Grigory Petrovich Kosyachenko** (applause).

Chairman of the U.S.S.R. Council of Ministers' State Committee on Construction Affairs—**Konstantin Mikhailovich Sokolov** (applause).

Comrade Deputy!

In submitting to the Supreme Soviet the nominations of members of the government, the plenary session of the Central Committee of the Communist Party, U.S.S.R. Council of Ministers and Presidium of the U.S.S.R. Supreme Soviet proceeded from the fact that the strength of our leadership resides in its collective, cohesive and monolithic nature. We regard strict observance of this supreme principle as a guarantee of correct leadership of the country and a most important condition of our further successful progress along the path of building communism in our country.

In submitting the nominations of members of the government for approval by the U.S.S.R. Supreme Soviet, I consider it essential to state that in all its activity the government will strictly follow the foreign and domestic policy elaborated by the Party. We already have stated this position of the Soviet government. I refer to my own speech and the speeches of Comrade L. P. Beria at IV, M. Molotov at the funeral meeting March 9.

In regard to domestic policy, our statements declared quite definitely that the Soviet government will continue to strengthen the inextinguishable alliance of the working class and collective farm peasantry and the fraternal friendship among the peoples of our country, and will strengthen in every way the defensive power of the socialist state; and that the duty of constantly looking after the welfare of the people, after the maximum satisfaction of their material and cultural needs and the further flourishing of our socialist motherland, is a law for our government. (Stormy applause.)

As for foreign policy, it follows completely from our statements that:

The Soviet government will unwaveringly pursue the tested policy of preserving and strengthening peace, of seeing to the defense and security of the Soviet Union, a policy of cooperation with all countries and the development of business ties with them on the basis of mutual observance of interests, and will continue to carry out close political and economic cooperation to strengthen ties of fraternal friendship and solidarity with the great Chinese people and with all the peoples of the people's democracies. (Stormy applause.)

The Soviet policy of peace rests on respect for the rights of peoples of other countries, big and small, on observance of established international norms; Soviet foreign policy rests on strict and unflinching observance of all treaties concluded by the Soviet Union with other states.

At the present time there is no disputed or unresolved question that cannot be settled peacefully by mutual agreement of the interested countries. This applies to our relations with all states, including the United States of America.

States interested in preserving peace may be assured, both now and in the future, of the firm peaceful policy of the Soviet Union. (Stormy applause.)

Comrade Deputy!

The Soviet people have profound confidence in their strength. The might of the Soviet state and the moral-political unity of the Soviet people are greater and more indestructible than ever before. The Soviet government will devote all its efforts to the struggle for building a communist society in our land, for a free and happy life for the Soviet people. (Stormy applause.)

We are advancing along the path of building communism, in close unity of Party, government and Soviet people, the friendly, brotherly family of all the peoples of the Soviet Union! (Stormy, prolonged applause. All rise.)

OFFICIAL REPORT OF MEETING OF U.S.S.R. SUPREME SOVIET, MARCH 15, 1953. (Pravda, March 16, p. 3. 1500 words. Condensed text.) The fourth session of the U.S.S.R. Supreme Soviet opened at 2 p.m. March 15 in the Large Kremlin Palace of the Kremlin.

Deputy M. A. Yasnov, Chairman of the Council of the Union, opened the joint session of the Council of the Union and the Council of Nationalities. [A summary of his remarks follows.] ...

* [The title of the ministry here termed "Ministry of Transportation" has been translated in the past as "Ministry of Railroads," since its work had been largely confined to the railroads. The Russian, "Ministerstvo puti soobshchenia," is open to a variety of translations; henceforth "Ministry of Transportation" is used.—Trans.]

Chairman of the Council of the Union Deputy M. A. Yasnov, who presided, stated that the following questions were submitted for the consideration of the session:

1. Election of the Chairman of the Presidium of the U.S.S.R. Supreme Soviet.

2. Appointment of the Chairman of the U.S.S.R. Council of Ministers.

3. Composition of the U.S.S.R. Council of Ministers and changes in U.S.S.R. ministries.

4. Election of the Secretary of the Presidium of the U.S.S.R. Supreme Soviet.

5. Amendments and additions to Articles 70, 77 and 78 of the U.S.S.R. Constitution.

The session unanimously adopted these questions as its agenda.

At the proposal of Deputy N. S. Khrushchev, the session released Deputy N. M. Shvernik from his duties as Chairman of the Presidium of the U.S.S.R. Supreme Soviet in connection with his transfer to other work and elected N. M. Shvernik a member of the Presidium of the U.S.S.R. Supreme Soviet.

The session unanimously elected KLIMENT YEFREMOVICH VOROSHILOV Chairman of the Presidium of the U.S.S.R. Supreme Soviet.

For the second question on the agenda, the appointment of Chairman of the U.S.S.R. Council of Ministers, the presiding officer gave the floor to Deputy L. P. Beria.

The session unanimously approved the appointment of Deputy GEORGY MAXIMILIANOVICH MALENKOV as Chairman of the U.S.S.R. Council of Ministers and authorized him to submit nominations to the U.S.S.R. Council of Ministers.

The session took up the third question on the agenda, the composition of the U.S.S.R. Council of Ministers and changes in the U.S.S.R. ministries.

G. M. Malenkov, Chairman of the U.S.S.R. Council of Ministers, submitted to the U.S.S.R. Supreme Soviet proposals for changes in the U.S.S.R. ministries and nominations to the U.S.S.R. Council of Ministers.

Voting by separate houses, the U.S.S.R. Supreme Soviet unanimously approved the following proposals submitted by Chairman of the U.S.S.R. Council of Ministers G. M. Malenkov for changes in the U.S.S.R. ministries. [The complete list, as presented in Malenkov's speech, follows.] ...

The Supreme Soviet unanimously approved the following membership of the U.S.S.R. Council of Ministers submitted by Chairman of the U.S.S.R. Council of Ministers G. M. Malenkov. [The list of members contained in Malenkov's speech, follows.] ...

At the proposal of Deputy I. V. Kapitonov, the Supreme Soviet released Deputy A. F. Gorkin from his duties as Secretary of the Presidium of the U.S.S.R. Supreme Soviet and unanimously elected Nikolai Mikhailovich Pegov Secretary of the Presidium of the U.S.S.R. Supreme Soviet.

The U.S.S.R. Supreme Soviet considered the question of amendments and additions to Articles 70, 77 and 78 of the U.S.S.R. Constitution.

Comrade N. M. Pegov, Secretary of the Presidium of the U.S.S.R. Supreme Soviet, reported on this question.

Voting by separate houses, the U.S.S.R. Supreme Soviet unanimously adopted the following text of Articles 70, 77 and 78 of the U.S.S.R. Constitution:

"Article 70. The U.S.S.R. Council of Ministers is appointed by the U.S.S.R. Supreme Soviet and consists of:

"The Chairman of the U.S.S.R. Council of Ministers;

"The First Vice-Chairmen of the U.S.S.R. Council of Ministers;

"The Vice-Chairmen of the U.S.S.R. Council of Ministers;

"The U.S.S.R. Ministers;

"The Chairman of the U.S.S.R. Council of Ministers' State Planning Committee;

"The Chairman of the U.S.S.R. Council of Ministers' State Committee on Construction Affairs."

"Article 77. The following ministries are all-Union ministries:

"Coal Industry;

"Oil Industry;

"Metallurgical Industry;

"Chemical Industry;

"Machine Building;

"Transport Machinery and Heavy Machine Building;

"Power Plants and Electrical Industry;

"Defense Industry;

"Construction;

"Transportation;

"Communications;

"Merchant Marine and Inland Shipping."

"Article 78. The following ministries are Union-republic ministries:

"Internal Affairs;

"Foreign Affairs;

"Defense;

"Domestic and Foreign Trade;

"Agriculture and Procurements;

"Culture;

"Light and Food Industry;

"Building Materials Industry;

"Lumber and Paper Industry;

"Finance;

"Public Health;

"Justice;

"State Control."

The U.S.S.R. Supreme Soviet released Deputy V. V. Kuznetsov from his duties as member of the Presidium of the U.S.S.R. Supreme Soviet in connection with his appointment as U.S.S.R. Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs.

The U.S.S.R. Supreme Soviet elected Deputy Andrei Andreyevich Andreyev a member of the Presidium of the U.S.S.R. Supreme Soviet.

With this the fourth session of the U.S.S.R. Supreme Soviet concluded its work.

Changes in Party Leadership

OFFICIAL STATEMENT. (Pravda, March 21, p. 2; Izvestia, March 22. Complete text:) A plenary session of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, held March 14, 1953, adopted the following resolution:

1. To grant the request of Chairman of the U.S.S.R. Council of Ministers Comrade G. M. Malenkov to be released from the duties of Secretary of the Party Central Committee.

2. To elect the following Secretariat of the Party Central Committee: Comrades N. S. Khrushchev, M. A. Suslov, P. N. Pospelov, N. N. Shatalin and S. D. Ignatyev.

3. In conformity with Article 32 of the Party Statutes, to transfer Comrade N. N. Shatalin from candidate to member of the Party Central Committee.

The Amnesty

Decree of U.S.S.R. Supreme Soviet: ON THE AMNESTY.

(Pravda and Izvestia, March 28, p. 1. Complete text:) Law observance and socialist order have grown stronger and the incidence of crime has considerably decreased in the country as a result of the consolidation of the Soviet social and state system, the rise in the living and cultural standards of the population, the increase in the civic consciousness of citizens and their honest attitude toward performance of their social duty.

The Presidium of the U.S.S.R. Supreme Soviet deems that in these circumstances it is no longer necessary to retain in places of custody persons who have committed offenses representing no great danger to the state and who have shown by their conscientious attitude to work that they are fit to return to honest working life and become useful members of society.

The Presidium of the U.S.S.R. Supreme Soviet decrees that:

1. Persons sentenced to imprisonment for up to five years inclusive are to be released from places of detention and freed from other measures of punishment not connected with deprivation of freedom.

2. Persons sentenced, regardless of duration of sentence, for offenses committed in an official capacity and for economic offenses,* as well as military offenses envisaged in Articles 193-4a, 193-7, 193-8, 193-10, 193-10a, 193-14, 193-15, 193-16 and 193-17a of the Russian Republic penal code and corresponding articles of all other Union republic penal codes,† are to be released from places of detention.

3. Women who have children of up to ten years of age; pregnant women; juvenile delinquents up to 18, men over 55 and women over 50 years, as well as convicted persons suffering from grave incurable diseases are to be released from places of detention.

4. Convicts whose sentences include deprivation of freedom for more than five years are to have their sentences reduced by half.

5. All trials in progress and all cases not heard by courts are to be dropped if they involve the [following] crimes committed before the issuance of this decree:

(a) Crimes for which the law prescribes as punishment the deprivation of freedom for up to five years or other penalties not connected with detention in places of custody.

(b) Crimes committed in an official capacity, and economic and military crimes listed in Article 2 of this decree.

(c) Crimes committed by persons fitting the descriptions in Article 3 of this decree.

As for other cases of crimes committed before the issue of this decree for which the law prescribes deprivation of freedom for more than five years, the court, if it finds it necessary to pass a sentence of deprivation of freedom for not more than five years, is to release the defendant from punishment; and, if it finds it necessary to pass sentence of deprivation of freedom for more than five years, it is to reduce the term by one-half.

6. Citizens who have been tried in the past and have served their sentences or who have been released from punishment on the basis of this decree before completion of sentence are to have their criminal record expunged and their electoral rights restored.

7. The amnesty is not to apply to persons sentenced to terms of more than five years for counter-revolutionary crimes, major thefts of socialist property, banditry and premeditated murder.

8. The criminal laws of the U.S.S.R. and Union republics are to be re-examined with a view to substituting administrative and disciplinary measures [such as fines.—Trans.] for criminal responsibility in cases of offenses committed in an official capacity and in cases of economic, social ["bytoviye"—"everyday living"] and other less dangerous crimes, and also with a view to reducing the criminal responsibility for some crimes.

The U.S.S.R. Ministry of Justice is to be given the task of drawing up the appropriate proposals within a month and submitting them to the U.S.S.R. Council of Ministers for review and for presentation to the Presidium of the U.S.S.R. Supreme Soviet.

—K. VOROSHILOV, Chairman of the Presidium of the U.S.S.R. Supreme Soviet.

—N. PEGOV, Secretary of the Presidium of the U.S.S.R. Supreme Soviet.

The Kremlin, Moscow, March 27, 1953.

Case of the Kremlin Doctors—II

COMMUNIQUE OF U.S.S.R. MINISTRY OF INTERNAL AFFAIRS. (Pravda and Izvestia, April 4, p. 2. Complete text:) The U.S.S.R. Ministry of Internal Affairs has carried out a thorough verification

*[Offenses in an official capacity and economic offenses are offenses of management involving the exceeding of authority, failure to exercise authority, production of substandard goods, cheating customers, etc.—Trans.]

†[These articles refer to violation of military discipline (a minimum of one year's deprivation of freedom), being A.W.O.L. (up to one year), deliberate avoidance of military duties (same), failure to appear when called up, draft dodging, illegal disposal of military supplies, failure to perform guard and convoy duties (varying sentences).—Trans.]

of all the preliminary investigation data and other material in the case of the group of doctors accused of sabotage, espionage and terrorist acts against active leaders of the Soviet state.

The verification has established that the accused in this case, Professors M. S. Vovsi, V. N. Vinogradov, M. B. Kogan, B. B. P. I. Yegorov, A. I. Feldman, Ya. G. Etlinger, V. K. Vasilenko, A. M. Grinshtein, V. F. Zelenin, B. S. Preobrazhensky, N. A. Popova, V. V. Zakusov and N. A. Shereshevsky and Dr. G. I. Maiorov were arrested by the former U.S.S.R. Ministry of State Security correctly, without any lawful basis.

Verification has shown that the accusations against the named persons are false and the documentary sources on which the investigating officials based themselves are without foundation.

It was established that the testimony of the arrested, allegedly confirming the accusations against them, was obtained by the officials of the investigatory department of the former Ministry of State Security through the use of impermissible means of investigation which are strictly forbidden under Soviet law.

On the basis of the conclusion of an investigatory commission especially appointed by the U.S.S.R. Ministry of Internal Affairs to check this case, the arrested M. S. Vovsi, V. N. Vinogradov, B. B. Kogan, P. I. Yegorov, A. I. Feldman, V. K. Vasilenko, A. M. Grinshtein, V. F. Zelenin, B. S. Preobrazhensky, N. A. Popova, V. V. Zakusov, N. A. Shereshevsky and G. A. Maiorov and others accused in this case have been completely exonerated of the accusations against them of sabotage, terrorist and espionage activities, and, in accord with Article 4, Paragraph 5, of the Criminal Procedure Code of the Russian Republic, have been freed from imprisonment.

The persons accused of incorrect conduct of the investigation have been arrested and brought to criminal responsibility.

(Editorial)—SOVIET SOCIALIST LAW IS INVIOABLE. (Pravda, April 6, p. 1. Complete text:) Our press has published a communique of the U.S.S.R. Ministry of Internal Affairs on the results of thorough verification of all the data of the preliminary investigation and other material in the case of the group of physicians accused of sabotage, espionage and terrorist activities against active leaders of the Soviet state.

The verification has established that the persons implicated in this case, professors and doctors, were arrested by the former U.S.S.R. Ministry of State Security incorrectly and without legal grounds.

According to the communique of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, the verification has shown that the charges against these persons were false and that the documentary data which the investigators used were groundless. It has been established that the testimony of the arrested, allegedly confirming the charges against them, was obtained by officials of the investigatory section of the former Ministry of State Security through investigation methods which are inadmissible and strictly forbidden by Soviet law.

On the basis of findings of the investigatory commission especially set up by the U.S.S.R. Ministry of Internal Affairs to check the case, the arrested professors and doctors have been fully cleared of the charges against them and have been released from custody.

The persons guilty of the improper conduct of the investigation have been arrested and are held criminally responsible.

How could it happen that in the U.S.S.R. Ministry of State Security, the duty of which was to stand guard over the interests of the Soviet state, a provocation case was fabricated, the victims of which were honest Soviet people, outstanding figures of Soviet science?

This happened primarily because the leaders of the former Ministry of State Security proved unequal to their tasks. They broke away from the people and from the Party. They forgot that they were servants of the people and that their duty was to stand guard over Soviet law. Former Minister of State Security [Semyon D.] Ignatyev, displayed political blindness and heedlessness. It turned out that he was led around by such criminal adventurers as Ryumin, former Deputy Minister and head of the investigatory section, who directed the investigation and who has now been arrested.

Ryumin acted as a secret enemy of our state and our people. Instead of disclosing true enemies of the Soviet state, true spies and saboteurs, Ryumin embarked on the road of deceiving the government, on the road of criminal adventure. Having trampled on the lofty duty of officials of government agencies and his own responsibility to the Party and the people, Ryumin and other employees of the Ministry of State Security, guided by criminal aims, embarked on gross violation of Soviet law, including outright falsification of evidence, and dared to mock inviolable rights of Soviet citizens which are inscribed in our Constitution.

It also turned out that the commission of medical experts, created in connection with the accusation against the group of doctors, was unequal to its tasks and arrived at incorrect conclusions on the methods of treatment which were applied at the time to [Col. Gen. Alexander S.] Shcherbakov and [Andrei A.] Zhdanov.

Instead of analyzing the case histories of the illnesses and other data with scientific conscientiousness and objectivity, the commission was influenced by the material fabricated by the investigation and lent its authority to support of slanderous, fabricated accusations against a number of prominent medical figures. At the same time it is necessary to note that the investigation hid from the experts some essential aspects of the treatment which showed the correctness of the treatment.

The Soviet people learned with a feeling of gratification that the accusations leveled against a number of prominent figures of Soviet medicine proved to be completely false and that they were a foul calumny upon honest and respected figures of our state. Only people who have lost their Soviet character and human dignity could go so far as unlawfully to arrest Soviet citizens, outstanding figures of Soviet medicine, directly to falsify the investigation and criminally to violate their duty as citizens.

Despicable adventurers of the Ryumin type tried, through their fabricated investigation, to inflame in Soviet society, which is imbued with moral and political unity and the ideas of proletarian internationalism, feelings of national antagonism, which are profoundly alien to socialist ideology. For these provocative ends they did not stop at mad slander of Soviet people. Careful investigation has established, for example, that an honest public figure, U.S.S.R. People's Artist [Solomon] Mikhoels, was slandered in this way.

The report of the U.S.S.R. Ministry of Internal Affairs states that agencies of the former Ministry of State Security grossly violated Soviet law and committed highhanded acts and abuse of authority. Such criminal acts could not remain undiscovered and unpunished for long, since the Soviet government stands guard over the rights of our country's citizens, carefully defends those rights and severely punishes, without regard for person or rank, those who permit highhanded acts.

The Communist Party and Soviet government invariably have demanded and demand that the work of all organizations and state agencies be vigilantly checked by guiding bodies and all of Soviet

society. Now, when Soviet people so profoundly feel and realize the significance of the victory of socialism in our country, we must be particularly vigilant and particularly demanding in the observance of Soviet socialist law.

Bravely exposing shortcomings in state agencies, including cases of highhandedness and lawlessness by individual officials of state agencies, and rooting out those shortcomings determinedly and implacably, the Soviet government openly and directly tells the people about them. This testifies to the great strength of the Soviet state and socialist order. The source of that strength is that our government is closely and indissolubly linked with the people, it bases its actions on the people and firmly and consistently pursues a policy which serves the people's vital interests.

The country of socialism, endowed with invincible might and creative power, is confidently marching along the path to communism. The exploiting classes have long been liquidated in the Soviet Union. Therefore, foreign reactionary forces cannot have any considerable social support inside the Soviet country in their attempts to carry out subversion against the Soviet state.

But the Soviet people know that, while capitalist encirclement exists, there are and inevitably will continue to be attempts to send spies and saboteurs to us. There will also be attempts to use individual renegades, bearers of bourgeois ideology and degenerates for anti-Soviet ends. The powder must always be kept dry against the genuine open and secret enemies of the people, the enemies of the Soviet state. The Party teaches us to be always vigilant.

The great rights of citizens of the Soviet socialist state are inscribed in the U.S.S.R. Constitution. Article 127 of the U.S.S.R. Constitution guarantees U.S.S.R. citizens inviolability of person. Nobody may be arrested without the decision of a court or a state prosecutor. Socialist law, defending the rights of Soviet citizens which are inscribed in the U.S.S.R. Constitution, is an important basis for further developing and strengthening the Soviet state. Nobody will be permitted to violate Soviet law.

Every worker, every collective farmer and every Soviet intellectual can work peacefully and confidently, knowing that his civil rights are reliably guarded by Soviet socialist law. The citizen of the great Soviet state may be confident that his rights, guaranteed by the U.S.S.R. Constitution, will be solemnly observed and defended by the Soviet government. This is an important condition for the further close solidarity of the U.S.S.R. peoples with their Soviet government, for further strengthening of the might of our motherland and continuous growth of the Soviet Union's international prestige.

IN THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE C.P.S.U. (Pravda and Izvestia, April 7, p. 2. Complete text:) By decision of a plenary session of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. Comrade S. D. Ignatyev has been released from the duties of a Secretary of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U.

A GLOSSARY OF SOME SOVIET TERMS

BASED ON SOVIET REFERENCE SOURCES

'ADMINISTRATIVE METHOD OF MANAGEMENT' ("Administrirovaniye")—Bureaucratic "rule by administrative decree without regard for the actual substance of matters" (Ushakov's Dictionary of the Russian Language); sometimes used also to imply arbitrary application of penalties by administrative fiat.

AGRO-CITIES—A term coined during a brief 1951 campaign to amalgamate entire villages and collective farms in "rural cities." The drive was spearheaded by Khrushchev. It was soon termed a political mistake and an impractical program, and abandoned. However, amalgamation of the smaller collective farms—without the attempt to combine villages or move homes and buildings—was carried through on an extensive scale.

AKTIV—Refers collectively to the most active and politically-minded members of an organization or of the staff of an enterprise, or to that body or reservoir of persons drawn into active participation in the work of a Soviet (government body), an institution, a campaign, etc. Hence, Party *aktiv*, trade union *aktiv*, non-Party *aktiv* (nonmembers of the Party who aid in Party campaigns), etc.

ARTEL—A group or association of people working together in some branch of the economy, as a cooperative, under contractual relations among themselves and usually also with the state. Hence, agricultural *artel* (as a synonym for collective farm), producers' cooperative or *artel*, invalids' *artel*, etc. *Artels* are common in services, such as shoe repair, watch repair, tailoring, etc.

ASPIRANT—A graduate student; a member of a research institute or higher educational institution, preparing for advanced work in his field or for teaching. To be accepted as an aspirant the applicant must be below 40 and must have completed his higher education.

BLOC OF COMMUNIST AND NON-PARTY PEOPLE—The collective "ticket" of election candidates, including both members and nonmembers of the Communist Party—and sometimes a reference to the unity of Party and non-Party voters. "Each non-Party Deputy will also be a Deputy of the Communists, just as each Communist Deputy will be a Deputy of the nonmembers of the Party." (Central Committee of the Communist Party, Dec. 6, 1937.)

BRIGADE—In industry or agriculture, a group of workers or peasants jointly engaged on a specific assignment or project. In agriculture the brigade has been approved as the chief form of organization of labor, while the teams (q.v.), into which brigades are divided, are now given a subordinate role.

BRIGADE LEADER—Brigade member in charge of work of his brigade and responsible for it; roughly tantamount to foreman.

CADRES—Workers, peasants or intellectuals, or the personnel or staff in a factory, farm, office, institution or occupational field as a whole, capable of carrying on discip-

lined, productive, skilled work, and upon whom the Communist Party and Soviet government can rely to give guidance and leadership to others. Hence, the frequently expressed need to "struggle for cadres," i.e., to educate and train skilled personnel of this caliber, constituting a hard core in any area, including the Party and the government themselves. In reference to the Party, sometimes used as a synonym for Party members.

CHECKUP or CONTROL—The procedure whereby an office or administrator follows up an assignment or directive to see that it is fulfilled by the person or group responsible for its execution.

CHIEF ADMINISTRATION [Russian: GLAVK]—A subdivision of a ministry or an administrative center for a branch of industry, to which the local trusts of the branch of industry are subordinate.

COLLECTIVE CONTRACT—A labor-management agreement between a trade union and the administration of enterprises or institutions, specifying output quotas and pledges of Stakhanovite work as well as wage rates, obligations for labor safety, etc.

COLLECTIVE FARM STATUTES—The charter and by-laws of a collective farm, based on the model statutes of the agricultural *artel* (q.v.). The violations of the Collective Farm Statutes frequently referred to consist largely of embezzlement, illegal use of communal land for private purposes, and the appointment of farm officials and allocation of farm funds without approval of the general meeting of farm members. Appointment of collective farm officials by regional Party authorities is sometimes mentioned, however—without condemnation.

COLLEGIUM—A group of persons jointly administering an enterprise or institution; now usually only a consultative body, as of a ministry. Occasionally referred to in translation as a board.

COLLEGIUM-STYLE—Often regarded derogatorily, as opposed to one-man management, the method whereby questions within the jurisdiction of a given department or institution are decided by a board and not by the administrator on his own. Some Soviet bodies, such as the Communist Party, however, are regarded as best directed "collegium-style."

COMBINE—An amalgamation of various plants and mills supplementing one another in a production process. Also a heavy machine for performing multiple operations in mining.

COMMUNAL ECONOMY OF THE COLLECTIVE FARM (OR FARMS)—The collectivized livestock, barns, plant, funds, fields and work, as opposed to the privately-owned livestock and the plots of land set aside for the individual farm members' private use.

COMMUNAL ECONOMY or MUNICIPAL ECONOMY—All forms of municipal services: water supply, sewerage, bath houses, laundries, trolley and bus lines, street paving, landscaping, education, fire

department, etc. The term is often applied to small villages as well as to municipalities, and even to the entire communal economy of the country.

COMPLETE SECONDARY or TEN-YEAR SCHOOL—The full secondary school, with a three-year course following fulfillment of the program for the incomplete (seven-year) secondary school (q.v.). The complete secondary school often leads to study in higher educational institutions.

COSMOPOLITANISM or BOURGEOIS COSMOPOLITANISM—The term of condemnation used to designate "the world outlook," as opposed to patriotism and proletarian internationalism (q.v.). Many intellectuals, and particularly Jewish intellectuals, have been accused of "bourgeois cosmopolitanism," "homeless cosmopolitanism," "national nihilism."

CRITICISM AND SELF-CRITICISM—The method and practice of examination of successes and failures in the work of individuals, organizations and institutions on the basis of open discussion by all concerned. The practice is regarded as one of the basic means of educating the masses and drawing them into public effort. "Without self-criticism there can be no correct education of the Party, class and masses; without correct education of the Party, class and masses there is no Bolshevism"—Stalin.

DEMOCRATIC CENTRALISM—The guiding principle of the organizational structure of the Communist Party. It calls for election of all executive bodies of the Party, top to bottom; periodic accounting by all Party bodies to their respective Party organizations; strict Party discipline and subordination of the minority to the majority; absolute subordination of lower Party bodies and all Party members to decisions of higher bodies. (Cf. "History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Short Course).")

DOCENT—Title of a teacher in a higher educational institution, lower in rank than a professor but higher than an instructor.

FIVE-HUNDREDER—Originally a reference to collective farm women in the beet fields who obtained a yield of more than 500 centners per hectare, the word is now more commonly applied to locomotive engineers who succeed in making runs of 500 kilometers a day, or those participating in the movement to attain this figure.

GREAT PATRIOTIC WAR—The standard term used by the Soviet press in referring to the Soviet Union's struggle with Nazi Germany in the second world war.

INCOMPLETE SECONDARY or SEVEN-YEAR SCHOOL—The school which a pupil enters upon graduation from a primary (four-year) school. The seven-year school is compulsory and may lead to ten-year school (complete secondary—q.v.) and thence to higher education, or to a technicalium.

INDEPENDENT POLITICAL STUDY—In Party education, Marxist study or study of

the history of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union carried on by Party members or candidates for the Party outside the school or study circle, but under guidance of a nonstaff consultant (q.v.).

INITIATIVE—Process by which an individual or group introduces an improvement in some work process or sphere of work, or calls for a campaign to improve quality of output, economize raw materials, increase volume of production, etc. A campaign usually takes up the initiative and spreads it. Hence, initiator.

INNER PARTY DEMOCRACY—"The consistent observance by the Bolshevik Party of the principles of democratic centralism" (q.v.)—Alexandrov's "Political Dictionary."

JUNIOR TRADE SCHOOLS—Special vocational schools established for boys and girls whose education was interrupted by war.

LABOR RESERVE SCHOOLS—Trade schools (boys: 14-17; girls: 15-18) established in 1940 to meet the demand for skilled workers.

MACHINE AND TRACTOR STATIONS—The (state-owned) machine centers which serve the fields of the (cooperative) collective farms under annual contracts. The farms commonly do not own their own tractors or heavy machinery, but are dependent upon the government M.T.S. for the use of such equipment.

MODEL STATUTES (BYLAWS) OF THE AGRICULTURAL ARTEL—A document adopted by the Second All-Soviet Congress of Collective Farm Shock Workers, Feb. 17, 1935, defining the rights and duties of the agricultural artel (collective farm) and its members in respect to organization of work, disposition of income, size of garden plots cultivated by farm members for their own personal use, etc.

NONSTAFF PARTY CONSULTANT—In Party education, a Party member, not a regular functionary or staff member of a Party organization, whose function is to give assistance to those studying Marxist-Leninist theory outside of classes.

ONE-MAN MANAGEMENT—The method whereby decisions are made by a single administrator, as opposed to "collegium-style" (q.v.).

PRIMARY PARTY ORGANIZATION or UNIT—The bottom-most organizational unit of the Communist Party, formerly called a cell, made up of no less than three Party members and existing in factories, farms, army and navy units, educational institutions, etc. It is regarded as the basic link between Party bodies and the people.

PROGRESSIVE NORMS or QUOTAS—In industry and agriculture, a sliding scale of production quotas, averages or standards established as successive goals. The attainment of the goal automatically raises the quota.

PROLETARIAN INTERNATIONALISM—"Proletarian internationalism proceeds from the fact that the workers of all countries, irrespective of national and other differences, have common vital interests in the fight against exploitation and for liberation from the yoke of capital. ... 'The internationalist,' says Comrade Stalin, 'is he who unreservedly, without hesitation and without conditions, is ready to defend the U.S.S.R. because the U.S.S.R. is the base of the world revolutionary movement and without defending the U.S.S.R. it is impossible to advance the revolutionary movement...'—Pravda, July 21, 1952, answering a reader's request for a definition of this term.

PROPAGANDIST—In Party education, a Communist whose task is to guide the Marxist-Leninist study of Party members and to conduct political study circles.

RED CORNER—A small cultural center; a building, room or area set aside for study, cultural activities, political indoctrination and educational work; often with a library, musical instruments, sports equipment, etc. —Similarly Red Tent (in nomad areas).

SETTLEMENT—A village, usually one newly founded, or a town subdivision in the suburbs or on the outskirts. Workers' settlement—either of there two meanings, usually around a factory. It may also refer to a settlement of workers at a construction site.

SOCIALIST COMPETITION—Competition in all branches of the economy to obtain higher labor productivity, raise the educational level, increase output and efficiency, etc. Such mass competition is considered an antithesis to "free enterprise competition." Leading competitors are expected to teach the backward and help them to reach the leaders' level.

STAKHANOVITE—After Alexei Stakhanov, a Donets Basin coal miner who in 1935 initiated a campaign for higher labor productivity through rationalization of technological processes, a term of honor denoting one of outstanding labor achievement.

TEAM [literally, ZVENO: LINK]—The smallest unit of workers or peasants engaged in industry or agriculture; a subdivision of a brigade (q. v.).

TECHNICAL MINIMUM—The required minimum knowledge demanded of every worker

or member of a staff; the examination which each is obliged to pass to prove his technical proficiency in the given craft or job.

TECHNICUM (TECHNICAL COLLEGE)—A secondary school for training technical specialists and technicians for industry, agriculture, administration. Many students of seven-year (incomplete secondary—q.v.) schools enter technicums. All students in technicums cover the academic program of the regular ten-year (complete secondary—q. v.) school, regardless of their field of concentration. Courses run three to five years.

TRANSFORMATION OF NATURE—The standard designation, or slogan, of the entire program for developing the land and agriculture of the Soviet Union, including irrigation, drainage and navigation canals, hydroelectric projects, forestation, crop rotation, desert reclamation, etc.

UNION-REPUBLIC MINISTRY—A ministry of republic jurisdiction, under the direction of the U.S.S.R. Council of Ministers.

VULGARIZATION—An excessively simplified presentation of an idea, political concept of principle, distorting its substance.

WORKDAY—The unit for accounting the labor of collective farmers: a quota of daily work per person, graded according to the kind of work and its quality. A skilled farmer may earn more "workdays" in a day of work than an unskilled cowherd; an efficient skilled farmer may earn more "workdays" than one performing like work but not performing as much in the same span of time. Somewhat like a share of stock, the "workday" is the unit by which the net income of the collective farm is divided among members at the end of the farming year.

Measurements

Centner—100 Kilograms, or 220.46 lbs.
Hectare—2.471 acres.
Pood—16.38 kg., or 36.113 lbs.
Metric ton—1.1 short tons
Meter—1.09 yards

Geographical Terms and Their Translation

| | | |
|--------|---|--|
| Oblast | = | Province |
| Krai | = | Territory |
| Okrug | = | Region |
| Raion | = | District |
| | = | Borough (when the district is a subdivision of a city) |

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SELECTION

The two most important Soviet newspapers, *Pravda* and *Izvestia*, are received by air mail. Their contents are included in the Current Digest as a general rule within approximately one month after the date of their publication in Moscow.

These two contain the highest authority news and newspapers, and present most of the general news and information carried by the Soviet press as a whole. The more important items from these two papers are given in full in the Current Digest. Others are condensed, summarized, or represented by headlines and bibliographical references to the Weekly Index.

The Current Digest also contains selections from approximately 15 other Soviet newspapers and magazines which are usually translated in the United States by air mail. Because of the necessary time lag, only material of special or lasting interest to persons engaged in the study of Soviet developments is reproduced from these papers and magazines.

QUARTERLY INDEX

All the material in each issue is grouped under subject matter headings, and subscribers receive a quarterly index to the Current Digest. The index also contains other translations of current Soviet materials and the contents of Soviet publications printed in English, and should thus provide a comprehensive guide to Soviet press material available in English.

TRANSLATION AND CONDENSATION

Since the Current Digest is intended to provide documentary materials, every effort is made to preserve the sense and spirit of the Russian text. Each item appearing in the Current Digest carries a reference to the Soviet publication in which it appeared, the date and the page. All items translated in full are designated by the notation (Complete text). The word (Condensed) indicates portions have been omitted, each word omission is shown by leaders [...], while the total number of words in the original, noted at the beginning of the item, enables the reader to gauge the extent of omission.

All items marked (Complete text) or (Condensed) retain the phonetic spelling of the original throughout. Those marked (Summary) may be restated for brevity's sake.

When the Russian text contains a quotation from English or a foreign language, the quoted matter is presented as translated from the Russian. When a

quotation within the Russian text is incomplete, stars are used instead of leaders to show that the quotation was made by the Russian author rather than by the translator.

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SUBSCRIPTIONS

The subscription rate for the Current Digest, including the quarterly index, is \$50.00 a year to institutions, organizations or persons paying \$100.00 a year to the sustaining fund, a total of \$150.00 a year. A reduced rate of \$25.00 a year may be granted to persons associated with any sustaining institution or organization as faculty members, staff members or staff associates. These reduced-rate subscriptions must run concurrently with the sustaining subscription. Single copies of the Digest or Index are \$3.00 each.

All communications should be addressed to the Current Digest of the Soviet Press, 413 West 117th Street, New York 27, N. Y.

THE JOINT COMMITTEE ON SLAVIC STUDIES

SOME SOVIET PUBLICATIONS

FROM WHICH TRANSLATIONS APPEAR IN THE CURRENT DIGEST

NEWSPAPERS

Glasnost [The Whistle], railroad daily.
Izvestia [News], central government daily.
Kommunist [Communist], Young Communist League (YCL) daily.
Krasnaya zvezda [Red Star], Army daily.
Krasny flot [Red Fleet], Navy daily.
Leningradskaya pravda [Leninist Truth], city and province daily.
Literaturnaya gazeta [Literary Gazette], triweekly of Soviet Writers' Union.
Meditsinskaya pravda [Medical Worker], semiweekly organ of the Ministry of Health.
Moskovskaya pravda [Moscow Truth], city and province daily.
Pravda [Truth], central Communist Party daily.
Radio programy [Radio Programs], weekly.
Sobremennye izobrazheniya [Soviet Art], weekly.
Trud [Labor], daily of Central Council of Trade Unions.
Uchebno-pedagogicheskaya gazeta [Teacher's Gazette], triweekly of Union Republic Ministries of Education and training of national workers.
Verkhaya Pravda [Evening Moscow], city and province daily.
Vostochnyy Vostok [East] [Bulletin of U.S.S.R. Eastern Front], semi-weekly.

Periodicals Published by Party and Government in Union Republics

Azerbaydzhan [Azerbaijan] daily [Baku Worker].
Armenia [Armenia] [The Communist], Yerevan.
Belorussiya [Sovetskaya Belorussiya] [Soviet Belorussia], Minsk.
Estonya [Sovetskaya Estonya] [Soviet Estonia] and *Rakva Hääli* [Voice of the People in Estonian], Tallinn.
Georgia [Zarya Vostoka] [Dawn of the East], Tbilisi.
Karelo-Finskaya Respublika [Lenin's Banner], Petrozavodsk.
Kazakhstan [Kazakhstanskaya pravda] [Kazakhstan Truth], Alma-Ata.
Kirgizia [Sovetskaya Kirgizia] [Soviet Kirgizia], Frunze.
Latvia [Sovetskaya Latvija] [Soviet Latvia] and *Cina* [Struggle in Latvian], Riga.
Lithuania [Sovetskaya Litva] [Soviet Lithuania] and *Tiesa* [Truth in Lithuanian], Vilnius.
Moldavia [Sovetskaya Moldavia] [Soviet Moldavia], Kishinev.
Tadzhikistan [Kommunist Tadzhikistan] [Tadzhikistan Communist], Stalinabad.
Turkmenistan [Turkmen'skaya inkra] [Turkmenian Spark], Ashkhabad.
Ukraine [Pravda Ukrainy] [Ukraine Truth] and *Radyanska Ukraina* [Soviet Ukraine—in Ukrainian], Kiev.
Uzbekistan [Pravda Vostoka] [Truth of the East], Tashkent.

MAGAZINES

Arkhitektura SSSR [Architecture in the U.S.S.R.], monthly.
Bibliotekar [The Librarian], monthly.
Blotnot agitatora [Agitator's Notebook], trimonthly

Lendok [Lendok] [Lendok], issued by Preparanda and Agitation Department of Moscow City and Province Communist Party Committee.
Doklady Akademii Nauk SSSR [Reports of U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences], trimonthly.
Finansy i Kredit SSSR [Finance and Credit in the U.S.S.R.], monthly.
Izvestia Akademii Nauk SSSR [Annals of U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences], Division of Literature and Language, bimonthly.
Kommunist [The Communist—formerly Bolshevik], Communist Party bimonthly.
Krestyanka [The Peasant Woman], monthly.
Krokodil [Crocodile], trimonthly of humor and satire.
Kulturno-pedagogicheskaya rabota [Cultural-Educational Work], monthly dealing with adult education and indoctrination work.
Lektsionnoy [Lecture Pamphlets], lectures published semiweekly by Society for Dissemination of Political and Scientific Knowledge.
Nauka i zhizn [Science and Life], monthly popular science magazine of Society for Dissemination of Political and Scientific Knowledge.
Ogonyok [Flame], popular illustrated weekly.
Planyuzhno-khozyaystvo [Planned Economy], monthly of State Planning Committee.
Politgraficheskoye proizvodstvo [Printing], monthly of Chief Administration of Printing, Publishing and Bookselling.
Professionalniye soyuzy [Trade Unions], monthly of Central Council of Trade Unions.
Rabotnica [The Working Woman], monthly.
Semya i shkola [Family and School], monthly of Russian Academy of Pedagogical Sciences.
Slavyanye [Slavic World], Slavic Committee monthly.
Tirena [New Generation], youth magazine, semi-monthly.
Sotsialisticheskoye zenskoye khozyaystvo [Socialist Agriculture], Ministry of Agriculture monthly.
Sovetskaya etnografiya [Soviet Ethnography], quarterly.
Sovetskaya muzyka [Soviet Music], monthly of Union of Soviet Composers and Committee on Affairs of the Arts.
Sovetskaya pedagogika [Soviet Education], monthly of Russian Republic Academy of Pedagogical Sciences.
Sovetskaya trgovlya [Soviet Trade], monthly.
Sovetskoye gosudarstvo i pravo [Soviet State and Law], monthly of Academy of Sciences' Law Institute and Institute of Juridical Sciences of Ministry of Justice.
Sovetsky krasny krest [Soviet Red Cross], bimonthly.
Teatr [Theater], monthly of Soviet Writers' Union and Committee on Affairs of the Arts.
Vestnik Akademii Nauk SSSR [Journal of Academy of Sciences], monthly.
Vestnik statistiki [Problems of Statistics], bimonthly.
Vneshnyaya trgovlya [Foreign Trade], monthly of Ministry of Foreign Trade.
Vokrug sveta [Around the World], popular geography monthly.
Voprosy ekonomiki [Problems of Economics], monthly of Academy of Sciences' Economics Institute.
Voprosy filosofii [Problems of Philosophy], bimonthly of Academy of Sciences' Philosophy Institute.
Voprosy istorii [Problems of History], monthly of Academy of Sciences' History Institute.
Voyennyye znaniya [Military Science], monthly.
Zhurnal mod [Fashions Magazine], quarterly.
Zhurnal Moskovskoy Patriarkhat [Journal of Moscow Patriarchate], monthly of Moscow Patriarchate of Russian Orthodox Church.

Literary monthlies:

Novy mir [New World].
Oktayr [October].
Znamya [Banner].
Zvezda [Star] (Leningrad).

TRANSLITERATION

The transliteration system employed by the Current Digest is designed for the convenience of readers who do not know Russian. The aim is to approximate the Russian sounds without diacritical marks, superscripts or apostrophes.

The following transliteration table is used except when names have recognized English spellings (e.g., Tchaikovsky, Alexander):

| | | | | | |
|---|-----|---|---|---|----------|
| a | ä | x | ë | x | kh |
| ö | b | z | l | z | ta |
| e | v | m | m | q | ch |
| r | e' | n | n | z | sh |
| ä | ö | o | o | z | shch |
| ö | e' | p | p | s | (omit)†† |
| ü | yot | p | r | u | y |
| x | zh | c | s | b | (omit)†† |
| z | e | t | t | s | e |
| s | i | y | u | z | yuf |
| z | ïï | f | f | z | yaïï |

* r = v in genitive endings oro (ero), oro (ovo).

†† o = yo when initial and after b, s, and all vowels except u, or when preceded by vowel-consonant combinations as in Slavyanye.

† e = o after x and g.

†† Combinations ññ and ññ = y.

† x = x in words using x in English forms (Maxim, Alexander).

†† b and s before vowels = y.

† u after u = lu.

†† n after u = la; after n = a, as in Ivestia.